GEORGE LAMBERT. F.S.A.

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Dupl.

THE HISTORY

OF THE

TWELVE GREAT LIVERY COMPANIES

OF

LONDON.

LONDON:
J. AND C. ADLARD, BARTHOLOMEW CLOSE.

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THE HISTORY

OF THE

TWELVE GREAT LIVERY COMPANIES

OF

LONDON;

PRINCIPALLY COMPILED FROM THEIR GRANTS AND RECORDS.

WITH

AN HISTORICAL ESSAY,

AND

ACCOUNTS OF EACH COMPANY,

ITS ORIGIN, CONSTITUTION, GOVERNMENT, DRESS, CUSTOMS, HALLS, AND TRUST ESTATES AND CHARITIES;

INCLUDING NOTICES AND ILLUSTRATIONS OF

METROPOLITAN TRADE AND COMMERCE,

AS ORIGINALLY CONCENTRATED IN THOSE SOCIETIES;

AND OF THE LANGUAGE, MANNERS, AND EXPENSES OF ANCIENT TIMES;

WITH

ATTESTED COPIES AND TRANSLATIONS OF THE COMPANIES' CHARTERS.

BY WILLIAM HERBERT,

LIBRARIAN TO THE CORPORATION OF LONDON.

VOL. I.

LONDON:

PUBLISHED BY THE AUTHOR;

AND TO BE HAD OF HIM, AT THE LIBRARY, GUILDHALL,

AND OF ALL THE PRINCIPAL BOOKSELLERS.

MDCCCXXXVII.

ADVERTISEMENT.

THE present "Commission for Inquiring into Municipal Corporations," must render any work important which can throw additional light on that inquiry. The publication now offered to the public professes to treat of one great branch of these Corporations, and which is intended to be subjected to the proposed investigation,—namely, the ancient trading Corporations, called Livery Companies; or rather, it purposes to give the History of that portion of them usually denominated the "Twelve Great Livery Companies of London," which will be found, in principle, to include all the rest.

To the reader unacquainted with this subject,—and it is perhaps the least known of any connected with our localities, it may be observed, that the Livery Companies hold a high rank in City history. Their wealth,—the important trusts reposed in them,—the noble charities they support, and their connexion with the civic constitution of the Metropolis, make them not only of primary consequence to every Liveryman and Freeman, but, when it is considered that they had the earliest share in laying the foundation of British com-

merce,—that all trade originally concentrated in their fraternities,—that their Records are, for the most part, of remote antiquity, and afford pictures of the Government, Religion, Customs, Habits, and Expenses of former times, it will be seen that few subjects are more important in a national point of view, or admit of more entertaining illustration.

The production of a work of this nature, however desirable, has been hitherto delayed by the difficulty of procuring access to the Charters and other Documents which could alone render it worthy of encouragement. Most of these are either locked up in the Companies' archives, or only to be obtained by expensive searches at the Inrolment offices; and all the information the public have on the subject consists of the slight and inaccurate notices of Stow, and his copyists, which are not available for any useful purpose.

The present undertaking, in attempting to supply the deficiency by the production of a standard work on this very interesting part of the trading institutions of this great commercial country, must not be taken as a mere hasty compilation, now got up to serve temporary purposes. It aspires to a higher character. Four years ago, before any Municipal Inquiry was thought of, the applications to the author, in his official capacity of Librarian to the Corporation of London, for information as to the Charters of the Companies, and the impossibility of getting them any where but at the Record Offices, or from the heads of those Companies, induced him to issue a Prospectus for publishing the whole of the Companies' Charters, with Translations, and other particulars. On entering upon the subject, he soon found it one deserving of a

much more ample account than he had intended to give it. Not only did the history of these Companies, as just stated, offer a mass of the most important information as to the trading interests of the country, and on other great points, but it was found to combine matter of the most entertaining kind. The ancient Charters themselves, though usually conceived to be the reverse of entertaining, disclosed many curious facts illustrative of the simplicity of early times, and of the rise and infant state of commerce, and its various regulations. Many of the Companies favoured the author with the inspection of their books, some of them detailing as far back as the reign of Edward III. the manner in which they first formed themselves into societies,—the places they met at before they built halls,—the curious custom that obtained amongst them of admitting *sisters*, or females, as associates in their Fraternities,—their feasts,—set mode of dress, or wearing a *Livery*, from which they derive their name,—their religious ceremonies,—pageants,—and numerous other amusing particulars. The City Records, and the Collections in the Corporation Library, also presented stores untouched, or scattered through so many scarce and expensive books and tracts, as to be little known. With these, and many other sources of information, which could not have been easily commanded by a writer otherwise situated, he commenced his task, and has continued it to publication. All attempts, however, to bring the volume within four or five hundred pages, as it was thought might be done, when the author announced the terms of publication, have been found impracticable; and though every attention has been paid to condensation of style, to the adoption of what is called "*table-work*," in the Reports of the Companies' Cha-

rities, and the smallest type, which was suitable to such a subject, been used in the printing; the whole, it is now found, cannot be completed in less than 750 or 800 closely printed pages.

It has been owing to these considerations that the work, instead of being ready in a few months, as was advertised, has occupied four years. The same reasons also, coupled with the impracticability of having been yet able to meet the public for some months, and the anxiety for information, induced by the pending Inquiry, make the author vary in another particular from his original announcement,—namely, in dividing the work into Two Half-Volumes, instead of waiting to publish the whole in One Thick Volume, (as proposed,) and to immediately issue the first Half-Volume, so as to meet the Inquiry into the state of the Companies. He proposes, in this, to answer a doubly-useful purpose; it will afford the public some information on the subject, before it comes on for Parliamentary discussion, and will give the work the advantage of having incorporated in it all that may transpire by that means. It will only be necessary to add, as a conclusion to the explanation already given of the nature of the ensuing History, that it will embody a mass of the most valuable information, from the City Records at the Town Clerk's Office, (which have been obligingly thrown open to the author on this occasion,) from the Records of the Companies, from official instruments at the Government offices, and from a condensation of all the printed accounts to be found on this subject, in the Library of the Corporation of London, at Guildhall. The Companies' Charters will

also be included; to procure which, the editor pledges himself that the Rolls Chapel, where they are enrolled, has been thoroughly searched, and that every Charter of every Company has been carefully examined by himself. From the entire series, exceeding *one hundred and twenty Grants or Confirmations*, attested copies have been made for this work of all such as are in any way connected with the history or constitution of the Companies, which will be correctly printed, with translations, in double columns.

How far a book compiled with care and ability from such sources merits public attention, as well as that of the Companies, may be estimated from the fact, that the major part of those Companies can only give the Commissioners very limited information,—because they do not possess it themselves. The Fire of London, and other accidents, have left few of them any records beyond the reign of Elizabeth; and the more ancient part of their history, and the most elucidatory, as well as entertaining, is to be sought for only from the sources enumerated. Whether the Commission will take that trouble, (and it must be incomplete without,) the author presumes not to say. At all events, should it be done, the present work, besides containing the result, will also contain abundance of facts and particulars, which, as being totally extraneous to the pending Inquiry, will be only to be found in the present volume.

The facts and particulars alluded to, will consist, in conjunction with the Accounts of the Companies,—and, under separate arrangements, of—their Origin and History,—Constitution

and Government,—Dress and Observances,—Halls and Buildings,—their Trust Estates, Bequests and Charities; and will embrace Historical Notices of the Trade or *Mystery* of each Company, the state of its Livery, and the amount of the Livery Fines from the reign of Henry VIII. WITH THE NAMES AND RESIDENCES OF ALL THE PRESENT COURTS AND LIVERIES; grants of Arms; accounts of the Pageants of the Companies; the Biography of eminent Members, &c.; and will be preceded by an INTRODUCTORY HISTORICAL ESSAY, giving an account of the early state of the Metropolitan Gilds, which will also contain information connected with *the whole of the Minor Companies.*

The embellishments will consist of armorial bearings, views of the Companies' Halls before the Fire, and other curious subjects.

ADVERTISEMENT

(TO THE SECOND VOLUME).

After a lapse of three years from the publication of the First Volume, the Author has the pleasure to present his Subscribers and the Public with a second volume, completing his work. He has little to add to what was then observed, as to the interest and entertainment attached to this subject: the Public, who have the former part, will be the best judges. He wishes, however, to say a few words in explanation of the delay which has occurred, and of some further deviations from his original Prospectus, which will be found in the present volume. For the delay he trusts he shall satisfactorily account, when he states the nature of the task he has had to perform. It has not consisted merely in collecting and having to make into a book a large quantity of varied materials, which a history like the present must always (more than almost any other) require,—but in the peculiar difficulties attendant on it. He has had to pay scores of visits to inspect and copy from the Companies' records, without which little information worthy notice could have been obtained. The labour in this case of turning over ponderous volumes of manuscripts, to select here and there such scattered notices as were applicable,—like Gratiano's reasons, resembling two grains of wheat hid in two bushels of

chaff,—the labour of doing this alone can scarcely be conceived. Some idea may perhaps be formed from the fact that the books of the Goldsmiths, one out of twelve of those companies, amount to more than twenty such volumes, and extend through an interval of upwards of five centuries. The earlier part of these are written in Norman French, abbreviated Law-Latin, and obsolete English, often difficult to decipher, from the effects of damp, bad writing, and technicalities of language relating to the company's trade. The books of the other companies partake of the same difficulties, though in a less degree. In addition to their books, he has, in several instances, had to examine loose records, for ordinances, wills, and similar documents: in some of them to abstract numerous title-deeds, to deduce the descents of their halls. Such has been the case with *Fishmongers' hall*,—the descent of which will be found traced back (from the company's deeds) from John Lovekyn, stock-fishmonger and lord mayor in the reign of Edward III.; and the names given of the various tenants who occupied the site at different periods. When to this labour, the Reader adds the time otherwise taken up, to arrange, classify, and enliven by literary illustration, the mass of materials so selected; to search for and translate charters; to abridge and put into tables the long reports on the company's charities; and, lastly, to prepare the whole for press, and to watch and correct that press in its progress (all which the Author has done unaided,) —he is sure he need make no further apology on the score of delay. The deviations or variations from the original Prospectus are as follows:

The History of the Companies, as now completed, will, instead of "Two Half Volumes, or One Thick Volume," form Two Whole Volumes, of between 500 and 600 pages each. With them are given new Title-pages. The former Title, from the abundance of

additional curious matter incorporated in the present volume, did not sufficiently express its contents;—the customs of the companies, teeming with vivid pictures of by-gone times and manners, and their payments for pageantries, buildings, livery cloths, feasts, journeys on business or pleasure; law-charges, and on various other accounts, by preserving the contemporary prices of materials, labour, manufactures, and provisions,—give the work an additional and separate character. Even the wording of the entries which record these particulars, are themselves specimens,—and, in the instances of quarrels between masters and apprentices, disputes of members, awards, and punishments for misbehaviour, bad working, and other cases, novel and unique specimens,—of the colloquial English of the day. This is, in a degree, expressed by the new Title-pages. For these additional advantages, and the great increase of labour and expense they have occasioned, no extra charge is made; the work remains at its original price.

The modern lists of livery, etc. are discontinued in the Second Volume. The great length to which they extend in some of the companies, must have made them supersede more useful matter; they, besides, become obsolete in a few years. An engraved Frontispiece, and vignette Title-page, as also lists of Subscribers, (as promised,) could not have been given, after the great addition of size in the work, without further delay, and raising its price, —things the Author has been particularly anxious to avoid. A second, or fly title-page, however, as also a Table of the Companies' Charters, is given in lieu of them; together with some additional views of their halls,—as in the case of the Drapers, Fishmongers, and Vintners. The Preface (or Advertisement), Table of Contents, and Index, will be found in their proper places.

To the Companies, for permission to inspect and copy from their records, and particularly to the Worshipful Companies of Drapers, Fishmongers, Goldsmiths, and Ironmongers, who, in addition to such permission have liberally contributed pecuniary aid, by subscriptions, gifts, or otherwise,—the Author begs leave to return his grateful acknowledgments. He feels bound to do the same to Mr. Robert Franks, who, besides lending him his attested copy of the Merchant Tailors' Charters to print from, (and which he should otherwise have had to pay for copying at the Rolls Chapel,) has furnished him with the greater part of the very curious matter which forms the history of that company, and every other way in his power assisted his enquiries. His thanks are also due to the Town Clerk of London, for the use of the City Records; as well as to several others, whose names, to avoid too much lengthening this Address, he is obliged to forbear mentioning.

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HISTORY

OF THE

TWELVE GREAT LIVERY COMPANIES OF LONDON.

HISTORICAL ESSAY.

THE Livery Companies of London derive their origin from the early associations termed GILDS, and were either ecclesiastical or secular. Ecclesiastical Gilds were for devotion and alms-deeds; "Secular Gilds were for trade and alms-deed."* Both, in ancient times, were distinguished by various religious observances, and partook much of the nature of monastic institutions.

Secular Gilds—to the history of which the present work will be confined—appear to have included the entire aggregate of a town, and were at first named *Gilda Mercatoria*, merchant-gilds; but afterwards, when the respective craftsmen, artisans, and dealers, obtained charters for managing their several callings, they were termed *Gilda Mercatorum*, gilds-merchants; merchant denoting, originally, all kinds of dealers and traders.

The name gild, guild, or geld, primarily meaning a payment, (from the Saxon ȝildan, to pay,) was variously applied in old times. It signified a tax, or tribute, as, in Domesday book, the burgh of Totenais, it is said, "did not geld, but when Exeter gelded, and then it paid twelve pence for geld."† It meant an amerciament, composition, or mulct, as did the

* Firma Burgi, p. 24.

† Ibid.

word *gildable*, the liability to such gild or payment.* It also signified an enfranchised district or soke, as in the case of the wards of London, which were anciently called *gilds*;† and it moreover signified the free customs and privileges of a gild or soke; its most usual acceptation, however, in later days, was to denote an associated body or brotherhood, whether a town or a minor incorporation, because every member was *gildar*, that is, to pay something towards the charge and support of such body; hence gilds are explained by Johnson to be

"Fraternities originally contributing sums towards a common stock, ȝilðȝcipe, a corporation. The word is found in various tongues: old French, *gilde*, société, Lacombe; Teut. *gilde*, societas contributionum, Kelian; Icel. *gilde*, *convivium*, symposium, serenius, a society, a fraternity or company combined together, by orders and laws made among themselves, by their prince's license. Hence the common word guildhall proceeds, being a fraternity or commonalty of men gathered together into one combination, supporting their common charge by mutual contribution."—Cowel.‡

Gilds, though not so named, are found among the classical ancients, and implied with them, as with us, societies which contributed certain sums for common uses. Their artificers and traders were also formed into companies, like those of later times, and occupied particular streets, to which they gave name.§ The latter custom only began to be discontinued in London in the reign of Richard II., and is distinctly

* "By the discretion of the sheriffs and bailiff, and other ministers and places *gildable*."—Spelman, Adm. Jur.

† "The city, whilst it maintained the same legal polity and constitution which distinguished a county under the Saxon government, was a concentration of leet jurisdictions, each comprising a ward, or, as the division was then named, a *gild*."—Commentaries on London, 8vo. 1830. The "Enquiry into the Elective Franchise," 8vo. 1822, adds, "Each ward ranking as a hundred in the division of counties, and comprising an indefinite number of inhabitants or frankpledges, was under the jurisdiction of an alderman, having an authority similar to that of the hundredor in ordinary districts."

‡ Gildam, otherwise Geltum, Geldum, and Geldus, (from whence also Gilda, Gildonia, Gildones, Con-gildones, &c.) are all derived from the Saxon Gildam and Geldam, whence, as has been seen, Gildare is in Domesday book synonymous with Solvere, Redere, to pay, to render. And in Præfat. S. Aluradi, Godgildam, in like manner, meant offerings to God, as did Deofulgild, offerings to the Devil. Geld, as meaning public taxes, was by the Anglo-Normans changed into Taxum, Tallagium, and Quinto-deciman (taxes, tallages, and fifteenths). Gildam, meaning a mulct or fine to the king, with its numerous combinations, occurs in the laws of Ethelbert, Athelstan, and other Saxon princes.—Spelman.

§ Encyclop. of Antiquities, (v. Guilds,) which quotes various authorities.

noticed by Fitzstephen two centuries earlier, as of classic growth:

"This city, even as Rome, is divided into wards, and all the sellers of wares, all the workmen for hire, are distinguished every morning in their places as well as streets."*

Gervase of Canterbury, near the same time, speaks of both French and English, skilled in stone and wood work, travelling in gilds or societies, for the purpose of building: our kings impressed their workmen from such, when wanted.†

ANGLO-SAXON GILDS.

Gilds, in England, were at first political, and one of the grand elementary parts of our constitution. They originated from the Saxon custom of frankpledge, (thought by Minsheu to have been borrowed from the Lombards,‡) and were established here before the Anglo-Saxons abandoned their employ as husbandmen in detached habitations or farms, to form municipal governments in towns and cities. Antiquaries state them to have originated in a Saxon law, by which it being ordained—

"That every freeman of fourteen years old should find sureties to keep the peace, or be committed, certain neighbours, consisting of *ten families*, entered into an association, and became bound to each other to produce him who committed an offence, or to make satisfaction to the injured party.§ That they might the better do this, they raised a sum of money amongst themselves, which they put into a common stock; and when one of the pledges had committed an offence, and was fled, then the other nine made satisfaction out of this stock, by payment of money according to the

* Fitzstephen's Descriptio Nobilissima Civit. Lond.—Strype's Stow, ii. p. 4.

† Encyclop. of Antiquities.

‡ "That this discipline (i. e. of *frankpledge*) is borrowed of us from the Roman emperors, or rather *Lombards*, appeareth out of 2 F. 53. et ibi Hotom: cum ibid. adduct: what articles were wont to be inquired of in this court, read in Horne's Mirrour of Justices, lib. i. c. de la veue des franc pleges. What these articles were in ancient time, see Fleta, lib. ii. c. 52."—Minsheu, v. *Frankpledge*.

§ *De friborgis* Præterea est quædam summa et maxima securitas per quam omnes statu firmissimo sustinentur, videlicet, ut unusquisque stabilat se sub fidejussionis securitate quam Angli vocant ꝑneoboꝛȝeꝛ, soli tamen Eboracenses dicunt eandem ꝛien manna ꝛala, quod sonnat Latine, *decem hominem numerum*. Hæc securitas hoc modo fiebat scilicet, quod de omnibus villis totius regni sub decennali fide jussione debebant esse universi: Ita quod si unus ex decem forisfecerit, novem ad rectum eum haberent; &c. Leges Edovardi Regis. *Wilkins's Fo.* 1721, p. 201-2.

offence. In the meantime, that they might the better identify each other, as well as ascertain whether any man was absent upon unlawful business, they assembled at stated periods at a common table, where they ate and drank together. This sort of assembly was in the seventh century called the *Gebeorscipe*,* at which time *Ina* made a law to prevent turbulent proceedings at such kind of meetings." It is further added, that "because this association of pledges consisted of *ten* families, it was called a *Decennary* or *Tithing*, and subsequently, as being composed of such frankpledges, a *Fribourg*, or *Frithgild*."†

To the Frithgild, with its social feastings, succeeded the gilds devoted to religious or trading purposes, and which copied, as it will be seen, not only their convivialities, but other of their customs. Lambard says "there is nothing of certainty to be found of the origin of these *later gilds*, since they were in use long before any formal license was granted for such meetings." We find, however, ecclesiastical gilds mentioned in the *Capitula* of Carloman, and of our Anglo-Saxon synods, and that both clergymen and laity were members of such fraternities; little doubt, therefore, can exist but that they took rise with an improved state of society, and its first assembling in towns. The ecclesiastical laws of Athelstan speak of these gilds giving pledges, and hint at other of their regulations: "We have charged all that are admitted into our *gildship* by *pledges* given, that if any one happen to die, every brother of the gild give a loaf."‡

Secular gilds must have been of equal ancientry. The Frith gilds of the Londoners are mentioned both in *Judica*

* *Johnson's Canons, Laws of Ina*, who, in a *note*, explains *Gebeorscipe* to mean a meeting of freemen, *gebur*, in Saxon, signifying a common man. Mr. Taylor, with more probability, conjectures *Geborscipe* or *Beorscipe* to mean *convivium, symposium*, (see *ante* 2) a banquet; literally, beership, beer-drinking. These banquets are described by *Tacitus* to have been customary among the Gothic tribes. It was at such a ge-beership that the poet Cædmon was called upon to sing, when the harp was handed round to each of the company in turns.—Bede, iv. 24. (See Elect. Fran. 6.)

† "*Frithgildum*, Collegium, Sodalitium, ex Saxon ꝼꝛıꝺ, pax, and ᵹılꝺan, solvere: quod qui ejusmodi societates, ineunt, collatitiam stipem in commune ad sua negotia conferant. Vide Præfat. ad Leges Adelstani."—*Du Cange*. Minsheu explains Freoborgh, alias Frithborgh, (Fride burgum,) to come of two Saxon words, Free, liber ingenuus, and Borgh, fideiussor, or of Frid, i. *pax*, and Borga, i. *sponsor*, a surety for the peace or good behaviour; and otherwise called, after the French, frankpledge, the one being in use in the Saxon times, the other since the Conquest.

‡ Johnson's Canons.

Civitatis Londoniæ,* and in other Anglo-Saxon laws; and of those appropriated to *trade*, though not here distinctly named, Madox thinks the age so remote, as not only to have given origin to the practice of gildating whole towns, but even to the Saxon name and office of alderman. "Alderman," he says, "was a name for a chief governor of a secular gild, and in time it became also a name for a chief officer in a gildated city or town;" and he quotes, in illustration, the circumstance of the prior of Holy Trinity, Aldgate, becoming an alderman of London, in consequence of the grant to that priory of the 'English Knighten gild,' as will be presently shown.†

Of the government of the Anglo-Saxon trade gilds but little is known. They seem to have consisted of a triple estate, or head council, and associates. The favorite number of the council, with its principal, was *thirteen*, in imitation of Christ and his apostles. Du Cange mentions one society (probably a religious one) which consisted of twelve men, and only one woman, who represented the Virgin Mary. Sometimes the members resided together in one building in a collegiate fashion."§

We meet with accounts of only the following Anglo-Saxon gilds:

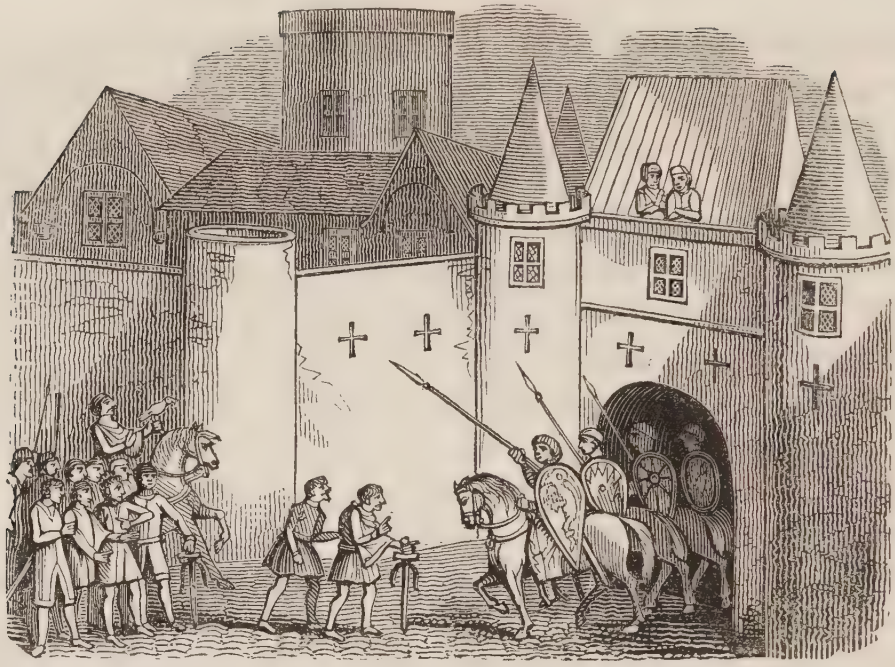
THE CNUGHTS, OR ANGLISCHE CNUIGHTEN GILD.

Stow mentions this gild in his "Survey of London," under the name of Knighten-gild; and from the information he affords, and that of others, it was evidently a Secular gild, similar to what have been noticed. The fraternity (or rather its principals) consisted of *thirteen* persons; they had a district, soke, or territorial gild, and enjoyed "customs," which must have included ordinances for their government. Stow assigns the origin of Portsoken Ward to this gild:—

* Compiled by King Athelstan, and in which is the following strongly confirmatory passage, "Tertio, ut computemus semper decem homines, et senior conservit novem ad singula illa officia quæ omnes nos ediximus; et postea tota illorum societas unum è societate hominem *constituat*, qui x illos homines commoneat ad omne nostrum commune commodum *observandum*; et undecim illi conservent societatis suæ pecuniam, et sciant quid mittant, cum aliquid solvendum est, et quid deinde recipiant, si pecunia nobis oriatur ex communi nostra edictione: Sciant etiam, quod quælibit executio illorum quæ nos omnes ediximus, proveniat ad omnium nostrum commodum per trigenta denarios, vel per animam unum, &c."—Wilkins's Saxon Laws, 66.

† Firma Burgi, p. 30.

§ Du Cange, v. *Gilda*.



"This Portsoken, which soundeth as much as the franchise at the Gate, was sometime a *Guilde*, and had this beginning, as I have reade. In the daies of king Edgar, more than 600 yeeres since, there were *thirteene* knights, or soldiers, well beloved of the king and the realme, (for service by them done,) which requested to have a certaine portion of land on the east part of the citie, left desolate and forsoken by the inhabitants, by reason of too much servitude. They besought the king to have this land, *with the liberty of a Guilde for ever:* the king granted to their request with conditions following; that is to say, that each of them should victoriously accomplish three combates, one above ground, one under ground, and the thirde in the water; and after this, at a certaine day, in *East Smithfield*, they should run with speares against all commers, all which was gloriously performed: and the same day the king named it Knighten Guilde, and so bounded it from Ealdgate to the place where now are towardes the East," &c.*

Edward the Confessor granted a *written charter*, the first that ever was given to a fraternity of the sort, to this Cnuighton gild.† And in a confirmation of the same by William Rufus, addressed to "the men of the knytte gilda," is re-

* Survaie of London, 1598, p. 85.

† "The knightes had as then none other charter, by all the daies of Edgar. Etheldred and Cnutus, vntil the time of Edward the Confessor, when the heires of these knightes humblie besoughte to conforme their liberties; whereunto he graciously granting, gave them a *deed* thereof, as appeareth in the booke of the late house of the holie Trinity, written in the Saxon letter and tongue."—Ibid. *Vide, engraved initial.*

markably exemplified the threefold sense stated to have anciently attached to the term gild, viz. of a fraternity, a soke, and the privileges of a soke; it confirms "the *gild* that belonged to them,—and the *land* appertaining thereunto, with —*all customs*, as they had before enjoyed."*

On founding Trinity Priory, by Queen Maud, in 1115, the fraternity of the Knytte Gilda, or Anglische Cnighten gild, as the name was then changed to, (and whom Stow next designates as "certaine *burgesses* of London, of the progeny of these noble knightes,") gave to that convent "all the *lands* (district) and the *soke* (franchise,) called in English Knighten gild, but reserved the ȝildȝrciꝑe, or right to be a trade corporation; which, it is remarkable, is not assigned either by this grant or its confirmations, by Henry I. or other sovereigns;† and, in consequence, the prior of Holy Trinity *became the territorial lord, or alderman, of Portsoken ward.* He rendered "an account to the crown of the taillage imposed upon the men of that ward, in the 6th of Edward II.," as the other aldermen of London did for their respective wards; like them held courts of wardmote; and was seen by Stow, riding in procession with the mayor and his brethren the aldermen, "only distinguished from them by the colour of his gown, they wearing *scarlet*, and he, as an ecclesiastic, *purple*."‡

Madox, for the above reasons determines the *Knighten gild* to have been what he calls "burgensic and secular," as well as from its name, which he thinks Stow mistook the meaning of. "*Cneughts*," (as he proves in a quotation from Alfred,§) signifying, not *soldiers*, but *young men*, i. e. young men of the gild; but more particularly from Stow's own designation of their descendants as "*burgesses* of London," and the improbability, so being a gild, that themselves were ecclesiastical, from their giving away all their land to a

* Strype's Stow, i. p. 349.

† Henry 1st's confirmation only specifies the *soke* of the Anglische Cnihtgild, and the *land* pertaining thereto, as the men of the same had granted: Strype's Stow, i. p. 349; Madox (Firma Burgi, p. 23) adds, "this gild might be called English, because it was of English or Anglo-Saxon original. It was endowed with lands and adorned with privileges; the lands and privileges belonging to it were afterwards given and granted by the men of the gild to the canons of the Holy Trinity, London. And so the Englisc Cnihtene-gild (or gild of young men) expired, or was dissolved."

‡ Firma Burgi, p. 30.

§ "Cnihtas and geonge-men." Bedæ Hist. p. 208, in Notis. Chl. Wheeloci Firma Burgi, p. 24.

convent. It may be added, that they at first held their gild or ward in fee, as all the aldermanries were held long afterwards; and above all, that the prior of Trinity became by its transfer *an alderman;* a circumstance Madox could account for only by "the prior" having stood in the place of alderman of the Cnighten guild, and becoming by that means an alderman of the merchant gild of the city."*

The feats of martial skill recorded to have been performed on this occasion, might be thought to partake too much of a military character for traders; but it will be seen that they were by no means such as were unlikely to have been prescribed, though to citizens, (asking the favor these did,) in a romantic age, and by a chivalrous monarch like Edgar: and that such was the fact, is in a great measure proved by our finding that similar exercises are stated in ancient times, to have been almost peculiar to the youth of London, leaving little doubt, therefore, that the knighten gild consisted of the expert juniors of pre-existing minor fraternities; or, perhaps, a union of as many Frith-gilds, as in this case were sufficient to constitute a new city-ward.

Of the nature of the first kind of combat, that "*under*-ground," we have not seen any account; that "above," or on the ground, seems to have meant the just or foot combat, as distinguished from that on horseback. This is described by antiquaries to have been usually with the sword or battle-axe, the combatants being generally separated by a barrier of wood breast high: we find also matches of this kind, of—three courses with the lance; three strokes with the battle-axe; and three thrusts with the dagger.

Water combats were boat-justs, or tiltings, on the water, (of which a representation will be found in Strutt's Sports and Pastimes, p. 132.) The conqueror was he who could parry the baton of his antagonist with his shield, and whilst himself remained firm could overthrow the latter into the water. This was peculiarly a sport of the London youth, and remained so till Stow's time, who says, "I have seen in the summer season upon the river *Thames*, some row in wherries, with staves in their hand flat at the fore end, running one against another, and, for the most part, one or both of them were

* Firma Burgi, p. 30.

overthrown and well ducked."* Strutt imagines this game to have given origin to rowing matches.

"Running with speares against all commers," was the common mode of speaking of the tournament. Justs and tournaments differed. Tournaments consisted of parties of knights engaged at the same time. The just was a trial of strength with two persons only. Tournaments are thought to be derived from the *Ludus Trojanus*, or Troy games of the Roman youths, mentioned by Virgil and Justinian, amongst whom parties in divisions of *twelve*, tilted with spears on horseback, similarly to what Fitzstephen describes as being commonly practised in his day by the young Londoners.† Strutt supposes most of the above games to have been of Norman introduction, but Stow's positive mention of them on this occasion proves their origin to have been much earlier. It may be added, that, if this account of the latter historian is correct, these "cnihtas" had no trifling task to perform; in fact, a most wonderful one! No less than that each of

* Survaie, p. 68.

† Virgil's description of this pastime makes it nothing more than the species of evolution on horseback of the London youth, which is mentioned by Fitzstephen. We quote Trapp's translation:

> Epittyden from far,
> Loud with a shout and with his sounding lash,
> The signal gave: they equally divide,
> The three commanders open their brigades
> In separate bodies; straight recall'd they wheel
> Their course, and onward bear their hostile darts,
> Then different traverses on various grounds,
> And different counter traverses they form;
> Orbs within orbs alternately involve
> And raise th' effigy of a fight in arms:
> Now shew their backs in flight—now furious turn
> Their darts;—now all in peace together ride.
>
> *Trapp's Virgil.*

In like manner Fitzstephen, describing the London youth in the reign of Henry II., says, "Every Sunday in Lent, after dinner, a company of young men ride out on horses which are fit for war, and principal runners. Every one among them is taught to run the rounds with his horse."

"The citizen's sons issue out through the gates by troops, furnished with lances and warlike shields: the younger sort have their pikes not headed with iron, where they make a representation of battle, and exercise a skirmish. There resort to this exercise many courtiers, when the king lies near hand, and young striplings out of the families of barons and great persons, which have not yet attained to the warlike girdle to train and skirmish. Hope of victory inflames every one. The neighing and fierce horses bestir their joints and chew their bridles, and cannot endure to stand still: at last they begin their race, and then the young men divide their troops; some labour to outstrip their leaders, and cannot reach them; others fling down their fellows and get beyond them."—*Appendix to Strype's Stow*, ii. p. 684.

thirteen persons should singly overcome his antagonist in three separate trials of skill; or that the whole should be successively victorious thirty-nine times; and then that they should be equally fortunate in tourneying "with all comers in East Smithfield." So gallant an achievement not only well merited Stowe's encomium of "*gloriously performed*," but the valuable reward of the monarch.

GILDA THEUTONICORUM.

The steel-yard merchants of London were a decided trade-gild, and of still earlier age than the knighten-gild. They were a branch, or rather gave existence to the famous Hanseatic League, which was a commercial confederacy first formed on the east shores of the Baltic in the eighth century, to protect their trade from the piratical incursions of the Normans, and who thence derived their name of Easterlings. Pennant styles the Easterlings our "masters in the art of commerce." They are known to have been settled here before the year 967; for a regulation of king Etheldred's, of that date, which is quoted by Anderson, declares that "the emperor's men, or Easterlings, coming with their ships to Belingsgate, shall be accounted worthy of good laws." They were not to forestall the markets from the burghers of London; and were to pay toll at Christmas, two grey cloths and one brown one, with ten pounds of pepper, five pair of gloves, two vessels of vinegar, and as many at Easter.*

A long account of this Easterling gild of London is in Stow,† accompanied by a chronological account of their charters and privileges. Werdenhagen, in his History of the Hanseatic League, enters, however, far more minutely into the concerns of this fraternity: they had a council of *twelve*, with an *alderman*, like other Anglo-Saxon gilds, and lived together in a strictly collegiate fashion. The particulars of their residence, mode of government, and other detail, is given in an abridged account from Werdenhagen,‡ which we subjoin, and which is very curious:

* Pennant (from Anderson's Hist. of Commerce).

† Strype's Stow, pp. 1754, 1520 et seq.

‡ The whole confederacy constituting the German or Hanseatic League, was very extensive. The Easterlings were the most famous branch, and were settled in London. The societies abroad were divided into four classes, each having a presiding city; and the grand separations were into east and west. The first had

"Their principal factory in London was in Downgard (Dowgate) ward, Thames street, on the right bank of the river, provided with handsome spacious quays, and in every respect adapted for its purpose. Their ancient house there was called the German Gild-Hall (Gilhalda Teutonicorum.)* As their business became at this period more extensive, they required a greater quantity of warehouse room, a greater

Cologne for its capital; the other branches were formed by the union of Lubec, Wismar, Rostock, Strals, and Grypeswald, Anclam, Stetin, Colberg, Stolpe, Dantzic, Elbing, and Koningsberg.—(Origines Hambergensis, lib. ii. 64.)

The term Hanse (Latin, *Hansa*,) is explained by the German historian, Lambeccius, to be synonymous with *gild*, and it appears to have been commonly so understood in England in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. King John's charter to Dunwich, 1199, uses the same term: "We grant them a *hanse*," i. e. the liberty to be a merchant gild; and Henry III., in his second charter to the steel-yard merchants, 1250, has the expression,—"quod habeant *hansam* suam." The circumstance of two monarchs introducing this term into their grants, Anderson observes, proves it to have been generally known in England at that time for a society or corporation.

Numerous other gilds, similar to that of the Easterlings, though of more circumscribed power and jurisdiction, once existed and still exist under certain changes, in the Netherlands; that of Brussels will suffice as a specimen of their nature. This city, amongst others in that neighbourhood, had obtained trade privileges in the midst of the remains of feudal tyranny, long before England had become the seat of manufacturing industry. Its municipal body was constituted in great part like the Hanse, having its *eschevins* (sheriffs,) and other heads, composed of persons of rank, and its commonalty, or municipal body, formed of the "trades." Every trade had its *dean*, standing in place of what, in other instances, (and particularly in this account,) is termed the *alderman*." These various trades, or, as they call them, "nations," assemble at the town hall at the sound of a bell; and any one admitted a citizen, and wishing to carry on trade, must still be first admitted into the community of the business, or art, which he wishes to follow, in the same manner as was formerly done in the case of the Livery Companies.

* The citizens of Cologne, who were merchants and members of the Anseatic corporation of London, paid Hen. III. thirty marks to have seizen of their Guildhall in London.—*Strype's Stow.*

number of dwellings for their increased resident agents, or for the Germans who travelled to and from the house. In the sixteenth year of Richard II. they hired a large building adjacent to the other, which was likewise provided with a spacious quay on the Thames. As the proprietor (R. Lyons) was killed in a quarrel in the establishment, the Company then probably acquired it as their own property. The part of the town hereabouts, or the street, was called Windgoose, and the Germans constructed Windgoose-alley, a little narrow street, in order to bring the two houses into closer connexion with one another. Subsequently they acquired another house, similar and adjacent to their former possessions; this, which belonged to JOHN RAINWELL, was called the Steel-house, or Steel-yard, and full and free possession of this and the other houses was secured to them by EDWARD the FOURTH, in the Treaty of Utrecht. From this time the factory bore the name of the Steel-yard,* as it seems; whereas, before, it was only spoken of as the German Guild-Hall. These buildings, or at least the old Guildhall, were provided with walls and three gates, the middle one of which, the larger and stronger, was rarely opened. The frequent riotings of the London mob, which was jealous of the Hanses, and their occasional robberies and attacks, rendered securities of this kind particularly necessary.†

* Lambeccius explains the name Steel-yard (or as he calls it Stealhof) to be only a contraction of Stapelhoff, softened into Stafelhoff, and synonymous with the English word *Staple*, which is in the civil law Latin style of Edward III. termed STABILE *emporium*, a fixed port depôt, or general mart for importing merchandize; steel being only one of the numerous articles these merchants dealt in. And indeed, the quay is known to have been most noted for the landing, besides of wheat, rye, and other grain; cables, masts, flax, hemp, linen cloth, wainscot, and other merchandize.

Stow's description of the hall or house of these Hanse-merchants above mentioned is, that "it was large, built of stone, with three arched gates towards the street; the middlemost whereof is far bigger than the other, is seldom opened, and the other two are now" (1598) "mured up: the same is now called the Old Hall."—*Strype*, 1, 521.

† In views of London, before the fire, we have various representations of the then appearance of the Thames front of the Steel-yard. Those by Hollar are the most correct, and have furnished the preceding *vignette*. It appears to have been fenced in, on its central part, chiefly by a breast-high stone wall, which was the width of the open part of the yard, and was originally flanked by large piles of masonry, (as shewn in earlier views,) but which in Hollar's time were lowered to sheds or foundations, that barely exhibited a Gothic gateway and remains of Tudor-fashioned windows. From the above runs, on each side, long uniform ranges of storehouses, reaching from the river front to the back of the land front in Thames street. A high octagonal-shaped tower shoots up like a Turkish minaret, from the midst of the open area, and probably contained the bell regulating the time of the fraternity's various duties, or it might be the "*manscop*"

Within this structure, partitioned into separate cells, the residents lived under strict regulations. They had a common table, and were probably then, as well as subsequently, divided into companies: each having its master and associates. The institution was celibatarian, all were obliged to remain single. Any one who married an English woman, or concubined with one, lost his *hanse*, and became disqualified from the Burgorship of any town connected with it. For the sake of good order, no one was allowed even to have a housekeeper; not even a bedmaker was admitted, under a penalty, and on a repetition of the offence, under liability to loss of trading privileges. As it was necessary for them to become more united, and able to resist the attacks of the frantic London mob, none of the residents, or at least none who belonged to the Council of Commerce, were allowed to sleep out of the Steel-yard; each was obliged, rather, on the contrary, to pass the night on the *manscop*. No less strict was the prohibition against communicating to the English, or people out of the house, any thing which passed on the establishment; or any resolution of the Council of Commerce or its assemblies.

The direction of the factory was vested in an *alderman* and two deputies or co-assessors, with nine councilmen, which composed together the Chamber of Commerce.* Those persons assembled every Wednesday, in summer at seven, in winter at eight in the morning, in the Merchant's Hall, to deliberate on the general affairs, and to decide between contending parties. The residents here were also classed in

mentioned, in the next page, from which they kept watch. Two landing-places are shewn in the view, one of which consists of a bridge of three arches, and is of considerable elegance.

* In the year 1282, (in a controversy between the Corporation of London and the Hanse, about the latter's non-performance of their engagement to keep Bishopsgate in repair) *Gerard Morbod* is described to be their alderman; besides whom are mentioned as principals with him, Ralph de Cussarde, a citizen of Colen; Ludero de Desevar, a burgess of Trevar; John ——, a burgess of Trivia; John de Dele, a merchant of Munster; Bartram, of Hamburgh; Godastoke, of Hundondale, a burgess of Ircan, &c. On their coming to an arrangement with the city, the latter, amongst other things, granted that "they should have their *alderman* as they had been accustomed, provided always that he were of the city, and presented to the mayor and aldermen of London, so often as he should be chosen, and should take an oath before them to maintain justice in the courts of the fraternity, and to behave themselves in their office according to law, and as it stood with the customs of the city." *Strype's Stow*, i. p. 520. The conspicuous part the Steel-yard merchants bore in the City Pageants, will be seen under that head.

three divisions: Cologne, Geldern, and the towns on the other side of the Rhine composed one; the commonalties of Westphalia, of Berg, and in general of the Netherlands, and of the Lower Rhine, and the *Saxon* and the Wends, composed the second; and lastly, the Prussian, Lithuanian, and Scandinavian towns, composed the third.

On new-year's eve, all who had a voice in these three bodies assembled together. The Cologne apartment elected four out of the Westphalian, the Westphalian the same number out of the Prussian, and the Prussian likewise out of the Cologne department. But if it happened that in any one of these divisions none could be elected fit for the business, the presiding alderman had the prerogative of filling up the requisite number of twelve, by nominating others out of the remaining two departments. The new alderman was then chosen out of this body, by ballot and the majority. The two divisions, out of which he had not been elected, stood forward, and nominated in the afore-described manner, one co-assessor each out of the other. The three officers elect then took the following oath: "We promise and swear to keep and maintain the rights and privileges of the merchants in England, and all laws and ordinances, to the best of our abilities; and to deal justly towards every one, be he rich or poor, in all affairs of commerce, without malice. So help us God and all his saints."

The oath being taken, the alderman going out of office delivered the key to the newly-elected one, and the latter and his two co-assessors swore in the nine men. On the same day the four persons who had the care of the keys were named. Any one who had been an alderman was ineligible to this office for the two following years, yet he might the very next year, be a co-assessor, or one of the nine.

Fourteen days after new year a second great meeting was held, when the privileges, and Statute Book or Merchants' Law, were read over.*

* "Law-merchant is become a part of the laws of this realm; for if there be two joint merchants of wares, and one of them dies, his executors shall have the money, which is not so in the case of others not merchants. Anno 13 Edward I. Stat. 3, and 27 Edward III. c. 8."—*Cowel.* The Statute-merchant was passed 11 Edward I., for recovering more easily and effectually the debts due to merchants; and in his 2d year there was a Statute-merchant at Winchester for enabling

If an alderman was prevented by illness from performing his duties, he appointed another in his stead out of the remaining eleven who had been sworn in. If he had to travel out of the city of London, either on his own affairs or those of the general body of merchants within the kingdom, his two co-assessors or assistants took his place, or he appointed one in his stead. But if he travelled beyond sea, the commonalty of merchants was convened, and a stadtholder was elected in his place till he returned. When one of the assessors, or one of the nine, travelled beyond the sea, the others elected another in his stead out of the traders till the number was again complete. He who, on being elected to any of the above-named situations, refused to accept them, was obliged to pay a fine of forty shillings sterling; and if, on his second election, he again refused to take office, he was deprived of the merchant privileges. If it was determined for any one to take a journey beyond sea or elsewhere, in the name of the treasurer, and he refused to do it without having any sufficient excuse to plead, he was subject to the fine of a hundred shillings, and for a second refusal, he lost his privileges of merchantry.

If any one spoke slanderously of an alderman on account of his official decisions, or on account of any thing whatever which appertained to the common interests, he was subjected to a fine of forty shillings. In like manner, he who had pronounced the slander apologized while the alderman was sitting and held his morning office. But if any one refused to obey his commands, which were delivered in assembly, according to the merchant-law, on the first, second, or third time, the refractory person was fined in the highest penalty. If the alderman by virtue of the law, commanded any one not to depart from London, without his and the Company's permission, and notwithstanding this command he did it, the president might arrest him by a serjeant and bring him back, and keep him a prisoner till he had satisfied the law."*

merchants, as well in fairs and markets as in houses and cities, effectually to recover their debts. Gerard Malynes has written a voluminous work, published 1623, entitled "Lex Mercatoria," and in which will be found an ample account of the Law-merchant.

* Anderson, (Hist. Commerce, 8vo. Dublin, i. p. 299,) winding up his account of these merchants, says, "Thus we have endeavoured with all possible conciseness to explain the original of this once most eminent mercantile confederacy,

GILDA SELLARIORUM.

The very ancient gild of Sadlers seems to have been of nearly coeval date with the preceding, though the earliest mention of it indicates its officers and constitution to have been then Norman.

By a convention between this fraternity and the neighbouring canons of St. Martin's-le-Grand, (which Madox thinks at least as old as Henry II. or one of the two monarchs his sons,) the Sadlers are stated to have been long admitted into brotherhood and partnership of masses, orisons, and other good deeds with the canons. The convention is addressed by the latter, to their friends and con-fratres, the *alderman, chaplain,* four *eschevins,** and *elders* of the said Gild of Sadlers, to whom (greeting) it makes known, both for that and future times, that according to ancient statutes, existing between their church and the community of Sadlers, the latter were to be held as brethren and partakers of all benefits with the church of St. Martin, both by night and by day, in masses, psalms, prayers, and watches; moreover that it had been granted to the gild, that they should be all separately prayed for by name, on the *Ebdomada* (or day preceding the Resurrection,) in two masses, one whereof should be for the living, and the other for the deceased brothers of the said gild: and that it had been further granted, that for the latter the bell of St. Martin's church should be tolled, and procession made with burial freely and honourably. Also that the canons of St. Martin's were to be ready to assist and be of the council of their house, as well as to be their brethren and co-adjutors.

which is not to be paralleled in either ancient or modern story, and of its ancient privileges in England."

Strype's Stow, and Pennant's Account of London, contain various additional particulars of the Steel-yard and its merchants: after being plundered by the London mob, in 1493, as noticed in the former work, and its privileges long exciting great umbrage in the London merchants, it seems to have dwindled, till, after various attempts at resuscitation, it was finally dissolved in 1552. It is previously said to have exported 40,000 pieces of cloth annually, whilst all the English merchants together only exported 11,000 pieces. Pennant speaking of the present Steel-yard says, "at this time (1790) it is the great repository of the imported iron, which furnishes our metropolis with that necessary material. The quantity of bars that fills the yards and warehouses of this quarter, strikes with astonishment the most indifferent beholder. Next to the waterside, are two Eagles with imperial crowns round their necks placed on two columns." P. 309.

* Eschevinis, Eschevinus, *consul, magistratus,* Galb. Eschevin, memorantur passim. Vide Consultores et Scabini.—*Du Cange,* v.

And furthermore it makes known, that according *to antient statutes recorded in chapter of the gild,* the latter, on the feast of St. Martin, were accustomed to be present with wax tapers, and to offer their alms in the church of the blessed Martin. Moreover, it is said that they might at pleasure avail themselves of divers and many other benefits of the said church of St. Martin. Lastly, that it was an antient custom, as of record made in their chapter of the time of the lord *Ernaldus,* their alderman, on account of the receiving and tolling of the knell of each deceased brother of the gild at St. Martin's church, to pay for the same eight-pence."*

The mention, immediately after the Conquest, of "antient statutes" then existing between so remote a Saxon foundation as St. Martin's-le-Grand College, and the Sadlers; together with the *old custom* said to be recorded in the latter's chapter of the time of their alderman, *Ernaldus,* (also a Saxon name,) relative to the payment at the funerals of the brethren, —leaves little doubt of the Sadlers being a veritable Anglo-Saxon gild; and, consequently, the oldest on record of all the present Livery Companies.

ANGLO-NORMAN GILDS.

GILDA TELLARIORUM.

Strictly speaking, we have an account of only one gild of this era, namely, that of the Tellarij or Woollen Cloth Weavers, though there must, as it will be seen, have been many other trading gilds then in London. The mention of these Tellarij in the *Placita de Quo Warranto,* 14 Edward II., (in which pleas is also recited the charter given them by Henry II., and printed in the Firma Burgi,) affords a curious picture of the nature and constitution of the metropolitan gilds of that time. The tenor of the record and process had upon the above quo warranto, and which was brought against the Tellarij of the London gild before Hervicus de Staunton, and his companions, justices itinerant at the Tower of London, succeeded a writ containing the donations and confirmations made to them. The charter alluded to confirms to the said Weavers' gild all the liberties and customs which

* Firma Burgi, p. 27.

they had enjoyed in the reign of Henry I. It also establishes the fact of some of the gilds having been chartered long before Edward I. and having possessed immunities immediately after the Conquest, which can only be supposed, from the way they are spoken of, to have been acquired from long previous usage. The gilds, it is plain from the practice of this one, then held meetings, elected annual officers, kept courts, made by-laws, and governed their several trades with almost absolute sway.

The weavers were required to show by what authority they at this time claimed to have their gild in the city, and by virtue of the same gild to have the right of yearly electing from amongst themselves bailiffs and ministers; and the same so elected to take and swear in, faithfully to execute their offices, before the Mayor of London? By what right also they claimed to hold their courts from week to week, of all that pertained to their gild, and that none should intermeddle with their ministers in London, Southwark, or the parts adjacent, unless by their own permission, or that it were done by one of the gild; and that persons of the same gild should not be impleaded by others, of matters concerning the mystery, except in the courts of the gild, or be elsewhere accused and answered? Why none might have working implements in their possession, unless the same were testified to be good and honest, and that all of the mystery should be forced to contribute to the king's ferme? Why no stranger was to be admitted as a manufacturer amongst them, without producing letters testimonial of good conduct, and the reasons of his coming? Why the working implements of such of the mystery as were in arrears for their fermes, might be distrained by the bailiffs of the gild, to the amount it was computed they owed, and such distresses sold to pay the same? Why any member who under false pretences, or of malice, withheld the goods of another, should be dismissed the gild, and on nonpayment of his share of the king's ferme, his working tools, to the amount, should be sold, or detained in the custody of the bailiffs; and also, that any member offending against the liberties of the gild, should be adjudged, in like manner, to have his working implements seized and disposed of; or why, by the ordinances, he should be otherwise punished, according to the discretion

of twenty-four of the gild.* It was further demanded why, if any one manufactured cloth of Candlewyk street, he ought to be overlooked by the bailiffs of the gild, whether or not his work was bad and to the damage of the people; and if so, that it should be proved before the mayor of London, and the offender fined in half a mark; and moreover, that such workmen should be brought before the bailiffs of the gild, according to the constitutions, and whatever cloth or piece of cloth should be found of Spanish, mixed with English, wool, contrary to proper usage, might be adjudged to be burned? Also if any withheld from another of the gild his proper wages, and would not pay him, the gild had power by their bailiff to distrain, or have the complaint answered in their own court, and therein redressed? Why those of the gild might sell without control in London all things belonging to the mystery? And lastly, why none were allowed to work between Christmas and the Purification, or at night by candlelight, at other times proscribed?

To this, the weavers pleaded their charter from Edward I., reciting by inspeximus, and confirming the charter and grant of Henry I. and Henry II. in the following words:

"Edwardus Dei Gratia, &c. To all bailiffs and all his faithful, greeting. We have inspected the charter of the Lord Henry, of good memory, our progenitor, late king of England, made to the weavers of London, in these words:

"Henry, &c. King of England, Duke of Normandy and Aquitain, and Earl of Anjou. To all bishops, justices, sheriffs, ministers, and all other his faithful, greeting. Know ye me

* Madox, speaking of the custom of common payments or dues being raised by common contribution in all the trade fraternities, illustrates his remarks by quoting the above case of the Tellarij, and adds some further particulars. His statement is, that "in the 25th year of King Edward III., Nicholas de Worstede, a weaver of the gild of the Teliers or Tellarij Londoniæ, came into the Court of Exchequer, and on behalf of the king and of the men of the said gild, complained of Giles, Spolmakere, and five others, for working in the craft or mestiere of weavery within the city of London and Southwark, they not being members of the said gild." When in an *Iter* holden at the Tower of London, it was found by verdict, amongst other things, that if any man of the Gild of Weavers was in arere for his share of their yearly ferm at the time, (or for any time,) he was wont to be distrained by his *loome* by the bailiffs of the gild, until he paid his affeceant portion of the ferm due from the gild. And that if it was found amongst them, that any weaver eloigned any goods of another weaver falsely and maliciously, provided he did not steal them, thenceforth such person was to be dismissed from the gild, and his *loome*, which he worked upon, was to remain in the gild towards paying the king's ferm. Firma Burgi, 283-4.

to have granted to the weavers of London, to have their gild in London, with all liberties and customs which they had in the time of *Henry, my grandfather,* and in such sort that none, unless by their leave, or that it be done by one of the gild, shall intermeddle with their ministers, within the city, or Southwark, or other places of London adjacent, otherwise than as was accustomed in the time of Henry, my grandfather. For which reason I will and strictly command, that wheresoever they may they shall lawfully manufacture, and shall have every thing as aforesaid in the same sort, well and peaceably, and honorably, and entirely, as at any time they might in the time of Henry, my grandfather, and more fully and entirely have had the same, on condition that they therefore render to me every year two marks of gold at the feast of Michælmas. And I hereby prohibit any one from molesting them, under the penalty of ten pounds. Dated at Winton. Time of Henry II.

"Now we the aforesaid have ratified and approved, and for us and our heirs, as much as in us is, have accepted and allowed, and do hereby confirm, as by the said charters is reasonably testified. Dated at London, April 8, 27 Edw. I."

To the above, Geoffrey Lescross, who followed for the king, replied. Issue was joined. The jurors gave a long and discreet verdict. Juratores, scilicet Rogerus le Palmere, and eleven others, dicunt super sacramentum suum quod,—That the Tellers had their gild, and held their court every three weeks; and quod nullus se intromisit de eoram misterio, ("probably," says Madox, "it should have been written ministerio, for that is the word used in their old charter,) either in London, Southwark, &c.;" and the jury further found that within thirty years then last past, (when such part of their constitutions were made,) there were in the cloth business above 280 *burrillers,** or, according to Madox, *ustilamenta;* that that number

* In a petition of the London Weavers to the Commons, 1406, (7-8 Henry IV.) and which is printed amongst the Petitiones in Parliamento, they state to the effect above mentioned, viz. That the most noble King Henry, son of the Empress, the progenitor of the king that then was, by his letters patent, (which were afterwards confirmed by other the king's most noble progenitors, kings of England,) granted to his faithful lieges, the (then) weavers of the said city and their successors, "that they should have a gylde," and that none should have power to intermeddle with their mystery in London, Southwark, or the parts adjoining London, who were not of the "said gylde;" rendering therefore to the king and his successors, kings of England, yearly, two marks of gold, (equal to 20

were now reduced to 80, and of them the greater part were managed by the weavers to their own profit, and to the common hurt of the people. Also, in respect to offenders against the liberties of the gild, it was answered, That the weavers had, by their own newly-made ordinances, which were, ad dampnum et dispendium populi, assumed to punish such persons by a verdict of 24 of the gild ; that their withholding wages, enforcing payment by distress of their bailiff, and determining claims of debt in their own courts, were customs which originated after the granting of their charter ; their bailiffs having no power lawfully to distrain in such cases, or hold any pleadings whatever, except before the mayor and sheriffs of London.*

FOREIGN GILDS.

FRENCH GILDS.

It did not appear to Madox† that there were any brotherhoods of merchants or tradesmen in *France* contemporaneous with those mentioned, although that country has been generally thought to have given rise to this species of fraternity; nor were many of those which were subsequently established known by the name of gilds, notwithstanding that the name *guild* or *gueude*, he observes, occurred there. In the town of Montreul, in Picardy, it is added, there was an ancient *gueude*, consisting of several merchants, the confreres of which claimed divers exemptions and immunities, the town and the gild seeming to have been consociated.

One of the most ancient of the French gilds is stated to have been that of *St. Riquer*, in Ponthieu, incorporated by Louis VI. in 1126; and the chief points constituting that and similar communities then in France, were "a mayor,

marks 10s. in silver:) by force of which letters patent and confirmations, they and their predecessors had used to have bailiffs and a commonalty, together with the governance and correction of their said mystery, within the city and places aforesaid. But that in the time of King Edward III. it was granted to the foreign weavers, that they should "be exempt from the said gylde," and should not pay anything towards the said ferme of two marks ; and that such aliens were enabled by this means to supplant and withdraw the profits from the said mystery, whilst the petitioners alone bore the charges. And they therefore pray that such foreign weavers may be obliged, in all things, to be of their gild, and to contribute their proportions as they did. The substance of the same statement is repeated, 2 Henry V., (as see vol. v. p. 50, of the said petitions, &c.)

* Placita de Quo Warranto, 465. † Firma Burgi, p. 31.

(standing in place of alderman of the German and English gilds,) *eschevins*, like the Sadlers' gild, and a common council; or a faternity, a belfry, and a bell to convene them together, and a common seal and jurisdiction."* They were soon afterwards much increased (probably adopting new customs) by Louis VII. and other French kings; as a check, it is thought, to the insolence of their overgrown vassals, the dukes, counts, &c., and to protect such subjects as held of the latter from their extravagant power: and king John of England, who created so many corporations in the next century, probably did it from the like policy, of interposing a middle, or trading class, between himself and his factious barons.

ITALIAN GILDS.

In Italy, Madox states, a *mestiere*, or company of citizens and tradesmen, was sometime styled an *ars*, or *universitas*. In Rome, in the fifteenth century, there was the *ars mercantiæ pannorum*, and other artes. The Company of Mercers of Rome were styled *Universitas Merciariorum*. In France also a company was usually called an art, mestier, or communité.†

SCOTCH GILDS.

In Scotland there were formerly many gilds, of the nature called secular, or mercantile, though none of them are to be traced beyond the Conquest. The "*Statutæ Gildæ*," or Rules of the Scottish Gilds, in Skene, on the "Regiam Magistatem," relate to trade and the burgensic life. The men of a gild were commonly called fratres and confratres; and the gild, and the town or burgh where the gild was, as in France, seem to have been generally in some sort united or consociated.‡

The laws and customs of the Scottish burghs (*Leges Burgorum*) were published by King David I. about 1126, and were formed in imitation of those of foreign countries, as transmitted to him from learned agents, whom he had sent thither for that purpose. This king's chamberlain is said to

* Firma Burgi, p. 32. † Ibid. ‡ Ibid. p. 31.

have made an annual circuit through all the burghs of Scotland, to punish crimes and take an account of each gild, (as at this day the burghers are called there,) by themselves, and of the other inhabitants by themselves. These *Leges Burgorum* direct, amongst other things, that all housekeepers shall find in their town "one man to watch, and knock at their doors with a staff."*

In the reign of the next king, William the Lyon, it was enacted that the merchants of the kingdom should have their merchant gilds, with freedom from tolls, as in his father's reign; which merchant gilds, Anderson says, means only ordinary traders and retailers, and such as frequented fairs and markets; and the same were then so named all over Europe, as in the northern parts of this island. Thus, in a plea between the abbot of Westminster and the tradesmen that resorted to his fair there, (30 Edw. I.) they are often called mercatores or merchants.† Even every inland burgh that had a charter had a *gilda mercatoria,* and their ordinary tradesmen were styled *mercatores.* Yet, in such burghs, he adds, every inhabitant was not a burgess in regard to the freedom of tolls, and other matters, but only such as were of the gilda mercatoria, or of the freedom, and who contributed to the common charges of the burgh, as at present.‡

ENGLISH GILDS.

Granville speaks of gilds in the reign of Henry II. as common institutions.§ In the same reign, the History of

* Firma Burgi, p. 31.

† In the middle ages, the business of tradesmen was principally transacted at fairs and markets. In the public processions of the city of London, we find every trade dressed alike; and tradesmen not knowing how to read and write, merchants used to form companies of comedians, learned interludes, and played on festivals, and at weddings in private houses.—Fosbr. Encyclop. of Antiq. i. p. 468: which quotes Enc. Plut. Dec. Orat. 14. Freig. in Cicer. Orat. xi. 37. Petron. i. 232-4. et Nodot. 112. Paris iii. Scriptores 2615. Froissart ix. 53. Strutt's Horda. ii. 97.

‡ Gild, in the royal boroughs of Scotland, is still used for a company of merchants, or tradesmen, who are freemen of the borough; and each of these has a *dean of gild*, who is the next magistrate below the bailiff. He judges of controversies among men concerning trade; disputes between the inhabitants concerning buildings, lights, water-courses, and other nuisances; calls courts, at which his brethren of the gild are bound to attend; manages the common stock of the gild; and amerces and collects fines, &c.

§ "If a native (servus) quit for one year and a day, to dwell in any privileged town, so as to become one of the same community (*scilicet gyldum*), he shall be

the Exchequer, gives a list of eighteen of the London gilds which were amerced as adulterine, or set up without the king's licence. This affords another proof of the gilds being numerous at this time; for we can only suppose a part of them to have subjected themselves to this penalty. These gilds so amerced are described in various ways; sometimes by the name of their alderman, sometimes by their trade, and, in other instances, from their patron saint, or locality. Thus we have, amongst others—

"The gild whereof Odo Vigil is alderman; the gild whereof Hugh Leo is alderman; the gild of which Gosceline is alderman; the Goldsmiths' gild, Ralph Flael, alderman; the Butchers' gild, William la Feite, alderman; the Pepperers' gild, of which Edward was alderman; the Travellers' gild, of which Warner le Tourner is alderman; the gild of St. Laurence, of which Ralph de la Barre is alderman; the gild of Haliwell, whereof Henry, the son of Godrum, is alderman; and four gilds de Ponte, or of the Bridge, Thomas Coke, alderman."*

King John formed various gildæ mercatoriæ, or merchant gilds, as noticed with respect to Dunwich, York, and others, in explaining the term *hanse;* but as respected gilds merchant, his reign only furnishes us with notice of the Weavers' gild being raised from eighteen to twenty marks yearly rent. For this he is said to have granted them a charter of confirmation, (though no document of the kind appears to have been produced in the Quo Warranto proceedings just mentioned.) A notice of this rent is found in the fourth charter of that king, granted to the city in his first year, and which is cited at large in the Inspeximus of Charles II.† It grants, at the request of the mayor and citizens of London, "that the gild

received as a citizen, and liberated from his villeinage."—Glan. 5 lib. cap. 5. "Gildarum nomine continentur non solum minores fraternitates et sodalitia, sed ipsa etiam civitatum communitates.—Spelm.

* Admerciamenta de Gildis Adulterinis in Civitate; Gilda unde Odo Vigil est aldermamus; Gilda unde Hugo Leo est aldermamus; Gilda unde Goscelinus est aldermamus; Gilda Aurifabrorum unde Radulphus Flael est aldermamus; Gilda Bocheriorum unde Willielmus Lafeite est aldermamus; Gilda Piperariorum unde Edwardus est aldermamus; Gilda Perigrinorum unde Warnerius le Turner est aldermamus; Gilda de Sancto Lazaro unde Radulphus le Barre est aldermamus; Gilda de Halliwell unde Henricus filius Godrum est aldermamus; Gilda de Ponte unde Thomas Cocus est aldermamus."—Hist. Exch. pp. 390-391

† Royal Chart. of Confirmation of Charles II. to the city of London. 8vo. 1680.

of weavers shall not from henceforth be in the city of London, neither shall be at all maintained;" and it is there said, that as that gild had been accustomed to pay the king 18 marks per annum, the citizens (not the weavers, as in Strype) "should pay 20 marks in money for a gift" instead. It is most likely that, jealousy of the weavers being allowed by Henry II. to exercise their privileges in the city in the unlimited manner we have seen, and without the latter having any right to intermeddle with, or control them, occasioned the citizens to apply for this grant.

The reign of Henry III. was marked by an odd occurrence connected with the companies, which shows how powerful they had now become, though they had not as yet acquired any share in the city government. In 1226, so great a quarrel arose between the goldsmiths and tailors, that each party, with their friends, met on an appointed night to the number of five hundred men, completely armed, and proceeded to decide their difference by blows. Many were killed and wounded on each side; nor could they be parted till the sheriffs, with the city *posse comitatis*, came and apprehended the ringleaders, thirteen of whom were condemned and executed.*

This prince confirmed his father's permission to hold *hanses*, or gilds, to Dunwich and other towns; he also chartered the cappers and parish-clerks, and made regulations respecting the gild of burillers.†

But little progress was made in mercantile affairs during the martial reign of Edward I.; and, excepting the domestic trade gilds, all commerce nearly was in the hands of the steelyard merchants. This is not to be wondered at, considering that the roads then were chiefly the old British trackways, favourable to depredation, and forming an effectual bar to internal communication.‡

* Northouck, 56.

† Strype quotes, from the letters patent on this subject, the following: "Rex concessit hominibus London quod non vexantur propter Burillos, vel pannos Burillatos: quamvis non sint in latitudine duarum ulvarum infra listus, secundum constitutionum prius factam de pannorum latitudine.

‡ The Act 12 Edward I. c. 5. in directing the enlargement of them, affords a sufficient picture of what must have been then the confined state of trade. It directs that:

"Those ways should be enlarged where bushes, woods, or dykes stood, where men might lurk, so that there be neither dyke, tree, nor bush, within 20 feet on

The customs and tolls of this period corroborate the same fact. Anderson, under the year 1268, reckons the sum paid to the crown for half a year on all foreign merchandizes, to have been only £75 6*s.* 10*d.*, and the tolls of the flesh, fish and corn markets, and also at the city gates, and at Smithfield, to have been only £269 6*s.* 4½*d.* for the same period; making a total of £364 13*s.* 2½*d.*, in present money £1093 19*s.*, or, on an average, only £2187 19*s.* 3*d.* yearly, paid to the crown from the Londoners for custom, tolls, &c. of modern money. —*Hist. Commerce.*

The fishmongers and linen armourers, however, obtained charters from Edward I., as did the weavers a confirmation of their early grants. In the statute 28 Edward I. the wardens of the craft of goldsmiths are also mentioned.

In the settlement of some disputes which the burillers had with the weavers, in the 27th of the above prince, we obtain a further insight into the then nature of the gilds. The proceedings state them to have chosen "two bailiffs from amongst themselves to hold courts, and that they had presented the same to Elias Russell, the mayor, who were by the same mayor accepted and sworn, and if any matters could not be settled by the bailiffs, they were to be brought before the mayor, and ended by him."

The following year, a second dispute happening between the same parties, the weavers, with their two bailiffs, appeared before the same mayor, to answer the burillers "upon certain articles, points, and establishments, in time whereof there was no memory," and which the weavers and others had infringed, as well as other of the burillers' ordinances. The matter was referred to the arbitration of three of the burillers' gild, with their *alderman*,* and a proportion of the weavers'

each side of those roads, great trees excepted." If the lord of the soil neglected to comply with the Act, and robberies ensued, he was to be answerable for the felony. The king's demesne lands and roads were subjected to the same regulation, and no part of them was to be less than twenty feet from the highways.

* The *alderman* of the burillers here mentioned must have been nearly the last head of a trade gild who then retained that title, as all the wards had had their respective aldermen sometime before, and who at first had not only a proprietary title to their *soke* or ward, but such wards changed name as they changed. In the Hundred Rolls, 1 Edw. I. is a list of these aldermen proprietors, or rather of the wards named from *them*, as their owners, viz. "Warda Will. Hadestock; warda Walter le Poter; warda de Peter Anger; warda Roberti de Meldeburn, de Colemannostr.; warda Joh'is de Blakesburn; warda Wolmer de Essex'; warda Joh'is Horn, &c. This right of proprietary of the alderman to his soke

gild. These agreed on certain ordinances still on record, the principal of which was "that no cloth should be allowed of Spanish mixed with English wool," as before prohibited under their ancient regulations. Stow further tells us, in illustration of the government of the gilds at this time, that in the 30th of Edward I. the bakers were allowed to hold four hallmotes a year, to determine of offences committed in their business, and were restricted to selling bread in the market, which then was kept on the site of Bread street, and gave name to Bread street ward.*

The above proceedings prove the city's jurisdiction over the companies to have existed before the latter were admitted to any exclusive monopoly of municipal rights; though such monopoly soon followed: for with Edward II. Mr. Norton† observes, "we discern the first authentic mention of the mercantile nature of the civic constitution of London, and of the mercantile qualification requisite in the candidates for admission to the freedom of the city. By one of a number of articles of regulation, ordained by the citizens for their internal government, which articles were confirmed by the king, and incorporated into a charter, it was provided that no person, whether an inhabitant of the city or otherwise, should be admitted into the civic freedom, unless he was a member of one of the *Trades* or *Mysteries*, or unless with the full consent of the whole community convened; only that apprentices might still be admitted according to the established form. Before this, no mention occurs of any mercantile qualification to entitle the householder to his admission to the corporation."

or ward in London, if it were ever more than partial, was certainly of short dura tion, as we find it wrested from them in the succeeding reign of Edward II.; the citizens being then declared to have the power of annually electing the aldermen who was to preside over them. Mr. Norton (Comment. on Lond. 122,) thinks "it probably arose with the introduction of the feudal system, and expired with the grant of those exemptions from it secured to the citizens by their early charters, —the establishment of a community, and the election of their own magistrates." He adds, "but that these *sokes* did actually belong to the aldermen or barons as heritable property, is too clear to admit of a doubt." Farringdon ward, the aldermanry of which was bought by William Faryngdon, goldsmith, (1279,) remained in that citizen's family upwards of 80 years. It was held by the tenure of presenting a gillyflower at Easter, which was then a flower of great rarity. See Forma Burgi, 14. Strype's Stow, Hundred Rolls, &c.

* Strype's Stow, 11.

† Commentaries on Lond. 120.

LIVERY COMPANIES.

The reign of Edward III., the great dawn of the fine arts and of commerce, gave birth to an entire re-constitution of the trading fraternities, which from now generally assuming a distinctive dress or livery, came to be called LIVERY COMPANIES, and under which title we shall henceforth continue their history. The alterations under this reconstitution were numerous. Amongst the principal may be reckoned their change of name, from gilds, to crafts and mysteries; and the substituting, for the old title of alderman, that of master or warden; the name alderman, (though in use with the burillers so late as 28 Edward I. being now restricted to the head of the city ward.)* A more important change for the interest of the companies was their being at this time first generally chartered, or having those privileges confirmed by letters patent, which they had before only exercised through sufferance and the payment of their fermes.†

The chartering of the gilds by Edward III. was not that monarch's only favour to them. Having found that these fraternities were the main spring of the trade of his kingdom,

*Lib. Horn. fol. 278. Madox *(Firma Burgi,* 24,) quotes a much later instance in which a fraternity or gild to the honour of St. George the Martyr was founded at Norwich, consisting of an *alderman,* masters, brothers, and sisters; "and which," he says, "being found by Henry V. to have been for more than thirty years an orderly virtuous society," was confirmed by that prince, who allowed them to continue to chose such *alderman,* and two masters yearly, as they had done theretofore. The Commentaries of London, p. 436, speaking further as to this subject, say "there is no trace when the name of alderman was first applied to the president of the London wards or gilds; the probability is it was introduced after the Conquest. The denomination was common in the Saxon times to various judicial dignities and offices, from the highest to the lowest rank, but there is no record of it as applied to the heads of *particular districts* in London during that period; and there is reason to believe that the appellation was not used in that sense until the reign of Henry II., when they are first mentioned as presiding over gilds, *some* of which were *territorial* and others *mercantile.* In the reign of Henry III. *aldermanries* had become a common term for a civic district comprised within a leet jurisdiction, as well in London as in other cities." See *ante.*

† Aggregate bodies were deemed to have perpetual succession without being incorporated, (Firma Burgi, p. 3,) and see 10 Rep. 30, 1 Roll., also 513, where it is further said that "the king's granting to a set of men to have *Gildam Mercatoriam,* a mercantile assembly or meeting, is sufficient to establish and incorporate them." Exclusively of this right, however, the incorporations of Edward III. were only partial, and comprehended but few of the privileges which the companies obtained from succeeding monarchs. They had no grant at this time of a common seal, nor, generally, liberty to accept or buy lands; to sue and be sued; or to enjoy various other liberties necessary to establish them full incorporations as at present.

and having thus given them stability, he determined also to raise them in public estimation. As this could not be better done than by setting an example which would be followed by his courtiers, he became himself a brother of one of these societies. The Linen-armourers, now Merchant-tailors, were then great importers of woollen cloth, which the king sought to make the staple manufacture of England, and were the first company who had the honour to boast a sovereign amongst their members, in the person of this monarch. Richard II. afterwards became a brother of the same company; and the great, both clergy and laity, as well as principal citizens, dazzled with the splendor of such associates, hastened in both reigns to be enrolled as tradesmen in the fraternities. The skinners, the mercers, and the merchant-tailors, exhibit most princes and nobility in their lists near this time; other companies had a greater proportion of city dignitaries; the grocers, towards the close of Edward III.'s reign, enumerated no less than sixteen aldermen amongst their members.*

The public records afford us the earliest notice of the companies on their being chartered. By a petition from the Commons in Parliament, printed amongst their Rolls,† we learn that, before the 36th of Edward III., certain wholesale merchants had formed themselves into a gild, which had become so great and monopolous, as to threaten ruin to the numerous other fraternities that had now sprung up. This gild, or company, was no other than the grocers', just mentioned, now the second of the great companies, and the etymon of whose name we find explained by this document. The petition complains

"That great mischiefs had newly arisen, as well to the king as to the great men and commons, from the merchants called grocers (grossers), who engrossed all manner of merchandize vendible, and who suddenly raised the prices of such merchandize within the realm; putting to sale by covin, and by ordinances made amongst themselves, in their own society,

* The merchant-tailors' printed list of eminent members enumerates only two earls and one bishop in the reign of Edward III.; but in the reign of Richard II. they had no less than four royal dukes, ten earls, ten barons, and five bishops, members. The skinners boast an almost equally splendid list of names, near the same period, as see under those Companies.

† Rot. Parl. 11, 278.

which they call the fraternity and gild of merchants (fraternite et gilde merchant), such merchandizes as were most dear, and keeping in store the others until times of dearth and scarcity."*

The remedy suggested by the petitioners, Anderson observes, would be thought "a very unreasonable one in our day." It is, "that merchants shall deal in or use but one kind or sort of merchandize;" and that "every merchant hereafter shall choose which kind of wares or merchandize he will deal in, and shall deal in no other."†

The Act 37 Edward III. c. v., which passed in consequence of this petition, (and which was, as far as related to merchants, repealed the next year,) ordains

"That all artificers and people of mysteries shall each choose his own mystery before the next Candlemas; and that having so chosen it, he shall henceforth use no other: and that justices shall be assigned to inquire by process of *Oyer and Terminer*, and to punish trespassers by six months' imprisonment, or other penalty, according to the offence." Women artificers, who seem to have been numerous at this period,—and amongst whom are mentioned "brewers, bakers, braceresses, textoresses, fileresses, and veveresses, as well of silk as of other materials," are exempted from the operation of the Act.‡

The next year we find amongst the city records the names, and other particulars, of all, or most of the companies then in existence. The document which furnishes this information is an account, in Latin, of sums received by John Cauntebrigg, the city chamberlain, from those companies, as gifts to the king, towards carrying on his French wars, and throws much additional light on the state and nature of the metro-

* Rot. Parl. ii. 279.

† Hist. of Commerce, 1, 459.

‡ "This Act, as it related to 'men of mysteries,' was so strictly enforced afterwards, that, in 1385, Brembre, the mayor, is stated to have disfranchised severa freemen for following trades to which they had not been brought up, as John Lynne and Nicholas Merchant, for that being free of the *haberdashers*, they occupied *merceries;* and Geofry Presbury, for that he knew the said Nicholas Merchant to have so occupied mercery, and procured him to be made free of the haberdashers; William Southbrook, free of the *weavers*, for that he occupied *drapery*, or the selling of cloth; and Richard Skinner, for using drapery, he being a *tailor;* and along with the latter, six other tailors are named, who were at this time deprived of their freedom, for merely concealing their knowledge of the circumstance.—*Northouck.*

politan trade fraternities at this early period. It is dated 1355, (37 Edward III.) and enumerates the names and sums paid by thirty-two different companies. We observe in it two or three instances in which trades of the same denomination were then split into different fraternities, on account of their localities, and which paid separately as such. Thus we have the "tanners without Newgate," and the "tanners without Cripplegate," the "grossers," (simply,) and the "grossers in the Ropery," the two (companies) of the "cappers," and no less than three sets of butchers, distinguished by the different quarters they inhabited, (as was originally the case with the fresh, salt, and stock fishmongers,) viz. the "butchers of St. Nicholas," or of what is now called Newgate-market; the "butchers of the Stocks," or those who had retired from the ancient shambles at Eastcheap to the new market on the site of the present Mansion-house; and the butchers of Westchepe," or Cheapside. The sums subscribed by the different fraternities afford also an excellent criterion for judging of their comparative wealth and consequence at this period.

The order and names of the companies, and the sums paid by them, are (in English) as follows:

> "Memorandum. That John de Cauntebrigg, Chamberlain, has received from divers Mysteries, for an offering to be presented to the lord the King of England, namely, in his 37th year.

"The Brasiers, 10 marks, (£3. 13*s.* 4*d.*); Sporiers, 40*s.*; the Tanners without Newgate, 40*s.*; the Butchers of St. Nicholas, 9*l.*; the Butchers of the Stocks, 17*l.*; the Grossers, 26*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*; the Poulterers, 10 marks; the Curriers, 5 marks; the Butchers of West-cheap, 8*l.*; the Bowyers, 60*s.*; the Ironmongers, 6*l.* 18*s.* 4*d.*; the Chandlers, 8*l.*; the Pewterers, 100*s.*; the Tailors, 20*l.*: the Wax-chandlers, 40*s.*; the Tanners without Cripplegate, 31*s.*; the Pouchmakers, 5 marks; the two Cappers, 13*s.* 4*d.*; the Vintners, 33*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*; the Skinners, 40*l.* the Leatherdressers, 10 marks; the Brewers, 14*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*; the Salters cs.; the Cutlers, 4*l.*; the Fishmongers, 40*l.*; the Mercers, 41*l.*; the Girdlers, 6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*; the Grossers in the *Ropary*, cs.; the Glovers, 20*s.*; the Armorers, 60*s.*; the Gold-

smiths, 20*l.*; the Drapers, 40*l.*. Sum total, 428*l.* 9*s.* 4*d.* Besides which there were

"Presents sent to the lord the king to France, in further payment, during his 38th year.

"In the first place, received of the Drapers, 10 marks; also of the Fishmongers, 10 marks; of the Mercers, 10 marks; of the Grossers, 4*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* The sum from these first parcels, 24*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* In the whole, 452*l.* 16*s.*"*

"In 49 Edward III. an enactment passed the whole assembled commonalty of the city, by which the right of election of all city dignitaries and officers, including members of Parliament, was transferred from *the ward representatives to the trading companies;* a few members of which were directed to be selected by the masters or wardens to come to the Guildhall for election purposes; and in them it has continued to the present time; only that, by a subsequent Act of Common Council, it was opened to *all* the liverymen of companies generally; and that right, which indeed, without such sanction had no legal authority, was finally confirmed to such liverymen as being freemen of the Corporation of London, by stat. 11 Geo. I. c. 18."†

* "M^d^ qd Joh'es de Cauntebrigg, Camer' recepto de div'sis Mesteris per uno extremno miss d'no Regi Angl' videlt anno xxxvij°.

Brasiers, x m'rcs.
Sporiers, xl*s.*
Tanners ex Newgate, xl*s.*
Carnificites Sci Nichi, ix*l.*
Carnific' de les Stockkes, vj*l.*
Grossers, xxvj*l.* vj*s.* viij*d.*
Poletar', x m'rcs.
Courreŏs, v m'rcs.
Carnific' destchep, viij*l.*
Bowyers, lx*s.*
Ironmong's, vij*l.* xviij*s.* iiij*d.*
Candelar', viij*l.*
Peutres, c*s.*
Cissor', xx*l.*
Wexchaundelers, xl*s.*
Tanners ext' Crepelgate, xxxj*s*
Pouchemakers, v m'rcs.
Duobz Capper, xiij*s.* iiij*d.*
Vinetar', xxxiij*l.* vj*s.* viij*d.*
Pellipar', xl*l.*
Allucar', x m'rcs.
Braciatoes, xiiij*l.* vj*s.* viij*d.*
Sellar', c*s.*
Cuttellar', iiij.
Piscen', xl*l.*
M'ceris, xl*l.*
Zonar', vj*l.* xij*s.* iiij*d.*
Grossers in Rop'ie, c*s.*
Glov'es, xx*s.*
Armurary's, lx*s.*
Aurifabr', xx*l.*
Drap's, xl*l.*
S'm ccccxxviij*l.* ix*s.* iiij*d.*

Exhemin miss' d'no Regi Ffranc in p'te solucois' anno xxxviij.
In p'mis rec' de Drap's, x m'rcs.
Ibn de Piscenar, x m'rcs.
De Mercers, x m'rcs.
De Grocere, iiij*l.* vj. viij.
S'm istius p'm p'celt, xxiij*l.* vi*s.* viij*d.*
S'm to' cccclij*l.* xvj*s.*

† Commentaries on Lond. The Livery's exclusive right of returning members to Parliament is taken away, after a certain period, by the late Reform Act;

By a list, in Norman French, of the "number of persons chosen by the several mysteries to be the Common Council" the next year (50 Edw. III.) it appears the companies sending members in pursuance of this ordinance were increased from 32 to 48. This list (which is also amongst the City Records) names every company, with its proportion of members, and furnishes on other accounts matter of curious observation. The whole 48 companies returned exactly 148 members, or about an average of 3 each.* Of these the principal ones sent 6, the secondary 4, and the small companies 2. Few traces are to be observed of the present order of precedency. The Grocers stand first, next the Mercers, and then the Drapers, Fishmongers, and Goldsmiths; the Vintners follow sixth instead of eleventh, the Tailors (now Merchant Tailors) seventh, the Skinners twenty-first, Haberdashers twenty-fifth, Sadlers twenty-seventh, and the Ironmongers thirty-fifth. There were then no Clothworkers. Each of the first eight companies named returned 6 members; the Salters and Ironmongers 4 each; the Haberdashers and the Hurrers only 2; the Smiths, since ranked as a minor company, send 6 members; the eleven companies of Sadlers, Webbers or Weavers, Tapicers, Chandlers, Fullers, Braziers, Girdlers, Stainers, Masons, Shoemakers, and Butchers, each 4; and the remaining twenty-four companies 2 members each. Several companies are named in this catalogue whom Stow states to have been of much later foundation; and some of them here rank separately, which were afterwards merged in others; as the Hurrers in the Haberdashers; the Stainers in the Painters, under the name of "Painter-Stainers;" and the Freemasons in the Masons. A few, as the Fletchers, the Cappers, the Horners, and Spurriers, are extinct; the Barbers (subsequently Barber-Surgeons) are now separated from the latter, and in abeyance.

Act; which restores the elective franchise to the freemen of London, and further extends it to the inhabitant householders.

* This great number gave them an influence, the result of which may be seen in the following entries of the same records: "A meeting of Common Council, with the wardens of divers mysteries present," Jor. 7, fo. 6; Jor. 8 to 11 fo. 99. "The like; and the constables of the wards present." Jor. 7, 8, fo. 4, 171, and Jor. 9, 10, fo. 81, 2, 84, 7, et seq. The Common Council and wardens of mysteries summoned on extraordinary occasions," Rep. 12, fo. 401. "A congregation of the Mayor, Aldermen, Common Council, and wardens of companies, held to receive an express from the king, touching the Coins," Jor. 16, fo. 118.

Number of persons chosen by the several Mysteries to be of the Common Council, 50 Edward III.*

Grossers. . .	6	Hab'rdash' .	2
Mercers[8] . .	6	Brasiers . .	2
Drap[s] . .	6	Salt[r]s . .	4
Pesson[r]s[1] . .	6	Capellar'[10] .	2
Orfev[r]s[2] . .	6	Peutr's[11] .	2
Vynt[r]s . .	6	Brewers (ales) .	2
Taillo[r]s . .	6	Hurr[r]s[12] .	2
Sellar'[3] . .	4	Fabr[r]m[13] . .	6
Webbe[r]s . .	4	Horn[r]s . .	2
Tapicers[4] . .	4	Masons . .	4
Leathersell's .	2	Ir'mong[r]s . .	4
Foundo[r]s . .	2	Allucar[14] . .	4
Ioigno[r]s . .	2	Armurei z . .	2
Chaundel's .	4	Boch'rs . .	4
Fullo'r . .	4	Cultella'[15] .	2
Curreo[r]s . .	2	Sporiers[16] .	2
Freemasons .	2	Plom[r]s . .	2
Brac[r]s[5] . .	5	Wax Chaundel's	2
Fleech's . .	2	Tonsores[17] .	2
Bakers . .	2	Peynt[r]es . .	2
Pell[r]s[6] . .	6	Tann[r]s . .	2
Zona'r[7] . .	4	Pouche makers.	2
Tinctores[8] .	4	Wodmog[s][18]	2
Burrillo[s][9] .	2	Pynn[r]s . .	2

The above list of fraternities, or gilds, is accompanied by the following form of oath, which was required to be taken,

* City Records, lib. lx. fol. 46.

[1] Fishmongers.
[2] Goldsmiths.
[3] Saddlers.
[4] Tapestry Weavers.
[5] Brewers.
[6] Skinners.
[7] Girdlers.
[8] Stainers.
[9] Cloth Measurers.
[10] Cappers.
[11] Pewterers.
[12] Hatters.
[13] Smiths.
[14] Leather Dressers.
[15] Cutlers.
[16] Spurriers
[17] Barbitonsores, or Barbers.
[18] Woodsawyers (mongers.)

before admission to office, by all the wardens, or other principals.

"*Oath of the Wardens of Crafts.*

"Ye shall swere that ye shall wele and treuly ov'see the Craft of (company's name,) whereof ye be chosen Wardeyns for the yeere. And all the goode reules and ordyn'nces of the same Craft that been approved here be the Court, and noon other, ye shal kepe and doo to be kept. And all the defautes that ye fynde in the same Craft ydon to the Chambleyn of y^e^ Citee for the tyme beyng, ye shall wele and treuly p'sente. Sparyng noo man for favour, ne grevyng noo p'sone for hate. Extorcion ne wrong, under colour of your office ye shall non doo, nethir to noo thing that shalbe ayenst the state, peas, and profite of oure sovereyn Lord the King, or to the Citee, ye shall not consente, but for the tyme that ye shall be in office, in all things that shalbe longyng unto the same craft after the lawes and ffranchises of the seide Citee welle and laufully ye shal have you. So helpe you God and all seyntes, &c."

In the same year an ordinance was passed by the mayor, aldermen, and six, four, and two of the Common Council, out of *thirteen* of the above mysteries, (which alone were allowed this privilege,) respecting the removal of any alderman or common councilman for misconduct.

The "Chronicle of London,"* under the year 1375, mentions the following occurrence connected with the companies. It seems, that the like sort of contention for superiority which had existed in the reign of Henry III. had now separated them into direct opposite parties. The writer does not accompany his notice with any explanation as to the precise ground of quarrel.

"This yere at Awrestlynge (wrestling) John Northwold, mercer, was sclayn at the black heth, where thorough aroos a gret discencion and debate among the craftes of London."

* 4to. London, 1827, printed from an original MS. at the British Museum, and which contains much curious information relative to the early history of the metropolis, not elsewhere to be met with.

The reign of Richard II. was remarkable, amongst other events, for first compelling the inrolment of the companies' charters. By letters mandatory of his twelfth year, he enjoined the mayor of London to make proclamation—That all and singular masters and wardens of gilds and fraternities within the city of London and suburbs of the same, should deliver in to the king and council, in the Chancery, a full, distinct, and proper account in writing, of the manner and nature of their several foundations, their beginning and continuance; together with the rules of such fraternities; the manner and kind of oath to be taken by the community, or assembly of brothers and sisters, and others, and all other particulars appertaining to such gilds; as likewise respecting their liberties, privileges, statutes, ordinances, usages, and customs. Moreover, an account of all lands, tenements, rents, and possessions, whether mortgaged or not mortgaged; and of all goods and chattels whatsoever belonging to the said gilds, in whosesoever hands they might be holden for the use of such gilds; and to return with the answers to these queries the true yearly value of the same; and whatsoever in any manner or form concerned all and singular the premises, together with all other articles and circumstances whatsoever, touching or concerning the same; under penalty on neglect, to forfeit for ever such lands and other things to the king and his successors: also that the said masters and wardens should have before the king and his council at the same time whatsoever charters and letters patents they possessed, from any grants of the king or his predecessors to the said gilds and fraternities; under further penalty of having all such grants and all privileges contained in them revoked and annulled."*

It is about this period, or rather the close of the last reign, that we begin to discern a separation of the wealthier from

* City Records.—The Tower Records, as well as those of the City, have been diligently searched for the returns made in consequence of this proclamation, but none are to be found, except those which relate to the ecclesiastical gilds. The returns from the Trade Companies, which must have thrown wonderful light on their nature, property, management, and other particulars required to be set forth as above, are now missing; though such must undoubtedly have been made, and may yet remain amongst the mass of unsorted records of the Court of Chancery.

the more indigent companies; or of such as in the preceding list sent most members to Common Council, and paid the highest fermes: namely, the tailors, vintners, skinners, fishmongers, mercers, grocers, goldsmiths, drapers, and such others as may be presumed to have constituted the *thirteen mysteries*, or the "each sufficient mystery," just mentioned, and whose history we have to record under the name of "THE GREAT COMPANIES."* Their order of precedency, as we have observed, seems to have been then unsettled, and, it will be seen,

* A petition from John Cavendish, amongst the printed petitions to Parliament, 4 Henry IV. (1402,) states the following to have been these commoners, or of the Common Council, and deputies from the companies mentioned below. They are all part of what afterwards formed the "Twelve," and are here placed in the same order as in the petition. The names of those left blank were probably effaced on the roll.

John Moore,	Mercers.	Nicholas Turke,	Fishmongers.
John Lane,		Samuell Hoddesdon,	
William Chicheley,	Grocers.	John Proffite,	
Robert Wydrington,		Robert Mersket,	
Stephen Thorpe,		John Julyan,	Ironmongers.
John Lincoln,		Thomas Craste,	
Thomas Drake,		John Creek,	Taillours.
Robert Polhill,		Thomas Libsey,	
Roger Wrangford,		Robert Brenwod,	Salters.
William Norton,		William Estace,	
		Richard Towner,	Drapers.

Rot. Parl. v. 11.

As to other points proving their superiority, and which will sufficiently appear as we proceed, it may be observed, that from the Twelve Companies the lord mayor was *exclusively* chosen for centuries afterwards. None of the lists of lord mayors, in our Histories of London, afford a single instance to the contrary, from Fitz-Alwin to Sir Robert Wilmot. The wardens of those great companies were the only ones allowed to attend the lord mayor as chief-butler at coronations. The "Twelve" alone, (with the single exception of the armourers,) had the honour of enrolling the sovereign amongst their members, and generally of entertaining foreign princes and ambassadors; they took precedence in all civic triumphs; they occupied the chief standings in all state processions through the city; they alone of the companies contributed to repair the city walls; and lastly, (not to mention various other proofs which might be adduced,) they were the companies who were always most largely assessed in all levies for the government or the City. The common opinion, therefore, that the lord mayor must be a member of one of these companies, is indisputably founded on long prescriptive right and usage. It was in 1742, that Sir Robert Wilmot, just mentioned, was sworn in lord mayor, notwithstanding that he was not so qualified; and that upon the advice of counsel, who said there was no law for it. His lordship was of the Coopers' Company, and would have been translated to the clothworkers', (which is one of the Twelve,) but his admission being carried only by a small majority, and they, at the same time, refusing him their hall, he resolved to give them no further trouble. It is now understood, that being free of one of the Twelve Companies is only necessary to qualify the lord mayor for president of the Irish Society. The lord mayor, it should be observed, if not free of the Twelve, thus loses a privilege always appertaining of right to his office, that of the presidentship mentioned." (Vide Northouck, p. 348.)

It is but candid, in concluding this long note, to remark that, notwithstanding

continued so for several ages afterwards; but we find the companies named thenceforward always dignified by some epithet implying *superiority*, wherever they are mentioned: as "the substantial companies; the principal crafts; the chief mysteries; the wealthier and superior companies; the most worshipfull felowshippes," and other similar titles; and, though apparently of less public importance in the earlier stages of society than the weavers, sadlers, bakers, and other gilds already noticed, they will be found to have comprised, at this time, the chief commercial staple and manufacturing interests of the kingdom, besides including the most eminent of the citizens amongst their members.

A striking instance of the influence which these great companies soon obtained in the government of the city, appeared in their compelling, in 1385, the return for two succeeding years of Sir Nicholas Brembre as mayor of London, in opposition to the whole of the freemen. This curious piece of civic history is only to be found in the Chronicle of London, just quoted, and which expressly states his elevation to have been effected "be strong hand of *certayne* craftes of London." The "certayne craftes" here mentioned evidently allude to the same portion of the companies we are speaking about; and as Brembre was a member of the grocers, then placed the first in rank of these great companies, we may well conceive this forced election to have been mainly indebted to their instrumentality. In describing Brembre's return the second year, the writer more particularly explains the sort of coercion made use of by the companies on this occasion:

"Also this yere, S^{r} Nicholl Brembre was chosen maire agene, be the said craftes and by men of the contre at

the ancient rank of the Twelve Companies, many of the others are, on various accounts, of equal or superior importance. The weavers and saddlers claim a more remote antiquity; the stationers, besides their growing wealth and extensive concerns, rank higher as a rich, commercial, and working company. The dyers once took precedence of the clothworkers. The brewers are distinguished for their ancient and very curious records; and yield on that point, perhaps, only to the leathersellers, who, at their elegant modern hall, in St. Helen's place, have some matchless charters, as regards embellishment, and the most ornamentally written "wardens' accounts" of any we have yet inspected. Various others might be included in this list as equally worthy observation.

Harowe, and the contre there aboughte, *and not be fre eleccion of the Citee of London, as it owith to be:* and the oolde halle was stuffed with men of armes overe even, be ordinaunce and assente of S^r^ Nicholl Brembre, for to chose hym maire on the morowe: and so he was."

This usurpation of the rights of the freemen formed afterwards the subject of a special petition to the king in council from "the folke of the Mercerye of London;" which is printed amongst the "Petitiones in Parliamento," 10 Richard II., 1386. It complains that "amongst many other wronges, subtiles, and open oppressions ydone to hem by longe tyme passed," and notwithstanding that "the eleccion of mairalte was to be to the fre men of the citee, bi gode and paisable avys of the wysest and trewest, at o'day in the yere *frelich*," the said "Nicol Brembre, wyth his upberers," had "through debate and stronger partye," and, amongst other means, by carrying "grete quantite of armure to the Guyldehall," to overawe the citizens, procured his own election; and, they add, if they of the Mercery, or any other crafts, complained, "they were anon apeched for arrysers ageins the pees."*

At a numerous common-hall held afterwards, it was remonstrated "that for want of sufficient persons chosen, divers things were passed in Common Council more by clamour than by reason." And it was in consequence ordained, "that the aldermen should thenceforward cause to be chosen *four* from each of their wards for common council men." This choice of common councilmen, as it is stated in the *Liber Albus*, "had been aforetime in certain mysteries or crafts, some of which chose *six*, others *four*, and others only *two*."

A second important regulation, emanating from the same remonstrance, was the limiting the number of aldermen among the companies' members. Brembre's company of the grocers, which it has been seen had *sixteen* aldermen at one time, gave it a preponderance, which easily accounts for that ambitious citizen seizing the mayoralty for two consecutive years. The act of Common Council which passed, prohibited any company from having more than *six* aldermen.

* Rot. Parl. 11.

The period we have now arrived at being that in which the companies may be said to have become fully established, it becomes proper for a moment to suspend our narrative, in order to afford the reader a general view of their economy at this time, and during some of the succeeding reigns. To render the subject more elucidatory, our notices shall be arranged under the heads into which the subject naturally divides itself, viz. *Their Charters; Refoundation of their Societies; Government and Officers; Subjection to City Control; Liveries; Observances; Halls; and State and Civic Triumphs and Pageants.* The whole of this portion of the history of the companies is extremely curious.

ANCIENT STATE OF THE COMPANIES.

Charters.—The charters of Edward III. are the earliest ones enrolled, though instances exist of much older grants; as in the case of the weavers. His first charters were granted to the goldsmiths, linen armourers, and skinners, whose former gild licences he confirmed by letters patent, with new privileges, in the 1st year of his reign. In his 27th, 28th, and 37th year, he similarly confirmed the grocers', fishmongers', drapers', salters', and vintners'. All the charters of the above, and of other sovereigns to the different companies, are enrolled at the Tower of London, previously to the reign of Richard III., and most of them are subsequently recited in inspeximuses deposited at the Rolls Chapel.

The charters of Edward III. and of his grandson Richard, distinctly point out the reasons of re-constituting the trading fraternities, as well as the principles on which they had been primarily established. We learn from them, that the whole of these societies were, at first, associations of persons actually, and not nominally, professing the trades from which they took denomination; and that, existing on a principle of general subscription, they not only possessed an equal share in all rights which themselves had not chosen to delegate, but that all of them when "full brothers," equally participated in whatever advantages accrued to such societies, whether of pro-

perty or privileges: all in necessity could claim to be relieved, in proportion to the fraternity's funds; and in cases of insolvency at death, the funerals of poor members were, by their ordinances, to be equally respected with those of the rich. Finally, elections of officers were *by* and *from* the assembled commonalty.

The charters furnish, moreover, abundant information on other points,—as the sort of authority on which the gilds existed before such grants were made; their then number and denomination of officers; and the way in which they regulated and governed themselves: and, above all, they afford hints, which are not otherwise to be obtained, of the nature of the domestic trade and commerce of the metropolis at the time. They grant nearly the same species of privileges to all the companies, whose object, though from the first evidently monopolous, is represented, in their petitions for such charters, to be "for the greater good and profit of the people." They pray in them for the exclusion of strangers from the city, on account of what they term "their irregularies and defects," which are stated to be productive of great inconvenience, and "to the disgrace of the *honest men of the said mysteries.*"

The societies chartered are mostly stated to be of great antiquity, or to have existed "from time whereof there is no memory." The privileges granted, (taking the merchant tailor's charter for an instance,) are, as to general *meetings*, "that they may have and hold their gild once a year," and may, in the same, "settle and govern their mysteries." As to *election of officers*, that they may choose from among themselves, "honest, lawful, and sufficient men," best skilled therein, "to inquire of the concerns of their trades, and, as the goldsmith's charter expresses it, "correct and amend the same by the more honest and sufficient men of the said-mysteries." As to *acquiring property*, the charters grant permission to the fraternities to "purchase tenements and rents of small annual value, for relieving their poor and infirm, and for maintaining a chaplain and a chantry. They also confirm the ancient right of search through their respective trades, in order that each of them may detect dishonest practices in his own craft, and punish offenders, subject to the cognizance, or, as it is

termed, "view of the mayor." In other charters of this monarch, both to the greater and lesser companies, their form of constitution is more particularly defined. The charter to the *tapicers*, in 1364, grants that company liberty to elect yearly, on Michælmas-day, "four lawful and discreet men, who shall be notified to the mayor, to oversee by themselves or by their deputies the state of their mystery."*

The patents of Richard II. to the great companies consisted of confirmations, by *inspeximus*, of the charters of Edward III., to the goldsmiths, fishmongers, skinners, and linen armourers or tailors: he gave, in his 27th year, their first charter of incorporation to the mercers, and also chartered the leathersellers, saddlers, weavers, parish clerks, and other minor companies.

The inspeximuses of this monarch ratify such "good customs" of the several gilds as had been "omitted, or not expressed," in the patents of King Edward; and allow the members "to have, hold, and exercise their gild or fraternity of themselves, and of such other persons as they may be willing to admit into their said fraternity."

They also, like the charters of that king, in general, partially incorporate the companies; permitting that "the men of the gild or craft" so incorporated, may, from henceforth, be a perpetual community or society of themselves; and may yearly elect from amongst them, at pleasure, (de seipsis quociens eis placu⁊it,) "a certain number of wardens," for the better keeping and regulation, (vel opus fu⁊it p' gub^{r} nãcone custod' et regimine,) of the said fraternity for ever, or, "the said craft and community, and every member thereof," as the goldsmith's charter (1 Edward III.) more fully expresses it. In a few instances there is added the power to make ordinances amongst themselves, "for the better government of their fraternities, and, as shall seem to themselves, most necessary and fitting."

Re-Foundation, &c.—An interesting picture of the mode of the Trades assembling, and re-founding their societies, (for the greater part of them, as we have shewn, existed in some form long before they were chartered,) is to be found in the

* Fœdera, iii. p. 436.

finely preserved records of the company of grocers, already alluded to*. The books of that company commence in the early part of the reign of Edward III., and, besides the information they afford as to this particular point, they contain the best, if not only account to be met with, of the nature of these associations at the remote period spoken of, under the various heads or divisions we propose to consider them. They abound, also, in conjunction with the books of other companies, from which we shall extract, with original illustrations of their own particular concerns, as well as throw many important lights on British history and commerce in general.

The grocers' first proceedings, on founding their society, exactly resembled those adopted in establishing our common benefit clubs. "Twenty-two persons, carrying on the business of Pepperers, in Soper's lane, Cheapside, agree to meet together, to a dinner, at the Abbot of Bury's, St. Mary Axe, and commit the particulars of their formation into a trading society to writing. They elect, after dinner, two persons of the company so assembled, Roger Osekyn, and Lawrence de Haliwell, as their first governors or wardens, appointing, at the same time, in conformity with the pious custom of the age, a priest or chaplain to celebrate divine offices for their souls. The details of this meeting and the ordinances which emanated from it, which were subsequently transcribed into the first volume of the minutes of the company, are set forth partly in Norman French, and partly in old English, as follows:

"En le hom^r de Dieu & de son douche Mere & de sanct Antonin & de touz saintz, le viceseme jour de Maij, en l'an de grace mil. cccxlv, & del trez noble roi Edward apres le Conquest xix. une frat^r nite fuist fonduz des campaignons Peveres de Soperes-lane, p^r am^r & unite de plus avoir maintener & intrester ensem^e De quel fraternité sommes comenseurs fundeurs & doneurs de conserver la dite fraternité. Will^m de Grantham," and twenty-one following names; after this it is added:

* As contained in Mr. Heath's (unpublished) work, entitled, "Some Account of the Grocers' Company," 8vo., 1830, and to which highly curious volume, we here beg leave to acknowledge our obligations for many of the most valuable notices which we are able to present to the reader.

"Alle these xxij persones before wretyd, were founders of owre fraternite, and the same daie, before wretyn, they were accorded to be togydre at a denner in the abbot's place of Bery, the xij daie of Juyn, in the yere of owre Lord Jhu' m^{lle} cccxlv., and in the xix yere of kyng Edward the thredde, as it apperyth behynde in the same book in the iiij. leff: and at the sayd denner were chosyn ij the freste wardynes that ever were of owre fraternyte."

Towards the above feast or "mangerie," as it is quaintly termed in the books, every member then paid twelve pence, and twenty-three pence more was to be disbursed by the wardens. It was agreed, at the same time, that such feast should be called their "First Assembly," and that the whole brotherhood should adopt a *Livery*, for which every one was to pay his share, "even on the day of the feast." By common assent, it was further ordained, that the priest should begin his duty by singing and praying on the festival of St. John, or Midsummer-day, then next ensuing, for the same brotherhood, and for all christian people, and, for such priest's maintenance, every one was to pay at the rate of one penny a week, his wages in advance of the ensuing year, amounting to four shillings and four pence each member's share; which was done, and the receipt thereof acknowledged by the wardens. Then follow the names of eighteen persons of the company, who are credited among the entries for four shillings and four pence each, making £3 18*s.* towards the sum of £4 15*s.* 4*d.*, the priest's year's wages, as aforesaid, at the rate of one penny a week each, from the twenty-two members.

A memorandum attached to the account, orders, que le prestre commenceroyt de chanter le iij jour de Julij en l'an avant dict & receveroit cheskun semaigne 15^{d}.'*

Such is the way in which the Grocers laid the foundation of their fraternity, and it may, no doubt, be taken, with some little variation, as a specimen of the mode of foundation of all the other fraternities near this time.

The progress of the above company's stock or funds, as recorded in the entries of subsequent meetings, is not the least amusing part of their early proceedings. In 1346 their cash

* Some Account of the Grocers' Company, p. 46.

only amounted to £6 16*s.* "in silver and gold;" the next year it was £14 7*s.* 9½*d.*, "in gold;" in 1348, it was £22 5*s.* 9*d.*; and in 1349, £31 19*s.* 7*d.* Their increase in wealth afterwards kept pace with the enlargement of the company's trade and dealings, which, at this early period, extended to great part of the globe; and the particulars of which are detailed in their book of "Wardens Accounts."

The government, dress, and observances of the above, and other contemporary companies, form an equally amusing part of their ancient history.

Government and Officers.—Their government was by bye-laws or ordinances, framed by common assent amongst themselves, as has been stated, and which were anciently called "POINTZ." They chiefly regarded the qualifications of members; keeping of their trade secrets; the regulation of apprenticeships, and of the company's peculiar concerns; the domestic management of the fraternity, and of its funds; and the uniting together of it in brotherly love and affection. To these may be added, as forming a prominent feature in all the ancient communities, the regulation of their religious and other ceremonies.

The grocers' first ordinances, in 1346, required that each new member "should be of good condicion, and of the craft, and that he should pay 13*s.* 4*d.* entrance, or the value thereof."

The preserving of their trade secrets was a primary ordination of all the fraternities, and continued their leading law as long as they remained actual "working companies," whence arose the names of "mysteries," and "crafts," by which they were for so many ages, and are still occasionally designated.*

* Madox, Firma Burgi, 32, 3, says, "In England men have been told, that in regard there is some mystery in every trade, therefore a trade is called a *mystery*." That writer, however, rejects the idea of there being any affinity between the secrets of the trades and the term mystery, in the common acceptation of the latter: and derives the custom of calling the companies, "mysteries," from the French; who, he says, using the word '*mestiere*,' for a craft, art, or employment, the name came to be used here in a similar sense. In a Venetian statute, from which he quotes by way of illustration, (dated 1519,) mention is made of the crafts or trades in their city, by the name of *misteri*. The term mystery, we see was applied to the trade gilds by the charters of Edward III. and it certainly continued so for ages afterwards.

Tom Browne very facetiously jokes on this word, in a letter which he purports to have been sent from an old vintner in the city, to a new one set up in Covent-

The grocers' ordinances of 1463 contained a special article against "discovering the secrets of the craft;" and the sixteenth article of the merchant tailors' ordinances, 1613, expressly ordains, as to the same subject, that "no person of the fraternity shall discover or disclose any of the lawfull secrecies concerning the feates of merchandizing in their owne occupation, or any secrett counsell of the said fraternitie, which ought of reason and conscience to be secretlie kept, without anie utterance thereof to anie other person of another misterie."

The regulation of apprenticeships formed a second grand article in the early ordinances of all the companies.* No man was to be admitted into the livery of the grocers, "who had not served the term of his apprenticeship; and then it was to be by advice of the wardens and fellowship, who were to ascertain that he was of good name, a freeman of no other craft, and exempted therefrom; he was to pay for his admission, at least 5*s.* Apprentices who were approved of were to pay 3*s.* 4*d.* entrance, and to be made free at the company's place, or at the "*Yelde-Halle.*" Turnover-apprentices, in case of death, or failure of a former master, were to be allowed the remainder of their term. Masters were to pay 20*s.* to the common box, on taking an apprentice. And "no member was to keep in his shop an apprentice or journeyman who had not served his time to the craft." They had absolute jurisdiction over their respective trades; and in pursuance of

garden. "The trade of a vintner," he assures him, "is a perfect *mystery*," for that is the term, he observes, "which the law bestows on it," and adds, "now as all in the world are wholly supported by hard and unintelligible terms, you must take care, in this spirit of mystery, to christen your wines by some *hard names*, the farther fetched the better."

* "Many were the bye-laws and regulations by which these interests were secured, but none were so decisively effectual as those by which long apprenticeships were ordained. The scion thus grafted upon the stock of monopoly was, like the parent plant itself, originally of foreign growth; but very soon became, in most mercantile corporations in England, the only branch which produced the fruit of civic freedom. It is remarkable, however, that although service by apprenticeship became by degrees the more regular and usual path to enfranchisement in London, this burthensome progress was never universally established amongst the trading companies, or as of absolute necessity in the civic corporation itself. Any inhabitant, or even stranger might, and may still be admitted a member of many, if not most of the companies, and also to the freedom of the City, by virtue of his title by birth or patrimony; or by right become a candidate for admission, either by donation, or by a pecuniary payment usually exacted on such occasions. In the latter case he became free by what is called *redemption*, an expression implying the purchased acquisition of the more authentic title." —Commentaries on London, p. 138.

the right of search, before mentioned, the principals of each company were accustomed, somewhat in the manner of a jury, to take regular rounds. The ordinances of the grocers (who for several ages had the oversight of drugs, amongst numerous other articles,) enjoin their wardens "to go and assayen weights, powders, confeccions, plasters, oyntments, and all other thynges belonging to the same crafte," and to notice every shop where they found defects, in order that they might be redressed. In like manner we find the goldsmiths had the assay of metals; the fishmongers, the oversight and rejection of fish brought to London, which they disliked; the vintners', the tasting and gauging of wines, and so of others.

The merchant tailors' records, at a later date, state that company to have possessed not only the right of trade search, but that they kept "a silver yard," for the admeasurement of cloth, which is said to have weighed thirty-six ounces, and to have had the company's arms engraven on it. With this standard they for ages attended West Smithfield during Bartholomew fair, at the time when cloth formed the great article of commerce of the part of it, still called, from that circumstance, "Cloth fair." This custom appears from an entry in the company's court books, under the year 1567, when it was directed "that fit persons shall be appointed on the vigil of the eve of St. Bartholomew, to see that a proper yard measure be used." And, in 1566, we find one Pullen to have been committed by the court to prison, "for using an unlawful yard, which was found in his shop at the time of the search." Their records further mention, under the year 1612, that it was the custom to have a dinner at Merchant Tailors' Hall, "for the search on St. Bartholomew's eve." All these searches were, however, subjected to the control of the City, and were not to be in violation of any of its privileges.*

* In an argument of the corporation of London, against the granting of fresh privileges to the Tallow Chandlers' company, as to their right of trade search, it was averred, "That the maior and aldermen of the city, and all other, the chief governors thereof, and their predecessors, always, time out of mind, had, and used to have, the view, search, and direction of all mysteries and crafts within the city, for and concerning all manner of deceits and defaults in all things touching their mysteries, which was to be proved, as well by the daily usage as also by a great number of records and precedents of the said city. And, besides the general usage

Similar examples of punishment to those of the merchant tailors, for frauds met with on these occasions, are frequent in the books of the grocers',(1) and most of the companies who possess these old records, and some of them are very amusing. The books of the Brewers' Company, 1421, contain a long and curious story of the perverseness of one William Payne, at the sign of the SWAN, by St. Anthony's Hospital, Threadneedle street, which originated in his refusal to contribute a barrel of *ale*, to be sent to the king (Henry V.), whilst he was in France. "For this affair he was fined 3*s.* 4*d.*, for a *swan* for the master's breakfast; and refusing to pay, was imprisoned: afterwards contemptuously resolving not to wear the company's livery," he was brought before the mayor, and eventually conformed; but, it is added, "was very long before he could be humbled and brought to good behaviour."

Another story, in which a *swan* was also the fine, occurs soon after, in the same books. It details the ill treatment of Simon Potkin, of the *Key*, at Aldgate, who had paid 20*d.* to a friend to procure a certificate of the "oppressive acts," as they are styled, of the famous Sir Richard Whittington, then lord mayor, and who appears to have been particularly severe with the retailers of ale; this Potkin, on being fined by the chamberlain for bad measure, excused himself by saying that "he had given money to the masters [of the Brewers,] that he might sell at his own will." For this slander he is stated to have got into great trouble with his company, and to have been only finally pardoned, on paying 3*s.* 4*d.*, for a *swan*, to be eaten by the masters; but, out of which, it is added, "he was allowed his own share."

Other of the company's *Points* regarded their domestic con-

and custom, there were special grants and charters made to the city, touching the particular things then in question." Strype's Stow, 1720, ii., p. 211.

(1) The two following entries are specimens. "1456: *A Fyne of John Ayshfelde.*" "M^m That John Ayshfelde hath put him to rewle for offens don in makynge of untrewe powder gynger, cynamon, and saunders, for which offens doon, the wardeyns and the feliship associed be fully accorded that he shalle maak a fyne of vi^s viij^d; and in case so be y^at he be fownde in suche another trespasse, that then he to be rewled by the avyse of the wardeynes and the felischipe associed; what they wil do ther in hye and lowe." And (same date) "*A Fyne,*" wherein "*John Freyach*" did "put him to rewle for offens doon in rydynge into countre with *wares unsolde;* for which offens doon y^e wardeynes and the felischipe associed" fully concluded that he should pay a fine of 3*s.* 4*d.*

duct and arrangements, most of them were admirably calculated for the good government and guardianship of their fraternities, and some of them were excellent. Amongst the early ordinances of the grocers were these:

"That no man of the fraternite take his neyghbor's house y^{t} is of the same fraternite, or enhaunce the rent against the wille of the forsaid neyghbor. Who that is fownde in the defawlt shall paye att the tyme x.$^{£}$ y^{t} is to wetyn v.$^{£}$ to the fraternite, and v.$^{£}$ to hym y^{t} is thus put owt of his howse." Various instances of the enforcement of this article are preserved in the minutes.*

Perjury, or an oath taken by a member "for his declaracion in the p^{r}sence of the wardeyns and the felischip associed upon a boke, contrarye to the trewth, and a reasonable use made thereupon," was deservedly held to be a high crime in this company; and was "to be punished by the wardens and society with suche correction, as that other men of the fellishiip might be warned thereby;" and, by a later ordinance as to this point, it was agreed "that such an one shall be put out of the feliship for eu^{r}more with^{t} any redempcion."

The charitable feeling of the grocers for unfortunate members was highly praiseworthy. Any such becoming poor from "adventures on the sea, or by the advanced price of merchandize, or by borrowing and pledging, or by any other misfortunes," might, by ordination of the wardens and company, "be assisted out of the common money, according to his situation, (if he could not do without,) when they were able to maintain him or them by the said money." To afford

* The following is one of the most curious specimens:—"*A Fyne of Richard Haale and Thomas Hove.* M^{m} That the vxij day of March, an^{o} lvj was Richard Haale and Thomas Hove befoore the wardeynes of y^{e} feleshepe associed, and there examined for offences doon in enhaunsynge and willynge to putte Edmond Tervyle out of his howse. And the said Richard and Thomas ther opynly confessed themselfes and weren founded defectyf, for which offens don contraye to the good old ordinaunce wretyn; the wardeyns and the feleshepe associed, have fully concluded that the sayd Richard and Thomas shall brynge in x.$^{£}$ sterlynges, accordynge to y^{e} afore said ordinaunce. At which fyne-makynge was pr'sente my maystre, John Walden, alderman; Rob^{t} Carstange, and Edward Warmygnton, wardeynes; John Maldens, John Blaunch, Henre Haale, Will'um Edwards, George Erland, and John Alyn. And the v. daye of Apryll next followynge was fully concluded by the wardeynes and the feleshepe associed, that Edmund Tervyle shulde have delyvered to hym by the sayd wardeynes v.$^{£}$ sterlynges of the sayd x.$^{£}$, and the wardeynes to kepe the othyr v.$^{£}$ sterlynges, accordynge to ther olde ordinaunce v." The ordinance alluded to is the one just given.—Some account of the Grocers' Company, p. 323.

afterwards a settled asylum for distress, this, and all the companies, early built dwellings next their halls. Hence we trace the various almshouses of the companies, which, though afterwards generally removed, owing to the increased value of their original situations, have, in our own day, been erected on other and more pleasant sites in a superior style, and still form some of the noblest and most gratifying charities around London.

The settlement of disputes, as well as claims of debt, were judiciously provided for, unless in extreme cases, without resorting to the modern evil of law. The authority of the master and wardens was on this, as indeed all other points, all but absolute.

"If any debate is between any of the fraternite, for misgovernaunce of wordes, or askyng of dette, or any other thynges," say the grocers' ordinances (1463), "then anon the party playntiff shall come to the master and tell his grievaunce, and the master shall make an ende thereof." If any member had "a dispute on any other matter wrongfully," he was, in like manner, to go with the person whom he differed with "to the master, to have the matter redressed to the best advantage that could be to save his honour:" and if no penalty should be imposed on the defendant, the expenses of application were to fall on the party complaining.

If it was found impracticable to compromise such disputes, then, and not till then, by leave of the master, the parties might "go to the lawe." The grocers' books record no instances of this folly amongst their members; but, in the minutes of other companies, and particularly those of the merchant tailors, there are several. Thus, 1568, there is "licence granted, in the latter, to one Elston, a member, to arrest Brackshaw;" and in the same year leave is farther granted by the master "to Edward Baker, to take the lawe of J. Garrett."

Speaking disrespectfully in presence of the court; striking each other, or calling names; offending against the sumptuary laws in dress; employing non-freemen (called "foreigners,") to work for them; as well as frauds connected with the management of their trades, were afterwards punished with the same rigour by all the other fraternities.

Of Officers.—The alderman, it has been shewn, was the chief, whilst the trade fraternities were called gilds. Eschevins, elders, and other names, succeeded, and were in some instances contemporaneous. The merchant tailors were *unique* in styling their principal "pilgrim," on account of his travelling for them. Bailiffs, masters, wardens, purveyors, and other names, became usual designations when they were chartered. From Richard II. to Henry VII. their chief officers are styled "wardens of the craft;" "wardens of the said mystery;" "masters" or "wardens," of such gild as they presided over; "wardens and purveyors;" "guardians or wardens;" "bailiffs," and "custodes or keepers."

The duties attached to these stations are specified in the earliest regulations, and fines were imposed for refusing to accept the situations themselves, or neglecting the duties of them after being elected.

The wardens of the grocers', who on being duly chosen should refuse to serve, were to pay within eight days ensuing 10 marks, for the salary of the priest for one year, and "to be put out of the brotherhood for alle dayes;" but "forasmoche as it was laboureuse to hem that ben wardeyns for the yere," the fraternity, in consideration thereof, and "of the costs of the forseid wardeyns," agreed that "he that had ben onys wardeyn" should not be again until "vii yere after should be complete and fulfilled." On accepting the office they were to take on them the following charges, namely,

"To convene four meetings in the year, principally, to treat of the common business of the mystery; such meetings to take place in the months of May, August, November, and February; to perform the articles agreed on, and to well and loyally keep all the ordinances then made, or thereafter to be made, "for the com'on good, and by the com'on assente of the said fraternite." They were prohibited, in order not to endanger the "com'on good," to "adventure ou^r the see," "neyther to land the com'on goods but at their own aventure." "The com'on seale of the felliship" was not to be given out by him, "for no maner, matter, nor cause," but by the advice of "the wardeyns and the associat', or moost of theym." They were besides to promise, "bona fide, according to the utmost of their power, without having regard

to any single profit or favor of any person, to render a true and faithful account of all their receipts, to the new masters, in the presence of auditors chosen for that purpose."

"A Bedel," "to warne and summon the felliship, as often as bidden by the wardeyns," was engaged as early as the year 1348, to whom for his trouble was assigned, "his clothyng of the livery," and four pence per week. The first person named to this office was a John Leanter, and on his being superannuated, in 1359, he was allowed a retiring pension of *sixpence per week.* In subsequent ordinances of the company it was agreed "that the bedel should be payed v markes a yere and a gowne," when they gave a new livery, and "meate and drink with the wardeyns for the time being." Besides summoning the fellowship, it was the beadle's duty, after the old custom, to head the company's processions, mounted on horseback, in a crimson livery, and followed by minstrels; he also performed journeys of business as the company's agent, and was, on many other accounts, an important personage on the establishment.

A Priest or chaplain, to pray for the welfare of the society and its concerns, was considered an indispensable part of all the fraternities, secular and religious. The grocers, we have seen, made choice of one at their first meeting; and, by an article in their second ordinance, every member was enjoined "to pay vi^{d} to the wardeyns for finding such priestis wagis, and for relieving the almsmen of the felliship."

The office of Clerk, now the most important one the companies have at their disposal, does not appear to have been regularly instituted among the grocers till 1460, though the excellent way in which their books were kept from their first meeting implies the engagement of some person long before, as a substitute for that officer. His yearly salary was £6 13*s.* 4*d.* In several of the other companies the clerk is distinctly mentioned at a much earlier period. The brewers' records notice the death of their clerk, "John Morey," in 1418; and soon after state, that "William Porlond was taken to the same office, to be clerk of the said brewers. They resided with their families (if any) at the hall: for an entry in the same book of the following year, states the masters to have "licensed and granted to the said William Porlond, common clerk of the craft aforesaid, and to his wife, Dionizia,

and to his children and servants, free and quiet dwelling in the hall of the company, commonly called 'Brewers' Hall;' with the use of the chamber, and of the utensils and necessaries belonging to the said hall." It was the duty of the clerk, amongst his other important functions, to be the discreet depositary of the company's secrets. All transactions and securities connected with their property and privileges were conducted by, and intrusted to him. He was keeper of the company's common seal, the guardian of the muniment-room, and the officer by, or under whose direction, all their books and records were kept and registered. Modern times have added many other duties to the clerk's place, which make it one now of high trust and emolument.

Cook, is an officer not expressly mentioned in the grocers' early books; but as our ancestors, like ourselves, seem to have considered that no important work could be prosperously undertaken without a good dinner, (and this dinner, anciently, was always prepared at the hall,) no doubt can exist but that this "indispensable corporate officer" was one of the first that was appointed. We might enlarge on this subject by recalling to memory what has just been stated, that the grocers, when they first met to form a fraternity, began with their *pic-nic* at the abbot of Bury's, and continued a like sort of entertainment through all their meetings; but we shall reserve a fuller discussion of the subject for its proper place, the description of the halls and festivities of the companies.

Assistants, are to be traced in the councils of twelve of the Saxon gilds, and in the eschevins and elders of those of the Norman era. The first hint of them in the Livery Companies occurs in the records of the grocers, under the year 1379, when six persons of that company were chosen to aid the wardens in the discharge of their duties: they were to be elected annually, and to forfeit 12*d.* every time they failed in their attendance. The resolution for their appointment is thus worded in the original entry:

"At y^e^ furst congregacyon of y^e^ wardeyns there shall be chosin six of y^e^ companie to be helpyng and counsellynge of y^e^ same wardeyns for the yeere followinge."

The substitute for these assistants in 1346 was four

persons (William Grantham, William de Hanapested, Thomas Freland, and John de Bromford), who are stated "to have been chosen by all the company to superintend the accounts and delivery of the wardens." In 1349, the number of these auditors appears to have been reduced to two; the retiring wardens' accounts of that year being stated to be rendered to John de Gonwardby and Robert de Hatfelde, as "auditors of the accounts."

Something like a court, it is probable, soon followed the appointment of the first-mentioned six assistants or counsellors; for, in after-entries of the reign of Edward III. their successors are denominated "the feliship associed." Mr. Heath has also engraved a curious antique memorial, yet remaining with the company, evidently an appurtenance of these early courts; and which seems to have been a substitute for the bell and hammer of modern courts or committees. It is a little carved figure of St. Anthony, holding a small bell, which the master or chairman struck, when he wished to gain the attention of the meetings. A particular account of this interesting relic will be given hereafter.

The brewers' books, in 1420, mention in decided terms the establishment in that company of what may be considered a court of assistants, though not so named, and specify its duties. The entry which records the occurrence states a "resolution made by Thomas Greene, master, and the three wardens, '*and others*,' that they and their successors should meet a 'brewereshalle,' there to hold their communication, on what necessities of the same craft were to be enquired of, sought into, and executed by them, as they should see most expedient for its honor and prosperity." Their meetings were to be held every Monday, except when changed to other days on account of festivals. This company's affairs had evidently been conducted previously by general assemblies of the companies, with the masters; for the year before (1419) the clerk is said to have been elected by the master and wardens, "with the counsell and unanimous consent of the brewers' craft."

The books of the merchant tailors, in noticing this sort of court, make the first mention we have met with of *Assistants*, by name, in 1512; when "the common clerk of

the company," (Henry Maynard,) is said, in an entry amongst their minutes, to have "transacted certain affairs of the company, at the commandment and request of the master and wardens, with the *advice* of the more part of the most substanciall and discreet persons, *assistants* and counsellors of the said fraternity." In the reign of Elizabeth, mention is made in the same company's records of "promiscuous courts of assistants," and "ordering courts of masters and wardens," together in succession. The merchant tailors also constituted what they called "wardens substitutes," which were a sort of court of sixteen persons, "to aid and assist in such matters as the court of assistants should direct." Dr. Wilson's list, in his History of Merchant-tailors' School, of the latter courts, when Sir William White, (the Oxford founder,) and other eminent men, were on them, shews their members to have been numerous at this time.

Subjection to City Control.—The subjection of the companies to the mayor has been shewn by their charters, and by the oath "of the wardens of crafts," already copied. It had, however, been acknowledged before the existence of either of those authorities, by the appeal of the weavers and burillers to Elias Russel, in the reign of Edward I. It was also admitted, by the weavers being exempted from such control by the grant of Henry II.,; and by King John's revoking that grant, on being promised an additional *ferme* by the city. Common sense would indeed prove that a sort of visiting jurisdiction over the trade societies of the metropolis must, from their foundation, have existed, as a matter of necessity, in the civic authorities.* We shall only stop at present to give a few specimens of the

* The brewers acknowledge this subjection in a very humble petition, dated 1435, in which they address the chief city magistrate as their "right worshipfull and gracious lord and sovereign, the maior of London." In after ages the mayor, (virtute officii,) is styled "master of all the companies," (City Records, Rep. 29, fo. 182.) In a contest respecting the rights of a minor company in the reign of Elizabeth, they similarly speak of him, as "the warden of all the companies." The return to a habeas corpus in 1646 sets out the precise jurisdiction of the court of aldermen over the companies. (Jor. City Records, Adams, No. 40, fo. 375.) Ever since alderman Plumber's case, in 1775, who was master of the Goldsmiths' Company, and refused to attend a common hall, on the precept of the mayor (Beckford), to present to the crown a petition for redress of grievances, (and which refusal was sanctioned by the Court of King's Bench,) several companies have uniformly declined to attend common halls, unless for election purposes.—Vide Commentaries on London.

City's exercise of this power, and chiefly with a view to amusement. It will be seen from them, that the mayor could fine and imprison the wardens of companies at his pleasure; and that it was common to make presents, or, what modern times would call, give bribes, in order to obtain favour during his year of mayoralty. The instances we shall quote are from the records just referred to of the brewers'. They are curious for giving the character of each mayor, accordingly as he proved favourable or unfavourable to the craft.

The first entry we meet with is in 1422, and respects an information against the company for selling dear ale. The complainant in this case was no less a personage than the renowned Sir Richard Whittington. The substance of it, translated from the original, in Norman French, follows:

"On Thursday, July 30, 1422, Robert Chichele, the mayor, sent for the masters and twelve of the most worthy of our company to appear at the Guildhall; to whom John Fray, the recorder, objected a breach of government, for which 20*l.* should be forfeited for selling *dear ale.* After much dispute about the price and quality of malt, wherein 'Whityngtone,' the late mayor, declared 'that the brewers had ridden into the country and forestalled the malt, to raise its price,' they were convicted in the penalty of 20*l.*; which objecting to, the masters were ordered to be kept in prison in the chamberlain's custody, until they should pay it, or find security for the payment thereof."

Whittington having obtained his conviction, and the mayor and court of aldermen "gone homeward to their meat," the masters (who, the record proceeds to state, remained in custody,) "asked the chamberlain and clerk what they should do? who bade them go home, and promised that no harm should come to them; for all this proceeding had been done but to please Richard Whityngtone, for he was the cause of all the foresaid judgement."

The same year furnishes an example of the city's control in what may be termed the impressment of the companies into the public service. It states that in

"1422, Parliament having enacted that all the weirs or 'rydells,' in the Thames between Staines and Gravesend, and Queensborough, should be destroyed, the mayor and common

council ordained that two men from each of the twenty-six crafts should go out with the mayor for this business. With the brewers were joined six other crafts, viz. the girdlers, fletchers, salters, barbers, dyers, and tallow-chandlers, who were all to go in *one barge*. The fletchers excusing themselves as being too busy on account of preparing 'artillery' for the king, (who was then in France,) were permitted to find substitutes, and make payment.

"Thomas Grene and Robert Swannefeld were chosen on this occasion to go up to Kingston on the part of the brewers, who spent 13*s.* 4*d*; and Robert Carpenter and John Mason to go to Gravesend, who spent 20*s.*; each having a reward of 6*s.* 8*d.* They moreover paid to the chamberlain 56*s.* for three workmen for twenty-eight days, and by order of the mayor levied the amount on the craft for this purpose; but which (it is added) was with difficulty collected."

The system of bribery is entertainingly illustrated by the following entries:

1422-3. "A note (in Latin) that William Walderne (mayor that year) behaved well to the company, until two or three weeks before his retirement from office;" when, beginning to annoy them, they "assuaged his displeasure" by presenting to him "a *boar*, price 20*s.*; and an *ox*, price 17*s.*"

Whittington himself is stated to have received a douceur through his servant, in an item of expenditure in the warden's accounts afterwards; which debits the company 7*l.* 3*s.* 4*d.* "for ij pipes of red wyne to Richard Whetyngton's butler." In a succeeding mayoralty another sum of 13*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* is charged "for gyfts to the lord maior." Other entries record the receiving of presents of different kinds, both by the chief magistrate and his officers; or speak of such gifts as customary compliments to obtain favour. Thus we find in

1423, an entry of "money given to divers serjeants of the maior, for to be good friends to our craft," or, as it is afterwards worded, "for their labour to the profit of the craft." Mention is also made of 16*l.* "given to a tasker of the kings, to suffer our carpenters still in our work;" (who were artisans employed at this time in the repairs of the company's hall, and were liable to be impressed for the king's works.)

1424. "A record in praise of John Michelle."—He was mayor

this year; and, though a receiver of presents, like his predecessors, is eulogised, because "he was a good man, and meek and soft to speak with. When he was sworn into office, the brewers gave to him an *ox* that cost 21*s.* 2*d.* and a *boar*, price 30*s.* 1*d.*; so that he did no harm to the brewers, and advised them to make good ale, that he might not have any complaint against them."

The preceding year, 1423, affords an example of a mayor who would *not* take a bribe. The entry is in these words:

"William Crowmere, mayor this year, was a good man, and well pleased all the citizens, especially the brewers; when the masters offered gifts to him he thanked them, but would not receive *any*."

A long notice in Latin describes the character and behaviour to the company of Robert Chichely, mayor in 1423, who, it is said, "always treated the brewers well, and early exhorted them to due diligence in their craft, and to prevent transgressors." It concludes with mentioning a regulation made by him as to the beer trade of the time, not exactly applying to our present subject, but curious. It was—

"That retailers of ale should sell the same in their houses in pots of '*peutre*,' sealed and open; and that whoever carried ale to the buyer should hold the pot in one hand and a cup in the other; and that all who had pots unsealed should be fined."

Liveries.—Liveries are not mentioned to have been worn by any of the companies before the reign of Edward I., as observed in the case of the sadlers,* and then they emanated from themselves. Stow had not read "of any licences procured by them to wear liveries but at their governor's discretion to appoint, and as discretion asked, sometimes in triumphant manner, sometimes in more mourning wise; and such liveries," he adds, "they took upon them as well before as since they were by licence associated into such brotherhoods." He instances, of the former kind, a procession of the citizens in 1329, on Edward the First's marriage, at Canterbury, with his second queen, Margaret, when the fraternities rode, to the number of six hundred, "in one livery of red and white, *with the connu-*

* Strype's Stow, 1754, II, p. 246.

zances of their mysteries embroidered on their sleeves."* They are also described by Matthew Paris to have worn a costume at the marriage of Henry III.; but their dress on these occasions could not be denominated a livery in the modern sense of the term, as the crafts were all dressed alike. Of their afterwards assuming a mourning dress, Stow instances the case of Henry the Seventh's funeral, when the corporation of London, with all the livery companies, met the king's body in St. George's Fields dressed in black.†

The grocers' resolutions, as we have seen, prescribe the wearing of a livery to that company, at their first meeting in 1345; and from their ordinances in 1348, which are, perhaps, the earliest known in which the fashion of it is particularized, we find that the common habit consisted of an upper and an under garment, called a "coat and surcote;" the cloak or gown, and the hood, being reserved for ceremonials, and completing what was termed "*the full suit.*" There seems also to have been an undress, or part dress, called "*the hooding;*" perhaps allowed to freemen, who were not esteemed "full brothers," like the livery. In the fishmongers' gild of St. Peter, some years later,‡ it is ordained that

"Ones in eu[r]y yere ayens the fest of Seint Peter and Poule, the same frat[r]nite, that is to seye, eu[r]y p'son thereof, shall have the *lyu[r]e*, be it *hole clothing* or elles *hodyng* atte ordinuince of the wardeyns for the tyme beyng, and that eu[r]y p'son kepe his clothyng and lyu[r]e to (two) yere durynge, withouten geoyng it away to prentys, or to any other man or woman that is nought of the same frat[r]nite."§

* Strype's Stow, 1247.

† Ibid.

‡ Lib. S. Petri, MS. Guildhall Library.

§ Stow notices the *hood* (which was evidently copied from the monk's cowl) as an indispensable appendage to the ancient civic liveries. The coverture of men's heads in these times, he says, was *hoods;* for neither cap nor hat is spoken of, except in the case of John Wells, mayor; and he refers to the liveries of Thomas of Lancaster, in the reign of Edward II., who allowed to every garment of his liveries fur, to fur their *hoods;* and to the pictures of aldermen in the reign of Henry VI. and Edward IV., who, with their scarlet gowns "on their backs, wore hoods on their heads." He mentions also a representation of the mayor in stained glass remaining in the guildhall chapel, sitting "in a habit party-coloured, and an hood on his head, the common-clerk and others bareheaded, with their hoods on their shoulders;" and therefore he took it that square caps, as then worn, had their rise not earlier than Henry VII. Sir John White, amongst the "young aldermen" the author sneers at, as the first, he says, that wore the flat round cap, and left that example to his followers. He speaks also of the Spanish

To be admitted on the livery of a company was technically called "having the clothing." The grocers' fraternity were to be "clothed once a year *in a suit of livery;* and if they desire more, the same to be by assente, whether as coats or surcotes:" the purchase of this dress was to be made by the wardens, who were to receive a deposit of one penny from each person ordering it, forty pence more when the livery was bought, and the balance when it was delivered to the wearer. It was to be worn by all the fraternity, and was to last for two years. By a subsequent order, stating that some persons of the mystery had liveries made by such as were not of the fraternity. The fraternity's livery was to be worn by none but members, and was to be bought against Saint Anthony's day, in the month of May, when the whole brotherhood, but *not strangers,* were to be clothed in a full suit.*

Liveries, in the manner of the fraternities, becoming some years afterwards a general and dangerous party badge, it was ordained by Act 20 Rich. II. s. 1, "that no varlets called yeomen, nor none others of less estate than esquire, shall use nor bear no *badge* or livery, called *livery of company,* (ne porte null signe ne livʳee appelle livʳee de compaignie,) of any lord within the realm, unless he be menial, or familiar, or continual officer of his said lord." And it was further ordained, by statute of 26 Rich. II.,

felt hats, in his time beginning to supersede even the round cap itself; but adds, "in London, amongst the graver sort, I mean the *livery of companies,* remaineth a memory of the hoods of old time worn by their predecessors." He continues: "these hoods were worn, the roundlet upon their heads, the skirts to hang behind in their necks to keep them warm, the tippet to be on the shoulder, or to wind about their necks, &c." (Strype, ii. p. 248.) The hood was not confined to the livery companies. Merks, bishop of Carlisle in the reign of Richard II., is represented with that article of dress. It is plenteous in old monumental representations of citizens. The judge's coif and the monk's cowl were a species of hood. In more modern days, it existed in the red cloaks with which the farmers' wives went to market. It is now almost wholly superseded by the cape and the tippet.

* The permission to wear the livery was afterwards extended to honorary members. In 1435, a receipt of 20*l.* is acknowledged from "Sir Henry Bamflete, for his entry into the clothynge and brotherhood," (*Account of Grocers' Company,* p. 47.) This custom, by which the crafts broke their own laws, in admitting strangers to understand their "mysteries," had become common in other companies before this date. The brewers' books have a "Mem'dum: That Cornelius Gheene, a Dutchman, was admitted a freeman of the Brewers' Company, in the mayoralty of Drugo Barentyn, and was afterwards levied in the wars of King Henry V. as one of the king's esquires; and that, on his return from France, wishing to renew his connection with the company, he was admitted on paying his arrears of 10*s.*, and 2*s.* for two years to come."

"That no spiritual or temporal lord, or others of less estate, or of whatsoever condition he might be, should give livery of cloth, either to the familiars of his household, his relations or kin, his stewards, council, or to the bailiffs of his manors: and also, that no livery should be given under colour of a gild or fraternity, or of any other association, whether of gentry, or servants, or of the commonalty; but that the whole should be abolished within ten months next after the parliament then sitting: and further, that any taking livery contrary to that ordination, might be imprisoned without redemption: that the gild and fraternities offending, should lose their franchises, and those having no franchises, should forfeit 100*l.* to the king.*

It was in consequence of these statutes, as we shall see, that the companies were thenceforward obliged to have the king's licence to wear liveries: the nature of them seems to have been left to their own fancy.

All the companies continued to vary in the *colour* of this habit, until it became settled, about the beginning of the seventeenth century; but they appear, notwithstanding their difference as to colours, to have all dressed, as to fashion, nearly uniform as now.

In the grocers' books, under the year 1414, that company are stated to have worn "scarlet and green." In 1418, "scarlet and black." At the commencement of Henry the Sixth's reign the colours had changed to "murrey and plunket;" the former described to be "a darkly-red," and the latter "a kind of blue." The grocers' colours are afterwards mentioned to be "murrey and plunket celestyne," the latter, a sky-coloured blue, 322 yards of which cloth (of the two colours) are stated to have cost 102*l.* 11*s.* 9*d.* In 1450 this company had a little varied the above colours; their blue gowns being ordered to be thenceforth of "vyolette in grayne," and "for hodyes, parted with crymsyn." Their beadle's under dress, in the reign

* "Assigning liveries to dependants and followers had been common from the Conquest, viz. for the king's judges, ministers, servants and others. (*Vide Hist. Exch.* 1, *pp.* 204, 220.) The nobility and others used to clothe their followers, about the reign of Richard II. for the purpose of maintaining their state and quarrels; when they began to be denounced under the name of '*Maintainers.*' The adoption of liveries by the companies was probably in imitation. When they had got into established use, we find the aldermen assuming the power of granting and regulating them; and they subsequently required that the companies should attend in that garb at all solemnities."—Comment. on London.

of Henry IV., is said to have been of "grene cloth;" 3 yards of which, in 1401, cost 7*s.* as by the following entry:

"Paie a le Bedyl Robt. Storm por. son vesture encoutre novele, por. iij. verges dr. p. verd. vij*s.*"

"Sanguine," or "cloth of blood-colour," (also a species of red,) "parted with rayes," or striped cloth, and combined with green, were leading colours in other companies. The wardens' accounts of the brewers contain in 5 Henry V. entries of the purchase of "fine green cloth and cours-cloth," (drap. verd fyn and cours-cloth,) of divers drapers for that company's livery; with "cloths of ray, Savy-brown, and cloth de colore,"* the cost of which amounted in the whole to 185*l.* 4*s.* 10*d.* The latter colours are stated to have been bought for gowns and for "chaperons;† the green and cours-cloth" were probably for vestments. A list accompanying these entries records the names of members to whom the livery was granted, with the quantities, kinds, and cost of the cloth delivered to each person, and its appropriation, whether for gowns or chaperons. In a similar list which follows, are contained the names of females entitled to the company's livery, amounting to thirty-nine in number, and who are credited for payment of their quarterage-money. They seem to have been divided into the three classes of maids, wives, and widows; some of the names being set down without any addition, others as the wives of persons mentioned; and others again with the title of widow, or "jadys la feme de" Richard, John, &c. In some cases the husband pays "por. luy and sa feme," in which case the quarterage is 2*s.*, in all other instances the amount in this company is 12*d.*‡

* Or of "*one colour*," perhaps as distinguished from the rayed or striped cloth. The entry enumerates the drapers from whom the cloth is bought, with the names and price. As, Of William Weston of London, two whole cloths of livery, each piece containing 32 yards, 16*s.*; John Ringrove, tailleur, citezen de Loundres, one piece of green of 7 yards length, 30*s.*; William Ferriers, one piece of green, of 30 yards, 7*l.* 10*s.*; and of Robert Tatersale, draper, of London, a piece of green cloth, 24 yards long, 4*l.* 16*s.*; also John Griffith, of whom were bought 16 cloths of ray; and several other persons.

† A species of hat or hood, given at this time with liveries, and of which further mention will be made as we proceed.

‡ "Ceux sount lez Nomes de ceaux qui sount Freres & Soeurs de n're fratr. nite & ount payez leur Quar. trages & valorem drap' de n're Livr. e en ceste an." The names credited include, under the following forms of entry, "Allce Hore, xij*d.*; Anneys Gratten, xij*d.*; Constance Hossard, xij*d.*; Dioneys

In the 9th of Henry V. and during the mayoralty of William Cambrigge, there are again entries of the purchase of "rayes of cloth and blood-colour, for the clothing of the brethren and sisters of the fraternity of brewers' craft," amounting to 99*l.* 16*s.* 2½*d.* They also repeat the notices of those who had "chaperons of the livery," as well as advert to the custom of the company having "a dinner the first day that we did cut our cloth of livery."

An interesting specimen of the "full clothing," or livery, near the time we are speaking of, will be seen in the accompanying engraving of

HENRY VI. DELIVERING THE LEATHERSELLERS' CHARTER, A.D. 1444.

It is composed of beautiful illuminations, forming the initial letter and part of an ornamented border of the charter, and affords a fine idea of the royal costume of the period, as well as of the livery then worn by the companies.

The young king appears on the throne under a "State," habited in a crimson vest, and robe of azure blue, furred with ermine; and he wears a high tapering single-bowed crown,

Bershope, xij*d.*; Constance Carron, xij*d.*; Kat^{r} ne Roche, xij*d.*; Margarete Cadynghouse, xij*d.*; Julyan Hardersete, widowe, xij*d.*; Joh'ne la feme de John Harolde, wolmong^{r} xij*d.*; la feme jadys de Mest^{r} William Cooke, xij*d.*; Johane jadys la feme de Piers, Worke, xij*d.*; Richarde Frenys, luy & sa feme, ij*s.*; Richard Terell, po^{r} luy & sa feme ij*s.*; And^{w} Brett, po^{r} luy & sa feme, ij*s.*" &c.

like that now appropriated to the princes of Wales: the throne has a scarlet drapery, and rests on a black and yellow checquered pavement; the back ground is composed of crimson hangings elegantly figured. The livery wear a dress of two colours, *red* and *blue*, or the murrey and plunket just mentioned, "parted," or divided into equal halves, according to the peculiar fashion of the period;* it is furred at the bottom, skirts, and round the collar, and closed at the waist by a light-coloured girdle, possibly of the sort described in the statue of 15 Richard II., c. 11, as "the girdles garnished with white metal, of old time used." The figures have their hair cropped, somewhat in the monkish style, and wear scarlet pantaloons piqued at the toes.

The next engraving represents the livery dress two centuries later; and, though not exactly in place here as to date, is given for the sake of comparison. It is from illuminations in the border of a second charter granted to this company by James I. The dress at this period strongly assimilated with that now in use; the difference principally consisting in the liverymen wearing caps and hoods, and having a long furred lappet pendant from the gown-sleeves. The hoods are parted, red and black, like those of the graduates in our Universities;

* Party-coloured gowns were not confined to the Livery Companies at this date. Strype had read that "in ancient times, the officers of this city wore gowns of party colours, namely, *the right side of one colour* and *the left side of another;* as, for example, he adds, "I read in books of accounts in Guildhall, that in the 19th year of Henry VI. there was bought for an officer's gown two yards of cloth, viz. coloured *mustard villars*, (a colour now out of use,) and two yards of cloth coloured blew, price 2*s.* the yard, in all 8*s.* More paid to John Pope, draper, for two gown cloths, eight yards of two colours, *eux ambo deux de rouge*, or *red; medley brune* and *porre* (or purple) colour, price, the yard, 2*s.* These gowns were for Piers Rider and John Buckle, clerks of the chamber."

The same writer states that, subsequently it became a custom for the mayor and the sheriffs to give liveries. That the clerks of companies returned to the former the names of members who wished for the mayor's livery; each whereof had to send 20*s.* at least, in a purse, with his name, as a benevolence or part payment, and for which the mayor returned him four yards of cloth for a gown, "of the mayor's livery." The cloth was *rayed*, or *striped across*, like the above worn by the brewers; and the gowns were called "*ray gowns.*" On Sir William Bailey becoming mayor, in 1516, he requested liberty to give cloth of only *one colour* for these gowns, and the matter being debated in the common council, a member answered, (according to Stow,) and said, "*yea*, it might be permitted," and no man said *nay*, and so it passed." Sir William Lodge, when mayor, discontinued the use of cloth for gowns, and gave satin to make doublets instead; which latter, our author quaintly adds, "was at length turned into a *silver spoon*, and so it holdeth."

the gowns are black, &c., trimmed with "budge," or "foins."

LIVERYMEN IN THE REIGN OF JAMES I.

The colours of the hoods, between the above periods, are particularized in the books of the merchant tailors', of the date 1568-9, about which period this part of the dress appears to have been quite arbitrary, varying from scarlet, with "puke," or "between black and russet," to "crimson and puke," and then again to "scarlet and crimson." The entries also state this company to have had a superior and inferior livery:

"1568. Agreed by the court that there shall not at any time hereafter be more livery members of the mystery that shall be of the livery of this mystery, who shall wear any other colours in their hoods at any times, but only *scarlet* and *puke;* and those colours to stand both for the *best*, and *second* liveries; and any hood or hoods made of the colours of *crimson* and *puke*, shall not hereafter be worn by any of the livery." This order is afterwards followed by another, to bring to the hall "the hoods of the livery that are *scarlet* and *crimson*," in lieu of others to be given them, and for which there should be paid "what the wardens should judge reasonable."

Such were the common liveries of the companies at the dates mentioned. On occasions of shew and triumph, and particularly when in compliment to royalty, changes were made in order to render them more splendid; as "blew

gowns, with red hoods;" "brown-blew, with broaderyd sleevys;" and "red, with hoods red and white." To this selection of vivid colours, the shewy effect of which can be easily imagined, there were likewise added the glittering ornament of the company's "trade conuzances," which were always "embroidered" on some conspicuous part of the dress.

Observances.—The "observances" of the companies, in which we include all matters of ceremonial, cost, and custom, at their elections, funerals, and attendances on state and civic triumphs, form a part of their history especially calculated to please the general reader. They afford illustrations of the manners, expenses, dress and state of society in former times, which interest and inform us by comparison; while at the same time they delight the imagination by the novel and romantically coloured effect of the scenes they present. We relish Lydgate's minutely faithful descriptions of the shews and processions of "the Trades," notwithstanding the uncouthness of his poetry, and like to hear him

> "Tellen alle the circumstauncys
> Of every thyng shewed in sentencs,
> Noble devyses, diverse ordinauncys,
> Conveid be scripture with ful gret excellence;
> When all the peple glad of look and cher,
> Ythemkyd God with alle there hertys entier,
> To se there kyng repair to there citee,
> Middes meir, citezeins, and al the comonte."

What confers an additional interest on the shows of this period is, that almost all the ceremonies of the companies, and indeed, every public act, was then more or less mixed up with the catholic religion; a religion which, uniting with it a peculiar splendor of worship, shed over them a lustre, which we find but faintly reflected, on its disuse. In fact, the companies, as already observed, were themselves at first half-ecclesiastical bodies, and therefore naturally partook in these respects of the order from which they sprung.*

* This demi-religious character evidenced itself in the mode of their foundation; in their choosing patron saints and chaplains; founding altars to such saints in the churches they held the advowson of, and in various other ways: none of the trades assembled to form fraternities, without ranging themselves under the banner of some saint; and, if possible, they chose a saint who either bore a relation to their trade, or to some other analogous circumstance. The fishmongers adopted St. Peter, and met, as we have seen, at St. Peter's church;

Elections more particularly displayed this ecclesiastical part of their character. Having purchased their livery cloth, cut it up to the jollity of a good dinner, and distributed and had it made up, the fraternity, *en masse*, on the morning of the patron saint's day, appeared at the hall in their new suits. But little refreshment, if any, was allowed; a strict attendance on religious duties uniformly preceding the indulgence of festivity. They then proceeded to church. We have no accounts of these processions being distinguished for splendor in early times. They were certainly plainer than afterwards, and derived their imposing effect chiefly, perhaps, from the freshness of the company's new dresses, a trade-banner or two, and their being headed by their domestic priest and beadle. The grocers, in 1346, are merely said to have agreed by "com'on assente, yat everie man of the brotherh^{d}, hee being yn the cytie the daie of St. Antonyne, yn the monyth of Maye, shall comen to the cherche of Seint Antonyne aforesaid, yf they bee in London, for to here the high masse, and there to abyde from the begynnyne unto the endyng of the masse, and eche of them shall offre a *peny* in the worshype of God, his blessed moder Marye, Seint Antonyne, and all seyntes."

the drapers chose the Virgin Mary, mother of the "Holy Lamb," or fleece, as the emblem of that trade, and appropriately assembled, in like manner, at St. Mary Bethlem church, Bishopsgate; the goldsmiths' patron was St. Dunstan, reputed to have been a brother artisan; the merchant tailors', another branch of the draping business, marked their connexion with it by selecting St. John Baptist, who was the harbinger of the Holy Lamb so adopted by the drapers, and which, as being anciently cloth-dealers, still constitutes the crest of that society. In other cases, the companies denominated themselves fraternities of the particular saint in whose church or chapel they assembled, and had their altar. Thus, the grocers called themselves "the fraternity of St. Anthony," because they had their altar in St. Anthony's church; the vintners, "the fraternity of St. Martin," from the like connexion with St. Martin's Vintry church; and the skinners, and the salters, both societies of Corpus Christi, from meeting, the one at the altar of that name in St. Laurence Poultry church; and the other at Corpus Christi chapel, in All Saints, Bread-street. The similarity of their dress to the monastic orders has been already adverted to. Like them, too, they professed their societies to be founded in honour of particular patrons, conjointly with the Deity or the Virgin, and for the promotion of piety,—or "in the hon^{r} of God, his meek mother (douche mere,) and of Seynt Antonyne and Alle Seynts," as the grocers profess in their ordinances of 1345; and to which their second ordinances (1379) add, "for advancing the hono^{r} of God and his holy chirche, and enlarging the hour of charity." Numerous other proofs of religious character might be adduced, were it necessary. Indeed, it has been truly observed, that "the maintenance of their 'arts and mysteries' during several ages, was blended with so many customs and observances, that it was not till the times subsequently to the Reformation that the fraternities could be regarded as strictly secular."

The fishmongers, in 1426, had an ordinance to the same purport; but it only directs that every year, on the festival of St. Peter, "alle the brethren and sustern of the same fraternite shall come in their newe lyvre to the chirche of Seint Peter, and there here a solemyne masse in the worship of God and Seint Peter, and offir atte offering tyme of the same masse what at is her devocion."

At later periods, however, the fraternities made procession to their respective churches in great form. They were then accompanied by the religious orders in their rich costumes, bearing wax torches and singing, and frequently attended by the lord mayor and great civic authorities in state. The skinners' fraternity of Corpus Christi are so described by Stow to have made their procession on Corpus Christi day; having "borne before them," he tells us, "more than two hundred torches of wax, costly garnished, burning bright," (or painted and gilded with various devices, as was then the fashion;) "and above two hundred clerks and priests in surplices and copes, singing: after which came the sheriffs' servants, the clerks of the compters, chaplains to the sheriffs, the mayor's serjeants, counsell of the city, the mayor and aldermen in scarlet, and then the skinners, in their best liveries." Their return, of course, brought their great guests home to dinner, where old English hospitality was displayed in all its magnificence and profusion, as will be presently described.*

The further religious part of the ceremonies pertaining to elections were not furnished till the following Sunday. They then went again in procession to church, to hear a mass

* A temporary revival of these imposing shews took place in Mary's days, previously to their final discontinuance. Fabian, writing of that reign, in his Chronicle, says:

"The xiij daie of Maie was mondai in whitsun weke, and then came the procession of St. Peter in Cornhill, with divers other parishes, and the maier and aldermen, fishmongers and goldsmiths, vnto Powles, after the *old custome*, and other processions all the three daies, as they were wont to do." (p. 74.)

At the beginning of the same reign an entry in the grocers' books, (which company had, with others, before discontinued the catholic ceremonies,) notices that company's readoption of them in the following terms:

"Senday, June 8, 1556—My maistres the aldermen, the wardeyns, and the hole leverie, assembled at their comon house, called 'Grocers' Havll,' and from thens they went to their churche, called St. Stevens, Walbroke, (St. Anthony's church having been destroyed with the hospital,) where they heard dirge songe; and that being ended, they returned to their sayde havll, where they drank according to their *olde custome*."

of requiem solemnized for their deceased members, and made similar offerings. The Bead Roll, on these occasions was called over; and, on the solemn injunction to pray for the souls of the departed, "and all cresten," the company repeated their orisons. The priest then said a general prayer for the whole surviving part of the fraternity, naming each individual separately by name. They then returned to their hall, paid their quarterage and balances of livery money, which latter were always to be settled on that day, and credited in the warden's books, and enjoyed themselves at a comfortable but minor sort of dinner, for which they had paid in advance at the time of their other payments; or, as it is stated in the old quaint language of the fishmongers' statutes, from which we partly glean these particulars. "On the Sunday next after the aforesaid festival of St. Peter and St. Paul, afore mete tyme they shall been all p[r]sent in the same chirche in their lyv[r]e aforesaid, ther to here a solempne masse of requiem for all the soules of the same frat[r]nite, and for all chris[e]n soules, and atte whiche masse the preest of the same frat[r]nite openly in the pulpit shal reherce and recomende to all good prayers *by name* all brethern and sistern quyke and deed of the forseid frat[r]nite, and all cristen; and in this same sonday shall all this frat[r]nite have and hold a fest or a semble, as the wardeynes for the tyme beying willen ordeyne; and that ev[r]y ps'one atte that same tyme shall paie for her leyv[r]e als it comyth to and here quart[r]age also if he owe ony atte that tyme, and for the fest also."

The other services peculiar to the occasion (and which were to take place after the offertory and mass of requiem), consisted of the psalm "Deus misreatur n're," with a special orison, "Deus qui caritatis, or a memorye for the quyke;" and, after the psalms, "De profundis," and "Deus venire largitor," also, "for the dede."*

* The priest's routine of duties on other days furnished full employment, and may amuse the reader:

He was to be charged to "seye his masse ev[r]e day but resonable cause it lette, with a special orison '*Deus qui caritutis*,' or a memorye for the quyke, and on other '*Deus venire largitor*,' for the dede, outake (except) hie and solempne festes in the whych he be spared but of his devocion; and also to say ev[r]e day feriall in the same chirch, after noon, *placebo* and the *dirige*, with ix lessons; and the same speciall orison abovesayd, for the same deede brethern and sistern,

Funerals formed a subject of equally strict religious observance. It was one of the articles of compact between the canons of St. Martin le Grand and the saddlers, in the Saxon times, that the latter should be all separately prayed for when dead; and that for every deceased member St. Martin's bell should be tolled, "and procession made with burial freely and honourably." This brotherly custom continued in full force on re-founding the companies. The grocers engaged their mortuary priest at their first dinner; and it was again an express point, in their new ordinances of 1463, "That at the death of a member of the brotherhood in London, the warden for the year should order the beadle to warn the brothers to go to the dirge, and on the morrow to the masse, under pain of viiis." In the same manner was the point to be kept if any of the fraternity died out of London, and his brother members should happen to be on the spot. And further, if any one of the fraternity should die, and it should fortune that he did not leave sufficient to bury him, "then it to be done of the common goods, for the honor of the society." They add: "And when any one of the fraternity makes his will, he may, according to his circumstances and free will, devise what he chuses to the common box, for the better supporting of the fraternity and their alms."

Bequests at death from the more wealthy members were frequent. The grocers' records furnish early and curious instances; a few specimens of which we copy, for the amusement of the reader. Besides possessing the charm of antiquity, the entries have the additional piquancy peculiar to the catholic era, of mostly concluding with a prayer for the deceased, ejaculated with all the simplicity and fervour of such memorials at the time:

with the comendacion suying, (ensuing,) and every monday and friday, feriall, a masse of requie', or a memorie for all the soules of the forseyde brethern and sistern, and for all cristen soules; and evr y monday, wedenesday and fryday, vii. psalms penetenciall, and Letanie, with prayers and orysons that longen thereto, for the lyves and the soules aforeseyde, save only when theis psalms and Litanie been sayde in other divine service of the day." In addition to this routine of duties, the same priest was to be "able of cunnyng, that is to say, of redyng and syngyng, and of covenable undirstandyng, and honest of conv'sacion."

1464	Rece'd of the executors of Alderman Marrowe . .	£215	0	0
1471	Rece'd to the wele of the feliship, in redy mony, from the ex'tors of Sir Thomas Alleyne, grocer	40	0	0
1472	Rece'd of my master Sir Will'm Taillor at the berying of his son John Taillor —*Ihũ have mercy on his soul!* a reward to the feliship for their attendance . .	0	40s	0
1473	Rece'd from my master Sir Will'm Taillor atte th' intrment of mi lady his wyffe—Ihũ be mrcyfull vnto her sowle!—for a reward to the pore men of the felischip	0	20s	0
1477	Rece'd of the bequest of milady Alleyn—Ihũ be mrcyfull vnto her sowle!	0	40s	0
1478	Rece'd from the ex'tors of Sir John Crosbye	297	10	0
1484	Rece'd from the ex'tors of my lady Marrowe	200	0	0
1511	Rece'd of the bequest of Mr. Alderman Kebell . . .	700	0	0
1511	Rece'd of Sir John Patriche, knt.	563	6	8

Similar entries are common in the books of other companies. In 1512, we find it recorded in the warden's accounts of the merchant tailors, that

"Dame Jenyns, wife of Sir Stephen Jennings, for the good zeal she had to the company of merchant tailors, gave them a cloth of St. John, richly embroidered, set upon blue velvet, with a white rose over the head of St. John: the sides of green velvet, broidered with fleur de lys of Venice gold, *entere tenore*, for the service of the altar in their chapel." Many other instances might be given.

That no due token of respect might be wanting in celebrating the funerals of deceased members, indeed, that they might be buried with a degree of grandeur worthy the consequence of the fraternities they belonged to, almost the whole of these fraternities appear to have kept a state pall, or, as it was called, "Herse-cloth." The Sadlers' Company still have such a pall. It is of crimson velvet. The centre is of yellow silk, forming an elegant sprig pattern. On one side of the pall there is embroidered in raised work of gold thread, in the old English character, the words, "*In te Domine, Speravi;*" and on the other side, worked in like manner, the words, "*Ne me confunde in æternam.*" The head and foot of the pall have embroidered on them the arms of the company, and four kneeling angels surrounding the letters I.H.S. encircled by a glory: the whole is bordered with a broad gold fringe.*

* First noticed by Thos. Adderley, esq. in Gentleman's Magazine, vol. 83, p. 32.

The well-known printer, John Cawood, left such a pall to the Stationers' Company, in 1572. It is described in his will as "a herse clothe, of clothe of gold, pouderyd with blew velvet, and border'd abought with blacke velvet, embroidered and steyned with blew, yellow, red, and green." Cawood died in 1572.*

The merchant tailors' records mention that company possessing three different state palls in 1562, namely, "the state cloth of black velvet, broidered with gold; the burial cloth of black velvet, being in two parts, and embroidered with gold;" and "one large cloth, embroidered with the company's arms, being in three several pieces." The most interesting relic of the kind now known is the state pall of the fishmongers, yet kept at that company's hall; which, as of still greater antiquity, and affording a competent idea of the magnificent palls of the catholic times, will be found described below.†

* Gent. Mag. vol. lxxxiii. p. 32.

† The fishmongers' pall, commonly but erroneously described as "Walworth's pall," is in three pieces, like the last-mentioned pall of the merchant tailors, and exactly resembles in shape the one of the saddlers', just described, namely, that of a cross. It consists of a centre slip, about twelve feet long and two feet and a half wide; and two shorter sides, each eight feet eleven inches long, by one foot four inches wide, and, when laid over a corpse, must have totally enveloped the coffin, but without corner-folds, like our modern palls.

In the style of ornament, workmanship, and materials, this is one of the most superb works of its kind of ancient art; and in this country, as a remain of the old catholic faith, has probably no parallel.

The pattern of the central part is a sprig or running flower, the latter of which is composed of gold network bordered with red, and the whole whereof reposes on a smooth solid ground of cloth of gold. The end-pieces and side-borders to this middle slip are worked in different pictures and representations.

The end-pieces consist of a very rich and massy wrought picture, in gold and silk, of the patron, St. Peter, *in pontificalibus*. He is seated on a superb throne, his head crowned with the papal tiara. One hand holds the keys, the other is in the posture of giving the benediction. On each side of the saint is a kneeling angel, censing him with one hand, and holding a sort of golden vase with the other. Each of these end-pieces is perfectly similar; and the materials, which are beautifully worked, are of gold and silk. The angel's wings, according to the old custom in such representations, are composed of peacock's feathers in all their natural vivid colours; the outer robes are gold, raised with crimson; their under vests white, shaded with sky-blue; the faces are finely worked in satin after nature, and they have long yellow hair. St. Peter's vest, or under-robe, is crimson raised with gold; the inside of the hanging sleeves of his outer-robe, or coat, azure powdered with gold stars; a golden nimbus, or rather glory, encircles his head; and in his lap is placed an open book, having the following inscription in old English black letter on a silver ground,

"Credo in Deo patru' in Omnipoten's Creat',"

at the one end-piece, and at the other, similarly,

"Credo ĩ De'ũ Patriu' omnia."

Besides being buried, on ordinary occasions, with the state pall, and a respectable attendance of the brotherhood, members of superior rank were generally accompanied to interment by the lord mayor and civic authorities, besides a vast number of other persons. Many ancient wills abound with directions for conducting these last sombre ceremonies. The merchant tailors' records state it to have been an ancient custom of their society "to attend the funerals of worshipful brethren, and on the day of their interment to partake of a dinner at the hall, at which a commendable grace was said for the good brother deceased." To provide these funeral dinners sums were usually left by the deceased, or sent after death by the relatives to their halls. The warden's accounts of the company we are speaking of abound with entries of

The pictures of the side-pieces are divided into three compartments. The centre is Christ delivering the keys to Peter; the latter of whom is kneeling, and habited as in the end-pieces, but with only a glory encircling the head, and no crown, (he not being crowned Prince of the Apostles.) The Saviour is habited agreeably to the usual representations of him, as regards costume. His robe is crimson raised with gold, the inner vesture purple, and very rich; around the head is a superb circular glory, jewelled and coronetted. He graciously stoops to deliver the two golden keys of heaven and hell with one hand, while with the other he poises the golden mound of sovereignty, surmounted with the cross. A label, proceeding from the mouth, has inscribed, in the black letter, and on a silver ground, as before,

"Tibi Dabo Claves Regum Ceolo'm."

Both figures stand in a beautiful arched recess, within Gothic pinnacled buildings and ornaments. On each side of this middle picture (which is the same on both sides) the decorations are made up of the fishmongers' arms, richly and properly emblazoned. The supporters, merman and mermaid, are worked in their natural colours; the merman wears gold armour, the mermaid's body is of white silk thread beautifully worked, her long tresses of golden thread; a superb jewel hangs by a gold chain from her neck. Her mirror reflects a head like that of Christ or St. Peter.

The entire pall has a fringe two inches deep, of gold and purple silk threads, and is lined inside with black silk. The weight of the whole, owing to the quantity of gold and silver worked into it, is very considerable, and it is in the finest preservation.

Adverting to the age of this interesting relic, which we have already noticed as wrongly designated "*Walworth's Pall*," our own opinion would be, that it was about the reign of Henry VII. or Henry VIII., but rather the latter, and that it was the *last* catholic pall used by the company; which faith soon after being disused, accounts for its little wear and extreme freshness. The other evidences which fix it to this period, and are more in the nature of proofs, are the arms and the crown forming part of the crest. Strype states the fishmongers' arms, on the union of the companies, in 1536, to have "been more fully granted," that is, the stock-fishmongers' and salt-fishmongers' arms were united in one shield, which is the case here. The supporters are not said to have been added at this time, but it is hinted at by what follows, viz. "The antient arms and crest were ratified and confirmed, *with the grant of their supporters*, by Robert Cooke, Clarenceux, anno 1575." The crown of the crest is the bowed or arched crown, and of that fashion worn by the princes mentioned. All these reasons concur to fix the age of this pall somewhere about the date mentioned.

monies so received during the reigns of Elizabeth and James, varying in amount, but generally not less than 20*l.*

Sir Thomas Roe, merchant tailor and mayor in 1569, is stated, in the account of his funeral (1570,) in Lysons's Environs of London, to have left 66*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* for this purpose; in consequence of which, and of the high rank he held in the company, the whole livery were ordered to muster at Merchant Tailors' Hall on the day he was to be buried, at six o'clock in the morning, to proceed thence in a body to Sir Thomas's house at Shaklewell, where the corpse lay in state, and so to church. The interment, which took place at Hackney, was very grand, being accompanied, in addition to numerous other mourners, by the lord mayor and aldermen, all of whom, on their return back, were entertained at Shaklewell to dinner.

In the Leathersellers' Company's ordinances, (time of James I.) it is ordered that a piece of plate of 3*l.* value, or the amount in money, shall be given by the friends of deceased members for the attendance of the livery; when it is added, "the master and wardens shall attend in state."

In many cases, anciently, great personages, unconnected with trade, were honorary members of companies, as already noticed. In such cases, their companies were accustomed to pay them these honours of burial gratuitously. The great Sir Philip Sidney, who was publicly buried at St. Paul's cathedral in 1587, was a brother of the grocers' company, and was attended by that livery in all their formalities, who were preceded by the lord mayor, aldermen and sheriffs, "rydinge in purple." The number of the grocers' livery amounted to 120, and are represented, in a print of the procession by De Brie, walking in pairs, "in their proper gownes, with ruffs and bonnets, and scrips or small bags (hoods) over their left shoulders, and some with gloves in their hands, turning and conversing with each other."*

A like honour, as to the mayor and liveries' attendance, was paid to the remains of Sir Thomas Lovell, (of Shakspeare memory,) who was buried 1524, with all the imposing catholic ceremonies of the time at Holywell nunnery, Shoreditch;

* Nichols' Progresses of Queen Elizabeth, II, pp. 19—26.

and who, probably, (for we cannot vouch for the fact,) was also an honorary member of one of the companies. On the corpse reaching that monastery from Enfield, "the gentilmen of the inns of court, (Sir Thomas built Lincoln's-inn fine gateway,) with certeyn *crafts of London,*" are stated to have been waiting to receive it on each side of the convent gate, accompanied by "the maior and all the aldermen of London, who stode at the gatt;" and on the body being placed under the herse, or magnificent canopy, common at such burials, and during the singing of the dirge, "wyche was solempnly done by all the clerks of London," the mayor and aldermen encircled the rails, and repeated the "De Profundis." The mourners, during these services, were suffered to want nothing in the way of entertainment. The libations in particular were most copious; for, during the dirge, it is stated, "there was a *drynkynge* in all the cloisters, the nones hall, and parlors of the said place," and "every where ells, for as many as would come, as well the *crafts of London,* as gentilmen of the inns of court."

A more cheerful part of the company's observances was their

Election Feasts and Ceremonials.—The earliest account we have of these is in the grocers' records, so often alluded to. One of that company's first ordinances was, that "on St. Anthony's day, or on any day within the octave thereof, that should be assigned by the wardens, all those who were in London should assemble together in '*a house,*' and commune and dine together, and be served according to the ordinances of the wardens." Those of the livery who attended were to pay 3*s.* 6*d.*, and those who did not 2*s.* 6*d.*; which sums were to go towards the joint expense of the dinner, and the maintenance of the priest: persons not on the livery, "and who kept shops," were only to pay 12*d.* By after-ordinances, "every man being a brother of the felliship, and in the clothyng of the same," that did not come "unto the dynner or soper that should be made for the eleccion of the wardeyns yearly," was to forfeit 5*s.* "to the use and behoof of the felliship."

The simplicity of the election-feasts at this time is indicated

by their being kept at any temporary place the fraternity could procure. Their excess of greatness was about the reign of Henry IV., when the companies had erected halls, and when, besides the mayor, aldermen, and other city dignitaries, the first nobility, and even princes, sought to partake of their hospitalities. Then the mighty "*baron*" made the table groan, towering over the lighter viands; "frumentie with venyson," brawn, fat swan, boar, congor, "sea-hog," and such other delicacies as were stored above "*the salt*,"* whilst "sotilties" of the company's trade or patron saint, "marvelouslie cunnyng ywrought," recalled the origin of the fraternity: and, amidst the election ceremonies that succeeded, the "bretheren and susterne" were cheered with "voyds of spice brede ypocras and comfits," to the renewed "noise," (music) of the minstrels, or "waits," or the higher merriment of the London clerks "playing some holy play."

That the above picture is not one of mere fancy, is to be seen in all the early accounts of expenses of the companies. The brewers' records, already adverted to, afford several curious specimens of election-dinners, as well as of minor entertainments, as far back as the reigns of Henry V. and Henry VI., which may be called the very heart of the season of good living we are treating of.† In the earliest of these,

* The salt, or salt-cellar, was a magnificent piece of plate, forming, in the middle ages, a division between the upper and lower part of the table. Mr. Fosbrook believes one, representing the White Tower, in the Tower of London, and of silver gilt, to belong to the Mercers' Company. Such a one is certainly amongst the coronation plate at the Tower of London, and is said to have been made a present to king Charles I. when prince of Wales. To be seated above the salt was a mark of honour; and our ancestors seem often to have placed persons below it, in order to mortify them.

† The following are notices of some of them, exclusively of what are mentioned above:

"7 Har. VI. The expenses of a *breakfast* on the day of account of the masters." The entertainment, on this occasion, consisted of two courses; viz. first course, "grewel ferse a la pottage and pestell de porke, ove vertawes:" second course, "capons and lambes rosted, and doucettes for the bake meat."

Same year. An account of "the offence taken by Richard Whityngton, mayor, against the Brewers' Company," for their having had "fat swans (Cignos pinguis) at their feast on the morrow of St. Martin."

"1 Hen. VI. (Janry.) The ordinance of a dinner," with the costs thereon, made on the day of the Conversion of St. Paul; William Walderne, mayor. It cost 113*s.* 11*d.*

"8 Hen. V. A record that in consequence of the grievances and great charges imposed on the brewers by 'Richard Whytingdon,' all the year of his mayoralty, the brewers declined making feasts or breakfasts, or to provide for their yearly

1419, (7 Henry V.) we have the following, as the three courses of the election-dinner.

First Course.—Brawn with mustard; cabbages to the pottage; swan standard; capons roasted; great custards.

Second Course.—Venison in broth, with white mottrews; cony standard; partridges, with cocks roasted; leche lumbard, doucetts with little parneux.

Third Course.—Pears in syrop; great birds with little ones together; fritters, payn puff, with a cold bake meat.*

The various articles purchased towards this dinner, and their several prices, were as under:

Expenses of a Dinner of the Brewers' Company.

5 September, 1419, 7 Henry V.

	s.	d.
First, for 2 necks of mutton, 3 breasts, 12 marrowbones, with porterage of a quarter of coals	2	5
Item.		
For 6 swans	15	0
12 conies	3	0
200 eggs	1	6
2 gallons of frumenty	0	4
2 gallons of cream	0	8
Hire of 2 dozen of earthen pots	0	4
Hire of 2 dozen of white cups	1	4
1 quart of honey, with a new pot	0	4
Divers spicery	2	4
Porterage of water by the water-bearers	0	4
1 pottel of fresh grease	0	8
4 dozen pigeons	4	4
100 pears	0	7
11 gallons of red wine	9	2
For 4 gallons of milk	0	4
White bread	2	0
Trencher bread	0	3
Payn-cakes	0	6
Half a bushel of flour	0	7
1 kilderkin of good ale	2	4

livery." That his successor (William Cambrigge, mayor,) "treated the company well, and gave them good advice, which they were pleased with."

10 Hen. V. Bill of fare for a *dinner* made by the masters on their account day, with a list of persons invited, and a *note*, that the clerk collected 20*d.* in the hall; part of which was given to a "harper-minstrel."

9 Hen. V. "The ordinances of a dinner, called amongst us '*the Fest.*' This is a large bill of fare, in Norman French. Sum 18*l.* 15*s.* 5¼*d.*

* In the original Norman French, "Ordinaire de la Feste.

Prem^er. Course.
Brawne ove le mustnrde
Caboches a la potage
Swan standard
Capons rostez
Grande costardes.

Seconde Course.
Venyson en broth ove
Blanche mortrewes
Cony standard
P^r triches ove cokkes rostez
Leche lombard
Dow^ettes ove pettiz parneux.

Trois^me Course.
Poires en cerop
Gantz birdes ove
pettiz ensemble
Fretours—payne puff ove
un cold bakemete."

	s.	d.
Item. Given to the minstrels	1	4
To John Harely, cook, for him and his servants	3	4
To William Devenysshe, panter	0	6
Total	£2	15

	s.	d.
For 1 quart of vinegar . .	0	1
Packthread	0	1
Hire of 2 dozen of pewter vessels	1	2
Salt.	0	1
Washing of the napery	0	4
		3*

Besides "brawn, swan, venison, frumenty," and other articles introduced in our imaginary picture of an ancient election-feast, and which the preceding bill of fare proves to have been customary dishes, we find, in subsequent entertainments of this company, mention of the porpoise, and of the congor, in the fish course; of the baron, or "ribbes of beef," as it is termed, amongst the meats; and of innumerably more "delicacies" of other kinds than are hinted at, amongst their poultry, spicery, and in their deserts; not to mention the supernumerary "entremêts," which were then common, and consisted of delicious little dainties to keep the appetite in play between the courses. Indeed, from the accounts of the feasts in this and other companies, and especially on extraordinary occasions, it would be easy to select all the by-gone luxuries enumerated in the household ordinances of our early sovereigns and nobility, not excepting even the specifications of royal cookery, in the "Form of Cury" itself.

We will only notice, in illustration of these remarks, the provisions for another and grander dinner of the Brewers' Company near this time. The numerous items, with their

* Emptiones po' ij nekkes de moton, iij brestes, xij maribones, ove portrage dune quart de coles ij*s.* vi*d.*
Itm po' vj swannes, xv*s.*
Itm po' xij coneyes, iij*s.*
Itm po' ijc egges, j. vj*d.*
Itm po' ij gallons de furmente, iiij*d.*
Itm po' ij galons de creem, viij*d.*
Itm po' iiij galons milke, iiij*d.*
Itm po' payne blank, ij*s.*
Itm po' trencher brede, ij*d.*
Itm po' mayn cakes, vj*d.*
Itm po' dj bushell de flor vij*d.*
Itm po' j kilderkyn de bon ale, ij*s.* ij*d.*
Itm po' lallowance de ij dosn de earthen potes, iiij*d.*
Itm po' ij dosen cuppes blankz j iiij*d.*
Itm po' sucere, ij iiij*d.*
Itm po' portrage de water a lez water berers, iiij*d.*
Itm po' j potell de fresch grees, viij*d.*
iiij dosn pygeons, iij*s.* iiij*d.*
c de poires, vij*d.*
xj galons de vyn rouge, ix ij*d.*
Donez a lez minstrales, j iv*d.*
A John Hardy, cook, pr luy et sez sr vientz, iij*s.* iv*d.*
Done a Wiiliam Devenysshe, pantr, vj*d.*
Itm po' j quarte de vynegre.
Itm po' pakthrede, j*d.*
Itm po' lallowance de ij dosn ds peautre vessll, j ij*d.*
Itm po' j quart he hony ove j pot nouel, iiij*d.*
Itm po' salt, j*d.*
Itm po' la laundre de naperys, iiij*d.*
Sum ij*l.* xv*s.* iij*d.*

cost, and of which we shall only select the prominent articles, are arranged in departments, as Pannery, Buttery, Poultry, Butchery, and others.

Provisions for an Election Feast of the Brewers, A.D. 1425.

FISH.

	d.		*s.*	*d.*
"Porpeys"	x	For 5 Pykes	6	8
Oysters and muscles . . .	6	— Lampreys	6	8
Salmon and herring, with fresh ling	15	— Turbot	3	4
		— Eels	2	4
A salmon	21	— 800 herrings	10	6
For codling's head	8			

PANNERY.

This department enumerates the sorts of bread mentioned in the former feast, with the addition of "wassel, cocket," and the "panis melliti," or spice-bread.

BUTTERY.

"A hogshede of red Gascony wyne"	liii*s.* iiij*d.*
A kilderkin of penny ale	12*d.*

The other ales mentioned are the same as in the former feast.

POULTRY.

	£	*s.*	*d.*		*s.*	*d.*
21 swans, at 3*s.* 9*d.*	3	18	9	48 partridges, at 4*d.* each	16	0
Scalding			1	12 woodcocks, at 4*d.* .	4	4
2 geese, at 8*d.* . . .		1	4	12½ doz. smaller birds, at 6*d.*		
40 capons, at 6*d.* . . .		20	0	the doz.	6	3
Porterage			2	3 doz. plovers, at 3*s.* . .	9	0
40 conies, as 3*d.* . . .		10	0	18 doz. larks, at 4*d.* . .	6	0
				6 doz. little birds, at 1½*d.* .		9

BUTCHERY.

In the "Bochery," we find, amongst other meats, mention of "ij. joynts of beef," with "certeyn ribbes," and "viij. fillets of vell," besides "j. surloyn of befe;" the whole amounting to 18*s.* 10*d.* The prominent item in this department is

"For ij. *bores* achete de Joh'ne Bray, bocher, x*s.*"

The remaining items include "40 marrow-bones with marrow, 5*s.*; 2 rounds of beef, and 2 fillets of pork, 10*s.*; 5 pieces of "suet of Chepe cestasavoir, neate's tullough, xvij*d.*" and 3 gallons and a half of "fresch grese," at 16*d.* per gallon. For the

SPICERY

and kitchen there were collected, amongst other articles, 9½*lb.* of "poudre de pepir, iij*s.*; ij*lb.* de sugre blanch, ij*s.*;" together with saffron, ginger, cloves, mace, honey, figs, almonds, dates, "reysons de Corince, cynamon, nottemeg, flower de Ryse, and Sanders;" and also costards, wardens, and other sorts of fruit; oatmeal, vinegar, verjuice, onions and garlick; twelve gallons of cream, and eight gallons of milk. Most of which articles, it will be seen, were used in making preparations of pastry, and in seasoning the various dishes.

The auxiliaries of tables, crockery, and pewter ware, rushes for the floor, napery or table linen, and costs of conveyance,

are not the least interesting of the entries on this occasion, both as elucidating old customs, and for their odd mixture of French and English. We copy them literally as written:

"j. laborer p^{r}. p^{r} terage des tables and tressells . . iiij*d*.
Une carte p^{r}. vessalx p^{r}. la kechyn, cesta savoir, pottes, pannes, spittes, rakkes & rollers vj*d*.
It'm. A. William atte lee peantrer p^{r}. lallowance de xviij. dos. de peautre vessell . x*s*.
P^{r}. p^{r} terage de mesmes vessell iiij*d*.
For iiij. borden of rushes yn y^{e} thalle . . . . . iiij*d*.
It'm iiij. birdens de russhes ove la cartage . . . . iiij*d*.
P^{r}. la lavendrye de lez bortclothes . . . . . vj*d*.
P^{r} cartage de donge . . . iiij*d*.

For dressing, the cook received 23*s*.; six "turnbroches," at 3*d*. a piece, 1*s*. 6*d*. And the like sum of 3*d*. a piece was given to four assistants, who were borrowed from a tavern on "Fysche-strete end." The fuel for firing consisted of 100 faggots, which, including carriage, cost 4*s*. 4*d*., and 4 quarters of "see cole," at 8*d*. per quarter. For the musicals and theatricals was paid 5*l*. 10*s*. as per the following entry: "A lez players et ij. harpers, et as dautres minstralx Kyngeston & Gromles, c*s*. x*di*."

The whole cost of the feast was 38*l*. 4*s*. 2*d*., a very large sum, considering that money was then of five times its present value, and which sufficiently testifies its magnitude and importance.

Many curious hints may be gathered from these accounts, as to the style of living, food, and cookery of former times; not to mention the general information they contain on other points:

The companies, it appears, from their wealth and abundant entertainments, had in these early days become sources of attraction to those who loved the good things of life. We do not indeed find sovereigns feasting with them, as afterwards, but their entertainments were graced by the company of the nobility and upper clergy. At the first dinner noticed, this company are said to have had the prior and the provincial of the Austin friars amongst their guests; and at the above one, the neighbouring prior of Elsing Spital, Henry Somere, baron of the Exchequer, and his "six attendants," and the two aldermen, Gedney and Estfelde. Their other feasts, as was the case with the rest of the companies, were similarly, or rather, more splendidly attended.

The kinds and prices of the food provided, its mode of dressing, serving at table, and other particulars, contain much worthy of remark. Many articles then esteemed luxuries would now be styled "gross feeding." In regard to poultry,

it is proved, by instances in the Archæologia, that our ancestors absolutely ate carrion; even "fat swan," that ancient civic dainty, for which the citizens had their annual "swan hoppings;" or cygnet, another article of request formerly, would now not be thought any thing of; though the former, it is said, may be fed in a certain way, to make it very tolerable. Porpoise, from the French *porc-poisson*, sea-hog, (the animal uniting the warm blood of the hog with the cold flesh of the fish,) has been discarded from the table for centuries. It is however mentioned, together with "congers, porpusses, and seals," amongst the dinner fish on fish-days, in the ordinances for the royal household at Eltham palace, in 1526; and in another account, in the Archæologia, relative to the same subject, it is ordered, respecting the size of the porpoise, that when it is too big for a horse-load, a further allowance shall be made to the purveyor for carriage: lampreys are now esteemed unwholesome. In return for these repulsive articles, the "made dishes" at these dinners were several of them absolutely epicurean, and afford no contemptible specimens of ancient cookery. We may instance their "Leche-Lombard," mortrewes, doucettes with little parneux, fritters, payn puff, and others; a slight account of which will be sufficient to give us an idea of these old-fashioned dainties.

Leche Lombard, the principal dish in the first course of the brewers' feast in 1422, we are told by Randle Holme, was "a kind of jelly, made of cream, isinglas, sugar, and almonds, with other compounds;" but in the recipe for this article in the *Form of Cury*, p. 36, No. 65, it is composed of "pork pounded in a mortar with eggs, raisins, dates, sugar, salt, pepper, spices, milk of almonds, and red wine; the whole boiled in a bladder." The addition to the name of this leche, of Lumbard, identifies it as a native of Lombardy, in contradistinction to the sorts named damask, Florentine, comfort, baked, partrich, &c. all of which were differently prepared. "Mottrews" (white) was a rich stew or soup, commonly made of pork and poultry, pounded in a mortar and strained; whence the word is written, by Skynner and Tyrrwhit, mortress or mortreuse, as expressive of that preparation. The mortrews, white or black, is

ordered in the Form of Cury, p. 29, No. 46, to be compounded with blanched almonds and the milk and white flour of rice. Doucettes with little parneux, fritters, and payne-puff, formed side-dishes and garnish to these larger articles. The first were little sweetmeats and confections, and small rich preparations of bread, like pastry, for garnish; as were likewise *fritters*, still in general use, and derived from the French *friture*, a frying. The "frytours of pasternake," or pastry, are, in the Form of Cury, those made of apples; besides which, there were "frytours of meylke, and frytours of erbes (herbs.) Payn puff is explained by Phillips to be "a certain mess proper for side-dishes," so called, as being made of bread stuffed with several sorts of forces and ragouts. In the Form of Cury, p. 89, No. 196, it is directed to be made of marrow, yolkes of eggs, dates minced, raisins, and salt, in a delicate paste, moulded of an orbicular form.

These explanations give us the reason of several latter purchases we read of here for the kitchen, as the "forty marrowbones with marrow;" the fillets of pork and veal; the "neats-tallow," or veal suet, called also suet of Cheap; the varieties of their spice; their almonds, flour of rice, eggs, honey, sugar, and particularly of the large quantities of cream and milk which were provided.

A few further notices will be necessary to complete our ideas as to the cookery and mode of setting out the hall, as recorded in these entries.

Melted fat, or lard, appears to have been used in most cases where we now use butter. They received it in a liquid state, by the "potel," or gallon, and called it "fresh grease." Three gallons of this liquid we have seen was bought at the above dinner, at sixpence per gallon. In the preceding account of a breakfast of the wardens, there is mention of "one disch of botor." It must, however, have been a great dainty, as it did not supercede "kychin gresse," or dripping, for breakfast, till between the reigns of Edward VI. and Elizabeth. Honey, in like manner, supplied the use of sugar in the middle ages, which latter was a great rarity. Furmenty, the *furmentaria* of Du Cange, was a favorite dish with our ancestors, and was made by boiling wheat in milk. In setting out the hall, we find it was the custom for the

principal dish of the first course to consist of some animal, to which the addition "standard" was applied, meaning that it was set upright. "Cony standard," noticed at the first dinner, was a large roasted rabbit set upright; and, in other feasts, mention is made of swan "standard."

"Aromatizing" (as Wiseman terms it, in his *Surgery*,) the hall with the precious Indian wood called "*sanders*," was a piece of voluptuousness which we may infer was practised on these occasions, from the mention made of that article in the preceding list of spiceries. It is an article also which we find enumerated, in conjunction with "Brasil wood," amongst the imports of the Grocers' Company, in 1454. Both notices shew it to have been used for similar purposes of fumigation at these dates, and we may well conceive how much it must have enlivened the enjoyments of the table in such large parties.

Amidst so many attractions which these ancient feasts held out, it was not one of the least to have the company of females at them. This curious, we had almost said indecorous custom, but which must at the same time have greatly heightened the hilarity, occurred in consequence of the companies consisting, as we have seen, of brothers and sisters; and which practice they seem, on their reconstitution, to have borrowed from the religious gilds. Not only did widows, wives, and single women, who were members, join the joyous throng, but, from the grocers' ordinances of 1348, we find the "bretherne" could introduce their fair acquaintance, on paying for their admission; and that not, as in modern times, to gaze in galleries, the mere spectators of good living, but as participants. There is an amusing simplicity in the ordinances alluded to of the grocers on these points: they enjoin, that every one of the fraternity, from thenceforward, having a wife or companion, (compagnon,) shall come to the feast, and bring with him a damsel, if he pleases, (ameyne avec luy une demoiselle si luy plest;) if they cannot come, from the reasons hereafter named, that is to say, sick, or big with child, and near delivery, (malade, ou grosse danfant et pres sa deliverance,) they are then, and not otherwise, to be excused. Every man, it is added, shall pay for his wife 20*d*.

or man and wife 5*s.*; that is to say, 20*d.* for the man, 20*d.* for his companion, and 20*d.* "for the priest." Women, not members, but who should afterwards marry members, were to be entered, and looked upon "as of the fraternite for ever, and be assisted and made one of us." If left a widow, such female member was to come to the annual dinner, and to pay, if able, 40*d.*, but, in case she married again to one who was not of the fraternity she was to be expelled, and so to remain during such marriage; "nor none of us ought to meddle or interfere in any thing with her on account of the fraternity, so long as she remains married." The admissions of different companies, of course, varied with circumstances: the brothers of the Brewers' Company were to pay 12*d.*, the sisters 8*d.*, and a brother and his wife 20*d.*; whilst, among the fishmongers, the members were to pay towards the feast, on their quitting church, "ev^{r}ry man xij*d.*, and for his wife viij*d.*," and each "for his gest in the same manere at the assemble, as the wardeyns shall reasonabilly ordeynne;" and, it is added, "ev^{r}y body that omyteth to come to the forseide fest or assemble, and is absent, shall pay redely as othir of here condicion that be p^{r}sent; and atte same fest or assemble ev^{r}ry yere shall be ordeyned and chose iiij other sufficient persones of the same frat^{r}nite to gov^{r}ne and rule in gode man^{r}er moste p^{r}fitable to the encrece and worshipp of the same frat^{r}nite."

The Election Ceremonies took place after the feast, and differed in different companies, but seem all to have embraced one idea—that of *crowning* the newly-elected principals. The wardens of the grocers, which company's description of them is the earliest we have met with, were to "come with garlondes on their hedes," after the feast or "mangerie" was finished, and the fraternity were to chuse as wardens for the year ensuing "them upon whom the forseid garlandes shullen be so sett;" and to them was to be delivered all money, papers, and other things, which belonged to the fraternity, under a penalty of 10*l.* If it pleased the masters to choose one of the company not then present, the garland or chaplet was to be sent by the beadle to his house; and if he was in town, he was to accept the office without any refusal. If out of town,

he was to accept it on his first return. Refusal of office was followed by fine or expulsion. A sum of twenty pence is debited in their warden's accounts of 1401, for "the ij chapellettes po^r couron^r les novels mestres," and 16*s.* for refreshment, which seems to have accompanied the making of the choice, viz. "un payn, vyn, envystre, blandret, and fromage." Similar ceremonies, it will be seen, were afterwards practised by other companies, and still continue with trifling alterations.

It was when the election ceremonies had terminated, and the "loving cup" (as is still the custom,) had gone round, that we may conceive the minstrels and players to have commenced their part of the entertainment. Both, but particularly the former, are mentioned in the records of different companies as the constant accompaniments of their feasts or processions. The minstrels, which were of various kinds, included in their entries harpers, who played and sang in the intervals of the others sounding their cornets, shalms, flutes, horns, and pipes. The payment, in the instance quoted, to the London clerks for their "play," confirms other accounts as to ecclesiastics being the first actors of the middle ages. The small number of *four* mentioned may seem puzzling, unless for interludes, like Kirkman's Drolls; but the only other sort of dramas then in fashion, often consisted of single subjects, and made but one performance; and this taste continued till long after the establishment of regular theatres. An original licence from the master of the revels, in 1662, which is in the Guildhall library, authorizes "George Bailey, musitioner, and eight servants, his company, to play for one year a play called 'Noah's Flood.' These eight persons were just sufficient to personate the patriarch and his family.

It will be proper, as a conclusion to the account of the companies' observances, to say something of the halls, in which they principally took place.

Halls.—Though the remaining gothic halls of our ancient palaces and mansions generally resemble those of the companies which existed at the times we are speaking of, yet the latter had peculiarities which merit a separate mention. They differed also from the companies' present halls, and particularly

as regarded their appendant buildings, ornaments, and furniture.*

The hall then was an immense room, giving name as now to a whole collection of contingent buildings, which the fraternity themselves generally and more appropriately termed their "house." It mostly had an open timber roof, for the fishmongers' suspended the leading articles of their pageants from it, as was probably the custom with other companies. A lantern or lover in the centre, and elevated gothic windows on the sides, "richly dight" with the arms of benefactors, threw the dimmed sunbeams on a glare of gorgeous tapestry, filling the space between the windows and floor, and which, in the Merchant Tailors' Hall, contained the history of their patron, St. John the Baptist. The floor, as we have seen, was only strewed with rushes; the tables, boards placed on tressels, excepting perhaps the great cross table on the *haut pas*, for superior guests. Pewter vessels, though hired at the brewers' dinners, were chiefly for the use of the kitchen; for the tables of the other companies were, according to their inventories, resplendent with donations of plate. All the halls were traversed by the "reredos," or grand screen. (The merchant tailors had a large "silver ymage of St. John, in a tabernacle," on the top of theirs,) hiding the entrances to the buttery, larder, kitchen, and offices. "The minstrailes" were placed somewhere aloft; and there were temporary platforms or stages for the players.

Other passages branched to the wine and ale cellars, and to the chambers, among which latter, one was always reserved for "the batchelors."† Annexed to the buttery, but at a

* Guildhalls, or places of trade meeting, were, amonst the Anglo-Saxons, only of secondary antiquity. The Romans, perhaps all commercial nations, (judging from their utility,) had these "Guildhalls." The first of the kind mentioned is the "*Balentorien*" of Pliny, built of wood only, at Cyzicus, without iron, that one part might be repaired without damage to the other. It is also the *gild-halla* of the Anglo-Saxons, and signified too, the place where wares were exposed to sale; for the general assembly of the citizens was in the market-place, as the Roman, near the forum; in all the towns of the middle ages. Philip Augustus, in 1183, made two great houses, called *halas*, in which, in time of rain, all the merchants might see their goods kept clean, and in the night preserved from thieves; and so cloth was sold in the 13th century. Our Blackwell Hall, near Guildhall, was precisely of the same kind. In 1588, Alderman John Haughton built the town-hall upon the bridge at Stamford.—"Encyclop. of Antiquities," which quotes Du Cange, Walton's Anglo Sac', and other authorities.

† The nature of this branch of the members of the old companies will be explained hereafter.

greater distance, were the bakehouse and brewhouse; the kitchen passage, which lay on a gradual descent, was guarded from hungry intruders by a spiked hatch: the kitchen itself was stored with the "spittes, rakkes, and rollers," just mentioned; and all the other massy and capacious culinary implements and utensils which characterized these establishments in the rude days of England's stout yeomary.* The city Guildhall, on the lord mayor's day, now affords the best idea of the company's ancient halls and feasts, though certainly on a scale of greater magnitude and splendor.

We shall mention a few other particulars in further explanation of the company's ancient halls, their dates of building, and general economy, as a conclusion to the subject we are now treating of; giving more copious accounts of them separately in the history of the companies themselves.

The earliest mention of the companies possessing halls is about the time of their being first chartered, under Edward III. Some, however, had halls or places of meeting long before, as the merchant tailors, who had a hall at the back of the Red Lion, in Basing lane, before they bought their one in Threadneedle street, of Edmund Crepin, (an. 1331.) The weavers', bakers', butchers', and other ancient gilds, must also have had halls in very remote times. The sadlers, it has been seen, had theirs next the site of St. Martin's-le-grand college, as now. These, and other meeting places, particularly of the minor companies, were probably at first but mean buildings, judging from Stow's description of the original Guildhall in Alder-

* An account of repairs done in the reign of Henry VI. to Brewers' Hall, which was a large structure on the present site, mentions other places and appendages; as "the tenement by the great gate," afterwards converted into this company's almshouses. "The stained halliyngs," or hall tapestry, to which we have adverted; "the tresaunce," sometimes also called "the cloister," between the great kitchen and the hall; an "almarie cupboard," or depositary for the company's alms, (apparently broken provisions, as it was situated in the great kitchen;) "a bey windowe," like "one in Cornehill;" and the "panteys, (pantries,) on the side of the halle."

The bay window is said to have been "painted," or filled with stained glass, and the hall paved; charges for "grounselyng of the halle," and "for parcels of dawbynge upon the said bay windowe," forming part of the entries. The materials used in the repairs included "timber, nails, garnettes, lathes, boardes, legges, estrischeboardes, locks, keys, clekkets, and latches; lead to cover he bay window, and glass and ironwork for the same, (171 ft. at 8*d.*, 5*l.* 14*s.*) Also, as indicative of the good living, "the bynnes in the pantry; hopes (hoops) for divers fattes (vats) and tubs;" together with a "store, little cellar, and a counter in the hall."

manbury, which he tells us was little better than a cottage. The grocers did not build their hall till 1427, having previously met at various great mansions, as was the case with the skinners, salters, and others of the twelve companies, before the founding of halls on their present sites: the fishmongers are noticed at a very early period as having no less than six different halls.

One of the first of these buildings, which apparently corresponded with the increased consequence of the newly-chartered companies, was the Goldsmiths' Hall, which must also have ranked with the earliest in point of age, as their fraternity had an assay office in the reign of Edward I. In this, Bartholomew Read, goldsmith, and lord mayor in 1502, is stated to have held a feast of such magnitude, that Stow treats Grafton's account of it as fabulous, observing, that Westminster-hall itself would scarcely have sufficed.

Most of the halls which existed before or near the Reformation, seem to have been formed from the deserted mansions of the great, and subsequently from religious buildings, and they in consequence possessed, in many instances, gardens. Drapers' Hall was the mansion of Lord Cromwell, and still retains its fine gardens. Salters' Hall was a town seat of the Earls of Oxford, and had a garden attached, said to have been the place where Empson and Dudley used to meet in Henry VII.'s reign, and part of which forms the forecourt of their present hall. The grocers built on the site of the Lords Fitzwalter's town mansion, and had a fine garden, part of which is also still preserved. The minor companies, in several instances, bought and converted the halls of the dissolved religious houses into trade halls: as the leather-sellers, who fitted up the fine hall of the nuns of St. Helen's; the pinners, who occupied the Austin Friars' hall, afterwards called "Pinners-hall meeting-house;" the barber-surgeons, who built on part of the site of the hermitage of St. James in the Wall, and others.

The greatness or convenience of most of the twelve companies' halls not only adapted them to the immediate uses they were built for, but enabled them to give grand feasts to various monarchs, who honoured them, with their suites, by enrolling themselves members. In the interregnum they

were the meeting places of the various government commissioners, and occasionally superseded the senate-house as an arena of politics. By the parliamentary commanders they were converted into barracks, by the puritanical clergy into preaching places, and by succeeding lord mayors they were afterwards used as temporary mansion-houses.

Besides the appendant buildings to the hall, or grand apartment, it should be mentioned, that in Elizabeth's and the Stuarts' reigns, every hall was obliged also to have a granary and an armoury, and that, under the ancient regimé, the companies' almshouses for decayed members always, where there was room, adjoined the hall, that the almsmen might be ready to join in processions and pageants. Their furniture has been mostly described: an amusing peculiarity attending their donations of plate should, however, have been mentioned. It was that of attaching an ejaculatory prayer for the donors, to the entry of their names and gifts, similar to what has been observed in the case of bequests, and which belonged only to the catholic period. A specimen of these entries, from the grocers' books, is given below.*

Triumphs and Pageants.—Matthew Paris describes two royal triumphs made by the citizens in 1236 and 1252, to celebrate the marriage of Henry III., and of that sovereign's daughter; but, though much splendor was displayed on both occasions, no shews took place connected with the "Trades," and our object is only to notice such.

The earliest exhibition of the kind that seems directly to apply occurred in 1298, on the return of Edward I. from his victory over the Scots, when we are told by Stow that "every citizen, according to their severall trades, *made their several shew*, but specially the fishmongers', which, in a solempne procession, passed through the citie, having amongst

* 1466. "A standing cuppe of sylver with a cover, weying xxiv ounces troy, given by Thomas Swetenham, grocer. Ih'u be mercyfull unto his soul!"

1467. "Of the gyfte of John Godyn, grocer. (Ih'u have mercy on his soule!) A stondinge cuppe, the cover of sylver, and alle gylte with roses and sonnes" (suns,) "weighinge xxxj ounces."

1467. "Of the gyfte of Sir John Howard, knyghte, a standing cuppe and cover of sylver, and alle gylte, weying xvj ownces and half troye weighte. God send him long life and welfare."

Drinking cups, gallon pots, basons and ewers, large silver salvers, goblets, and salts, constitute the articles usually given, and which are said to be of "sylver, sylver guylte, parcel gylte, or sylver white."

other pageants and shews foure sturgeons gilt carried on foure horses; then foure salmons of silver on foure horses; and after them sixe and fortie armed knightes riding on horses, made like *sluces* of the sea;* and then one representing St. Magnus, (because it was on St. Magnus day,) with a *thousand* horsemen," &c.

The next account in which we read of the companies being introduced was the coronation procession of Henry IV. in 1399, when Froissart states Cheapside to have had seven fountains running with red and white wine. The new king was escorted by prodigious numbers of gentlemen, with their servants in liveries and hoods; and the different companies of London, led by their wardens, were clothed in their proper liveries, and bore banners of their trades.

The common name these triumphs were then called by was "ridings." Chaucer, in describing an idle city apprentice, makes their frequent occurrence in Cheapside a great cause of drawing him from his work:

> "When there any *ridings* were in Chepe,†
> Out of the shoppe thider wold he lepe;
> And till that he had all the sight ysein,
> And danced wel, he would not come again."

Processioning on horseback to meet and escort distinguished personages on these occasions, was expressed by the singular, and seemingly hostile phrase of "riding *against* them, (Norman French, *pour chevaucher.*") Thus the Chonicle of London tells us, under the year 1446,

"This yeare came quene Margaret into England, with grete roialte of the kyng's cost, and was receyved at London the xxviii day of May in the moost goodly wise, with alle the citizeins on horsebak *riding ayenst hir* to the Black-heth, in blew gownes and rede hodes; and in the cite in diverse places goodly sights ayenst hir comyng."‡

* What Strype here calls "sluices" should be "*luces*," a fish introduced in the fishmongers' arms.

† The Chepe continued for many centuries the name of the principal thoroughfare of the metropolis. Cheapside, originally applied to the houses on the side of the Chepe (or market) is, as the name of the whole street, comparatively modern. —Note to Nichols' "Pageants."

‡ The custom of the companies joining the mayor and sheriffs in procession, either to meet the sovereigns on their public entry into the city, or on Lord Mayor's-day, is detailed in an ordinance of the grocers, termed "*An Acte of*

Or, as Fabian, who describes the dress of the livery:

"She was met with the mayre, aldermen, and sherifes of the cytee, and the craftes of the same, in browne blewe with browderyd slevys; that is to meane, everye mysterye or crafte wyth conysaunce of his mysterye, and rede hodes upon eyther of their heddes; and so the same day brought her into London, where for her were ordayned sumptuouse and costely pagentes, and resemblance of dyuerse old hystoryes, to the great comforte of her and such as came with her.*

When Joan, queen of Henry IV., made her approach towards London in 1401, she was welcomed by the companies in a similar manner. The grocers' books record an allowance of 6*s.* 8*d.* to Robert Sterns, their beadle, to ride into Suffolk to furnish minstrels. He engaged six of them, namely, "Panel mynstrale et ses rampagnons," who had 4*l.* for riding with the company to Blackheath, and 2*s.* for their dinner and wine. That their appearance might correspond with the magnificence of the ceremony, 10*s.* 2*d.* was paid to provide them with new caps and hoods: in the entry, "po^r lo^r chaprons and po^r lo^r fessures." Antiquaries describe the rest of the minstrel's dress to have consisted of showy vestments, with gold and silver chains, and that they rode on richly harnessed horses. The other items of expense connected with this part of the company's show, were 13*s.* 4*d.* "to the said minstrels on the morrow when the queen passed through Cheapside to Westminster; for wine for them while there, 18*d.* and for a horse for the beadle, 12*d.*"

On Henry the Fifth's arrival at Dover from France, in 1415, the mayor, alderman, and "craftsmen," rode to Blackheath to meet the king on his road from Eltham, with his prisoners, when their dress is said to have been "red with hoods red and white." Hall writes with rapture of the splendor of the show: "Here I might declare unto you, if I would

Mercyment," that is, of amercing or fining. It ordains, "that whoever shall omit to come in due time, when warned by the beadle, to the court quarter-day, "to ryding against y^e king, queene, or other lords, with the maire, sheriff, or going on p'cession with the maire, as common course is, at Cristmasse and other tymes, congregacion or any other thynges, that they be warned to pay the penalty or amercement to the beadle," or if they omitted till the master came, they were to pay the double. The mulct being, 'for the kyng, queene, or maire's ridyng, fine iij*s.* iiij*d.*' and on other occasions, 12*d.* or 2*s.*"

* Stow refers us to certain verses made upon these pageants by Lydgate.

be tedious and prolixe, how the mayre of London and the senate, apparelled in orie't-grayned skarlet; how iij.c. commoners clad in beautiful murrey, well mounted and georgeously horsed, with rich collars and greete chaynes, met the king at Blackheathe, rejoicing at his victorious returne."

And Lydgate (who, less afraid of prolixity) describes the whole with his usual minuteness.

> "The mayr of London was redy bown,
> With alle the craftes of that cite,
> *All clothyd in red* throughout the town,
> A semely sight it was to se:
> To the Blak-heth thanne rod he,
> And spredde the way on every syde;
> xx^ti^ M. men myght well see,
> Our comely kyng for to abyde."

And he then details the whole ceremony in verses, which, not directly applying, we omit.

The preparations of the Brewers' Company to celebrate the second arrival of the same monarch from France, seven years afterwards, with some general particulars of the procession, are given in the following notice from that company's books:

"On Thursday, 13 February, 1422, the king came from France to London, and W. Cambrigge, the mayor, rode with all the commonalty of the city to meet him; who were all commanded to be clad alike, in white gowns with red capes. The brewers ordered that all householders of their company, and all the 'breweresmen' of 40*s*. a year, should provide clothes for themselves, under fine of 20*s*.; but many neglected, and yet were let off easily. William, the (company's) clerk, had a gown given to him by the masters. The queen likewise came on Friday the 21st, and was received in like manner."

The arrival of King Henry VI. at Dover, on his return from being crowned King of France, in 1432, and his subsequent reception by the civic authorities, afforded great opportunity of display to the companies. Stow says "the mayor and aldermen rode against him on horseback; the aldermen in gowns of scarlet with sanguine hoods, the mayor in crimson velvet, with a great velvet hat furred, a girdle of gold about his middle, and a jewel of gold about his neck, trailing down behind him; and that he was followed by his three hunts-

men on great coursers, in entire suits of red, all spangled with silver. The whole commonalty of the city, who seem mostly to have been liverymen, brought up the rear, clothed in *white gowns* and *scarlet hoods*, with divers conuzances embroidered on their sleves."

Lydgate, who has commemorated the ceremony in a long poem, describes "all the craftes rydyng ayens the kyng all in *white;* and supposes they adopted it as expressing the *purity* of their loyalty:

"There clothyng was of colour *full covenable;*
—The noble mair clad in *red velvet*,
The shrieves, the aldermen, full notable,
In *furryd clokes*, the colour of scarlett;
In stately wyse whanne they were met,
Ich one were wel horsyd, and made no delay,
But with there maire rood forth on there way.

The citezens ich on of the citee,
In their entent that they were pure and clene;
Ches them of *whit* a ful faire lyvere,
In *evry craft*, as it was wel sene;
To shewe the trowthe that they dede mene,
Toward the kyng hadde mad them feithfully
In sundry devyses embrowdyd richely."

"The Merchants Strangers," consisting of the "Geneweys, Florentines, (Genoese and Venetians,) and also the *Easterlings*, (all of which nations had then residences in the city,) were dressed in their country fashion, or, as it is stated, "clad in there manere," and attended by serjeants and other officers, "statly horsyd, "passed through the suburbs, riding after the mayor. At Blackheath (the general place of rendezvous on these occasions,) the whole arranged themselves in two ranks, leaving

"A strete between ech party lik a wall;
Alle clad in *whit*, and the most principalle
Afore in *red*."

In allusion to the name and profession of the mayor, (John *Wells, grocer,*) a pageant, conceived with much taste, and the first attempt at scenic display we read of, was placed against the *Great Conduit* between Grocers' and Mercers' Halls, representing a grove of such foreign fruits as were peculiar to the trade of a *grocer*, and in the midst of it three *Wells;* whose waters, at the king's presence, seemed miraculously, like those at *Cana*, changed to wine.

This grove, it is probable, resembled an island, as was afterwards customary in this company's shews, and is said to have exhibited

> "Oranges, almondys, and the pomegranade,
> Lymons, dates, there colours fresh and glade,
> Pypyns, quynces, chandrellys to disport,
> And the pom cedre, corageous to recomfort:
> Eke othere fruites, whiche that more comown be,
> Quenyngges, peches, costardes, and wardens,
> And othere manye ful faire and freshe to se.
>
> The pome water, and the gentil ricardouns,
> And agaynes hertes for mutegacions
> Damasyns, whiche with there tast delight,
> Ful gret plente bothe of blak and white."

At the wells—serving the wine—were stationed the cardinal virtues, Faith, Hope, and Charity, or, as they are called, "Mercy, Grace, and Pity." The patriarchs Enoch and Elias

> "full circumspect and wys
> Ther did apere like folkys faire
> The kyng presenting ther gyftes full notable."

In other words, they were placed in this situation to compliment the king, and present him with some of the fruit; for it is difficult to conceive for what other purpose these scriptural personages could have been introduced; and this the poet makes them do in the following lines:

> "That God conferme his state ay to be stable,
> Thus old *Ennock*, the processe gan welle telle,
> And praid for the kyng as he rood be the *welle*,
> After Elias, with his lokkes hore,
> Well devoutly seyde, lokyng on the kyng,
> 'God conserve the, and kepe the evermore,
> And make hym blessyd in erthe here levyng,
> And preserve hym in al manere thyng,
> And special among kynges alle,
> In enemyes handes that he nevere falle."

Edward IV. on his entering the city to be crowned at Westminster, June, 1451, was received on his way by "the mayre and his brethrin, all in scarlet, with iiij.c. commoners, well horsid and cladde in grene, and so avauning theimeself passed the bridge, and through the cité they rode streight on to the Toure of London."

20th Nov., 1 Ric. III.—The common council ordered a number of persons from each company (in all 406 persons) to ride in murrey-coloured coats to meet that king, on his entering the city to his coronation.

After the victory of Bosworth, Henry VII., on approaching the city, the 28th of August, 1485, was met at Shoreditch by the mayor and his brethren, in scarlet, with other worshipful citizens, clothed in violet; and so with great pomp and triumph, says Falconer, he rode to the city, and made his offerings of the standards he had taken at St. Paul's.

On the same monarch's conceding the favour of a coronation to his queen, Elizabeth, Nov. 1487, "at her coming forth from Grenewich by water, there was attending upon her there the maior, shrifes, and aldermen of the citie, and divers and many worshipfull comoners, chosen out of every crafte, in their liverays, in barges freshely furnished with banners and stremers of silke, rechely beaton with the armes and bagges of their craftes; and in especiall a *barge* called the *bacheler's barge*, garnished and appareleed, passing all other, wherein was ordeyned a great redde dragon spowting flames of fyer into the Thames; and many other gentlemanlie pagiaunts, well and curiosly devised, to do her highness sporte and pleasoure with."

On her procession the next day from the Tower to Westminster, all the streets she passed through were "cleene dressed and besene with clothes of tapestrie and arras; and some streets, as Chepe, hanged with ryche clothe of golde, velvet and silke; and along the streats, from the Towre to Powles, stode in order all the crafts of London in their liveries; and in divers places of the citie were ordeyned singing children, some arrayed like angelles, and other like virgins, to sing sweete songes as her grace passed by."

On the arrival of the Princess Katherine from Spain to marry Prince Arthur, 6 Henry VII. "the mayor, aldermen, sheryvys, wt other of the consrvators, counsellours, and ayders of the cytie of London, so ordrely wt good polesye had prvyd the said cytie that the *felawsclippes of evry crafte* shuld, all things leved aparte, in the sevrall liverys and bodys of their names, be prsent at the comyng of this most excellent princess. And for the seid great nombre of crafts were

barrys made on evr̃y sid of the wey fro' the myddyl of Gracechurch's strete unto the entryng of the church yard of Powle's, that they might from the comers and com'on people have ther space and ease, and also be scene."

In "the Banketts and Disguysyngs," which took place before Westminster hall, in honour of the marriage, the principals of the companies, together with the lord mayor, were honoured by being seated next the king and queen.

"In the northe sid, annemtest the stage of the king's, there was another stage, covr̃ed wt̃ red say, for the mayor of London, the shervys, aldermen, and wr̃shipfull of the crafts."

On the court removing afterwards to Richmond, amongst "a great and goodly nombre of barges, for the moost pr̃tie of evry lord in England," "either fastened up, or "roweing and skym'yng in the riv' and Thamys," was "first, for the cittie of London, the mayer's barge, the sherevys' barge and aldremen dyvr̃rs bargs; *and then the crafts of the cytie*, having their standards and stremers, wt̃ ther conizances right weel dekkyd, and replenyshid wt̃ wr̃shipfull company of the citizens."

When, in 1509, Henry VIII. married the above Catherine of Spain, (his brother's widow,) Hall informs us that the "streates where his grace should passe were hanged with tapesterie and clothe of arras, and the greate parte of the southe side of Chepe with clothe of gold, and some parte of Cornehill also; and the streates railed and barred on the one side from over against Bred streate in Chepeside, where every *occupation rode in their liveries in ordre*, beginning with base and meane occupations, and so ascending to the *worshipfull craftes*. Highest, and lastly, stode the maior, with the aldermen; the goldsmithe's stalles unto the ende of the Olde Chaunge beeing replenished with virgins in white with braunches of white waxe."

Lady Ann Boleyn, the second queen of this monarch, was crowned the 1st of June, 1533; and her procession through the city was enlivened, as usual, by "marvailous cunnyng pageantes," in which Apollo with the Muses, and St. Anne with her children, had each a conspicuous place. The three Graces also took their stand in Cornhill, and the Cardinal

Virtues in Fleet-street. Nor is this all: a fountain of Helicon, with courteous inconsistency, ran Rhenish wine, and its rival, the conduit in Cheap, foamed forth claret."* The parts of the royal procession more particularly connected with the observances of the companies are thus described in the account in Nichols' Progresses:

The king having directed the mayor to honour the queen's coronation procession from Greenwich to the Tower, and from thence to Westminster, "a common council was called, and commandement given to the *haberdashers*, of which craft the maior was, to prepare a barge for the bachelors, with a maste and foyste garnished with banners," which was done; all the other crafts had, in the like manner, their barges, with their accustomed banners, their sides decked with targets, and "such seemly banners and bannerets as they had in their halls, or could get to furnish the said barges; and every barge had a minstrel." The lord mayor had in his barge shalines, shagebushes, and divers other instruments of musick, that played continually. The number of the company's barges amounted to 50; the lord mayor's barge preceded, following "a foyste for a wafter full of ordinance, in which foyste was a great red dragon, continually mooving and casting wild fire;" and round about, "terrible, monstrous, and wild men also casting fire, and making a hideous noise." Among the ornaments were numerous flags and banners of the haberdashers and merchant adventurers. The Haberdashers' Company followed next their member, (the mayor,) then the mercers, then the grocers, and so every company in the order of precedence, as it then stood. In *returning* with the queen from Greenwich the order was reversed; the meanest craft going first, and so ascending to the uppermost craft in order, and the mayor last." At the beheading of this unfortunate victim of tyranny, only three years afterwards, on the Tower-green, the mayor, aldermen, and sheriffs, "and certaine of the principall companies of the cittie," are described as being amongst the mournful spectators of one, whose elevation they had so recently been taught to reverence and honour.

Royal Funerals have been noticed as forming also a spe-

* Taylor's Glory of Regality, 8vo. 1820.

cies of state solemnity, at which the attendance of the companies was generally required.

On the death of Henry V. (Aug. 31, 1422,) the sheriffs elect, Eastfelde and Tattersalle, were ordered not to ride on horse to take their charge at Westminster, as had been accustomed, but to go in *barges*, with their companies, which were the mercers' and the drapers', which they did. The drapers are described, on this occasion, to have "been *hooded in white, and needle pointed*," and the sheriffs' sergeants to have been "gowned in the same." The mercers' wore "their own clothing."

The brewers' records give the following interesting account of the king's funeral. "*William Walderne* was chosen mayor on St. Edmund's day, when it was ordered that the aldermen and crafts should go to Westminster with him, to take his charge, *in barges, without minstrels.*" Every householder was charged to provide a black or russet gown and a black hood; and, after the charge, to be present at the king's funeral. Certain of the crafts were ordered to find 200 torches for the funeral. The brewers provided eight torches on this occasion, weighing 138lb. of wax, price 51*s.* 9*d.* The chamberlain gave white gowns to the torch-bearers, and the brewers paid to each 3*d.* a day for two days.

The royal corpse was brought to London on Thursday, Nov. 5, and was met at St. George's bar, in Southwark, by the mayor, sheriffs, and citizens, on foot; the brewers stood at St. Margaret's (Southwark) church-yard, until the funeral procession had gone by, preceded by the torch-bearers, and then followed to St. Paul's, where a dirge was performed. On the next day, several masses were sung by many bishops and others, who, after eating, preceded the corpse to Westminster, with the mayor and civic authorities. The torches were held at the gate of the abbey until all had entered; and, when brought back, weighed 112lb., and were sold for 28*s.** Every householder from the church of St. Magnus to Temple-bar

* Subsequent entries contain an account of "parcels sold of divers goods, with torches made for th' intirment of King Henry V.," and among which are enumerated "tile and tile-sherds," the costages of a barge to go to Westminster with the mayor 6*s.* 8*d.*, and 2*s.* for the man's food."

had a servant holding a torch at his door while the procession passed. The burial was solemnized on Saturday, Nov. 7, when there were offered at the high altar, four steeds royally trapped, with a knight, full and whole armed with the king's coat armour, and a crown upon his head, sitting on one of the steeds. After mass 200 cloths of gold were offered.

At the burial of Elizabeth of York, queen to Henry Seventh, 1503, amongst "the honest persons, citizens of London, on horseback," we find the aldermen of London, and of the foreign gilds, "the Esterlings, the French men before them, the Portingalls before them, the Venetians before them, the Janavys (Genoese) before them," and "the Lewknors before them;" and "all the surplus of the citizens of London that rode not in black stood along from '*Fanchers*' (Fenchurch) to the end of Cheap." Besides these "were ordeyned divers torch-bearers of *certain crafts of London*, which torch-bearers had gownes and hoods of white wollen-cloth."

The order for the liveries of the twelve companies to wear mourning on the occasion, with a particular description of such mourning, is preserved amongst the City records. It directs, "That the most worshipfull fealowships shall stand in Chepe" as follows: viz. the goldsmiths, grocers, drapers, fishmongers, tailors, skynners, haberdashers, salters, and ironmongers. Some from most of the minor crafts were also appointed. They were to be dressed "in cloth gowns of black to the calf of the legge, and narrow tippets of black cloth about their neckes." The ten first crafts are the only ones mentioned, and in the above order.

The Early Inaugurations of the Mayors seem chiefly to have consisted of the "ridings," accompanied by minstrels, the beadle of the new mayor's company on horseback, and the attendance of his brother aldermen, and the city authorities.

At the "chevauche" of John Walcote, grocer and mayor, 1401, that company's books state 40*s.* to have been paid for six minstrels, 8*d.* for their chaprons and fessures, 21*d.* for their dinner and wine by the way, and 4*d.* for a horse for the beadle.

The procession of the sheriffs to be sworn into office at

Westminster, near the same period, was, in a similar manner, accompanied by minstrels, who were paid on these occasions by the respective companies of which the new sheriffs were members, and which also found the entertainment for them, together with banners, the hire of barges to go by water, and other expenses. The sum paid by the grocers for seven minstrels "*pur chevaucher*," or to ride with their sheriffs, Chicheley and Marlowe, in 1401, was 46*s.* 8*d.*; for cloth for their chaperons and fessures, 8*s.* 10*d.*; for their dinner and wine, 16*d.*; and for the "bedel's horse," 13*d.*

In the reign of Henry VI. the wardens of this company acknowledge a receipt of 56*l.* 19*s.* 9*d.* from certain persons of the craft, for the providing of the clothing of Roger Ottely, chosen mayor. And the same year, their accounts mention the company's hiring of barges, to attend the sheriffs' shew by water.* In 1436, they have entries of payments "for mynstralls and there hodys (hoods,) the term *fessures* or scullcaps being here disused, for amendyng of banners and hire of barges, with Thomas Catworth and Robert Clapton, chosyn shyerieves, going be water to Westmynster, 4*l.* 6*s.* 4*d.*" On their sheriff Otteley subsequently becoming mayor, there is paid "be Thomas Cattworth, for xx clothes of lynesy, ayenst the ryding of Robert Otteley, mayor, x*l.* vi*s.* Item, sheryng of the same xx*s.*, wages for mynstalls, v*l.* xiij*s.* viii*d.*, hodys are makyng xiij*s.* x*d.*," and "a hors for Dalton (beadle) vi*d.*"

The PRECEDENCY of the companies was a point of etiquette scrupulously adhered to in all the pageantries we have been describing, and was regulated by the mayor and aldermen;

* This shews that the companies had barges for water processions half a century before Stow mentions their first supposed introduction by Norman, lord mayor in 1450; and of whom that writer says, "this John Norman was the first mayor that was rowed by water to Westminster to take his oath, for before that time they rode on horseback. He caused a barge to be made at his own charge, and every company had several barges, well decked and trimmed, to pass along with him; for joy whereof, the watermen made a song in his praise, beginning, "Row thy *boat*, Norman." Strype's Stow, 1754, xi. p. 224. This might be thought to mean that the companies on this occasion first had their own boats made; but such does not appear to have been the fact, for the grocers' barge, as above, was only hired. It was not till 1617 that "that Company, thinking it beneath their dignity to appear in a barge not their own," agreed on the minutes "to contracte and agree with such persons as they should think meet to erect, edify, and build a faire barge, for the use of this company; and that they should take care for the provision of a house and place for the safe keeping of the said barge."—Acc. of the Grocers' Comp. p. 332.

but seems, at this time and long afterwards, to have been reduced to no fixed principle. The contention between the goldsmiths and tailors has been noticed in p. 25.; an early regulation had followed it to prevent disputes, ordering that the mayor's company should always precede; and in some cases, as between the tailors and skinners, and the fishmongers and skinners, the aldermen had hit on the happy expedient of giving alternate precedence to the disputants. Thus, 10 April, 1 Richard III. we find "an award made by the court of aldermen in a difference between the companies of skinners and tailors, respecting their precedency in processions, when it was determined that they shall take precedency of each other alternately every year." Some other regulations were also at the same time adopted. No mention, however, occurs of an attempt permanently to settle the question till 4 Henry VIII. when a court, summoned for the purpose, agreed, "that all man^r. of felawshippes shall keep the order of goyng in p^r.cession, and standyng as it was ordeyned in Mr. Shaa' daies." And this order, or some other, it is stated, the next year, (5 Henry VIII.) "was sette, ordeyn^d. and agreed." The *note* below contains various instances of the manner in which the company's precedency had previously varied.*

* City Records, Rep. 2, fo. 134, 14.

In the list of companies and their members who were to attend on the entry of the queen to her coronation, 5 Edw. IV. the twelve first named are the mercers, 24; drapers, 24; grocers, 24; fishmongers, 20; goldsmiths, 20; vintners, 12; skinners, 16; tailors, 24; ironmongers, 10; salters, 8; haberdashers, 12; girdlers, 6; and the 27th, the shermen, 6.

In the orders for setting out the watch made on the vigil of St. Peter and St. Paul the Apostle, vj. Edw. IV. of 26 companies who are named, the first twelve are as follows:

Drapers	xl.	Skynn^rs.	xx.	Haberdash^rs.	xxx.
Mercers	xl.	Tailo^rs.	l.	Diers	x.
Grocers	xl.	Vyntn^rs.	xij.	The shermen are placed 19	xx.
Fishmong^rs.	xl.	Salt^rs.	xx.		
Goldsmiths	xl.	Ironmong^rs.	x.		

20 Nov. 1 Rich. III., the Common Council direct a certain number of persons from each company (in all 406 persons) to ride in murrey-coloured coats, as already noticed, to meet the king on his entering the City. The thirteen first-named companies are as follow:

Haberdashers	xxviii.	Goldsmythes	xxiiij.	Taillors	xxx.
Merc^rs.	xxx.	Skynn^rs.	xxiiij.	Ironmong^rs.	x.
Drap^rs.	xxx.	Salt^rs.	x.	Scriven^rs.	iiij.
Groc^rs.	xxx.	Vyntn^rs.	viij.	Dyers	x.
Fishmong^rs.	xxx.				

FROM HENRY IV. TO HENRY VIII.

We resume our narration with Henry IV. From this prince originated the letters patent, making the companies bodies corporate and politic, under a certain definite style or form, with perpetual succession, and a common seal; the power of being able in law to purchase and take lands in fee-simple, given,

28 July, 3 Rich. III., order for a marching watch, and the number of men to be furnished by each company. The thirteen first are as follows:

Groc$^{rs.}$	xj$^{xx.}$	Skynn$^{rs.}$	lx.	Ironmong$^{rs.}$	xl.
Mercers	cc.	Salt$^{rs.}$	xx.	Haberdash$^{rs.}$	iiij.
Drapers	cc.	Vyntn$^{rs.}$	iiij^{xx}iiij.	Scryven$^{rs.}$	xx.
Fishmong$^{rs.}$	vj$^{xx.}$	Taillors	cc.	Diers	lxiij.
Goldsmythes	c.				

31 August, 1 Henry VII. The Common Council ordered the companies to ride on the king entering the city, to the number of 435, in the following order:

Grocers	30	Goldsmiths	24	Ironmong$^{rs.}$	10
Mercers	30	Skinners	20	Scriven$^{rs.}$	4
Drapers	30	Haberdash$^{rs.}$	20	Dyers	10
Fishm$^{rs.}$	30	Salters	10	Sheremen	8
Tailors	30				

9 Oct. 3 Henry VII. (1487.) The Common Council directed a certain number of the companies (in all 434) to ride in the following order, towards the king on his coming to the city from Kenilworth:

Mercers	30	Goldsm$^{ths.}$	24	Ironmong$^{rs.}$	10
Grocers	30	Skinners	20	Scriveners	4
Drapers	30	Haberdash$^{rs.}$	20	Dyers	10
Fishm$^{rs.}$	30	Salters	10	Sheremen	8
Taillors	30	Vyntners	8		

24 June, Henry VIII. (1509.) "Hereafter apperith the order of crafts howe they shall stand when the kyng and the queyn" (Hen. VIII. and Queen Catherine,) "shall passe by towards their coronacions:

1. Taillors
2. Mercers
3. Grocers
4. Drapers
5. Fishmong$^{rs.}$
6. Goldsmyths
7. Skynners
8. Ironmong$^{ers.}$
9. Merch$^{t.}$ Haberdash$^{rs.}$
10. Salters
11. Vintners
12. Stockfishmong$^{rs.}$
13. Diers
14. Brewers
15. Bakers
16. Shermen.

An. "1483. List of the companies having liveries, with the numbers (in all 1458) "in temp. Joh'is Shaa, milit." (Vide above).

Mercers	66	Taillors	84	Salters	30
Grocers	84	Skinners	54	Vyntners	26
Drapers	80	Ironmong$^{rs.}$	25	Dyers	19
Fishmong$^{rs.}$	76	Haberdash$^{rs.}$	41	Shermen	51
Goldsm$^{ths.}$	51				

The next instances are of a miscellaneous complexion, but elucidate the same subject of the precedence of the companies. The first contains their contributions towards completing Guildhall. The second relates to the establishment of a charity of the Twelve Companies.

An. 1483, S$^{r.}$ John Shaa, mayor. An account of "the sums of money granted

devised, or assigned; the capability, under their usual designations, to plead and be impleaded; "to make good and reasonable bye-laws and ordinances;" to have and hold lands by whatsoever name the same might be bequeathed or conveyed to them; together with the right of search through their several trades, punishment of offenders in them, and various other privileges. This king also confirmed the mercers, skinners, goldsmiths, and tailors.

The act 1 Hen. IV. c. 7, forbidding the giving of liveries by any but the king, or those he might license, and which was confirmed and explained by other acts of the 2d, 7th, and 13th of the same monarch, prohibits all persons, congregations, or companies, from wearing liveries of cloth or hats, contrary to the statute of hats (Lestatut' de livr̃e des chapr̃ons) of Richard II. and which states such liveries to have been given for maintenance of quarrels and other confederacies; but exempts from its operation "the gilds and fraternities, and also the people of mysteries of cities and boroughs within the realm, that be founded or ordained to good intent and purpose."*

The great increase of the trade companies at this time, and which prompted the above and other regulations, appears from a prior statute (11 Richard II. c. 11,) implying that the business of husbandry was neglected in consequence. It ordains "that as well artificers as people of mystery [men of craft] and of which craft or mystery a man hath no great need, in harvest-time shall be compelled to serve in harvest, to cut, gather, and bring in the corn." The female artificers

by severall fealoships of this cite towards the beldyng of houses of office at the Gyldhall."

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.			
Goldsmths.	20	13	4	Mercers	40	0	0	Grocers		
Fishmongrs.				Skinners				Drapers	each	
Vintners				Stockfishmrs.				Habrdashrs.	£5	
Dyers	5	0	0	Scrivnrs.	3	6	8	Salters		
Brewers		10	0	Shermen	10	0	0	Ironmongrs.		
								Pewterers	£2	0 0

5 Edw. VI. (April.) The Haberdashrs. Company offered to give £5 yearly towards finding of a poor scholar at the University, "so that the rest of *the twelve Most Worshypful Companyes* of the citie do the like." The merchant tailors agreed the same day, and subsequently all the rest.

* This statute of livery of hats compelled companies to attend to give liveries of cloth or hats. By the same also, lords, knights and esquires, as well as gentlemen under certain circumstances, were compelled to give their livery of cloth or hats, "de doner leur livrẽe de vesture ou de chapoñs."

who have been noticed under the reign of Edward III. had equally increased with the men, and engrossed many of the trades connected with the dress of their sex. For carrying on these they had their peculiar districts, the Bond-streets and Cranborn-alleys of antiquity, and similarly associated in gilds. The "silk women of London" were probably one of the most consequential of these societies, and will be found noticed in the account of the Mercers' Company.

In the 5th of Henry IV., the absolute control the mayor had acquired over the companies was remarkably exemplified in some proceedings which took place on a dispute between the goldsmiths and cutlers; when the former, having petitioned the king to confirm their right of search, granted by Edw. III. and which they extended to the oversight of the cutlers, the latter, in a counter-petition, denied such right of oversight of cutlers' work to reside any where but with the four wardens "*de artifice de cotellerie.*" Both these petitions being considered by parliament, it was directed that a writ should be sent to the mayor of London, and that he should be empowered, by authority of parliament, to summon the folks of both the goldsmiths' and cutlers' mysteries, who should produce their ancient evidences and usages on both sides before him; and which said mayor should, if needful, certify the result without delay, to the king in council, in order that the king, on deliberation, and with the advice of the lords spiritual and temporal, might act as the case should require.

The writs to the mayor on this occasion, as well on behalf of the goldsmiths as the cutlers, command,—that in consequence of certain petitions which had been presented to the king, in his present parliament, by the goldsmiths and the cutlers, and which petitions were inclosed, he should, on reading the same, do what was right on the behalf of each, and make return thereof, under his seal, to the king in his then parliament, who would determine thereupon.

The return of the mayor specified "that by virtue of two writs of the lord the king, directed to him, William Ascham, mayor of London, he had inspected the inclosed petitions of the goldsmiths and cutlers, and had caused to appear before him, at the guildhall of the said city, as well the sufficient

men of the said mysteries, as several other good and sufficient aged men of each ward of the city, and had had exhibited to him, by the said goldsmiths and cutlers, their charters, inrolments, and evidences, as well written as not written, concerning the rules, usage, assaying, and government of the said mysteries; and by which it appeared to him, the mayor, that the cutlers had of old times occupied their works of gold and silver within the city, as the change of times and fashion demanded; and that the wardens of the mystery of goldsmiths, for the time being, subject to the oversight of the mayor and aldermen of the same city, had from old times been accustomed to have the assay of the gold and silver work of the said cutlers within the city of London.*

Henry V. is not mentioned to have incorporated any company except the above one, the cutlers; though, from the many now extinct companies we read of in his reign, it seems probable that he must have incorporated and confirmed several which we are not acquainted with.† An important improvement in the keeping of the companies' books is ascribed to this king. The account is in an entry, in Latin, amongst the brewers' records, of which the following is a translation. We should previously remark, that all the old court books, and others of the early fraternities, are in Norman French, sometimes intermixed with abbreviated Latin, or the old English of Chaucer's day. This will have been observed in the extracts we have made. The discontinuance of these languages, unless for legal instruments, is evinced by the grocers' and other companies having their ordinances *translated*, and adopting English in keeping their books about this time; but the cause has been left for the above-mentioned curious records to develope.

* Petitions in Parl. vol 2.

† The brewers' records have two lists about this time, one headed "The titles of divers crafts of old accustomed and long continuing, this 9th year of Henry V." (1422:) the other, "The names of divers crafts and fraternities that did hire our hall during two years (1422-3), with the sums of money which they did pay." After naming the Twelve Companies in the following order,—mercers, grocers, drapers, fishmongers, goldsmiths, vintners, skinners, tailors, saddlers, ferrones, [ironmongers,] girdlers, allutarij, hab'dashers,—they enumerate most of the minor ones given in the preceding lists of 38 and 50 Edw. III.; together with the following additional companies; the galoch-makers, linen-weavers, paynters, cementarij, sheremen, hatters, coffres, pointmakers, leatherdyers, bellmakers, chariotmakers, brochemakers, carvers, bookbinders, textwriters, chapemakers, net makers, and masterclerks.

"Whereas our mother tongue, to wit, the English tongue, hath in modern days began to be honourably enlarged and adorned; for that our most excellent lord king Henry the Fifth hath, in his letters missive, and divers affairs touching his own person, more willingly chosen to declare the secrets of his will; and for the better understanding of his people, hath, with a diligent mind, procured the common idiom (setting aside others) to be commended by the exercise of writing; and there are many of our craft of brewers who have the knowledge of writing and reading in the said English idiom, but in others, to wit, the Latin and French, before these times used, they do not in anywise understand; for which causes, with many others, it being considered how that the greater part of the lords and trusty commons have begun to make their matters to be noted down in our mother tongue, so we also in our craft, following in some manner their steps, have decreed in future to commit to memory the needful things which concern us, as appeareth in the following:"

The entries then proceed to notice, in English, other of what they call "the extraordinary and arbitrary proceedings of Richard Whittington against the Brewers' Company," in addition to those already detailed, and the succeeding entries are chiefly found in English.

Henry VI. confirmed almost the whole of the twelve companies, besides chartering or confirming many of the lesser ones; viz. the dyers, brewers, armourers, girdlers, cordwainers, and the masons. His confirmations of the great companies, included the mercers, grocers, drapers, fishmongers, merchant tailors, salters, haberdashers, and the vintners. The following important legal regulation took place in the 15th of this reign:

The commons petitioned the king, "that whereas the masters, wardens, and commonalty of several gilds, fraternities, and other companies incorporate in various parts of the kingdom, frequently, under colour of rule and government, and other terms, in general words to them granted and confirmed by charters and letters patent of the progenitors of our lord the king, made amongst themselves several disloyal and little reasonable ordinances, as well as corrected offences, whereof the cognizance and punishment solely appertained to the king,

the lords of liberties, and other persons, and by which the said lord the king and others were disinherited of their franchises and profits, confederating things for their own single profit, and to the common damage of the people."

That he would ordain,

"That the masters, wardens, and commonalty of each such incorporated gild, fraternity, or company, should, between then and the ensuing Michælmas-day, bring and cause to be registered of record, before the justices of the peace, or governors of cities, burghs, and towns, in which such gilds are situated, all their letters patent and charters; and that they should not make or use any ordinance in disparity or diminution of the franchises of the king or others, or against the common profit of the people, nor allow any other ordinances without their being first approved and inrolled before such justices; and that the same should be by them afterwards revoked and recalled, if not found to be wholly loyal and reasonable; and this under penalty of losing and forfeiting the power and effect of all articles comprised in their said letters patent and charters, which allowed them to make amongst themselves such ordinances; and moreover of forfeiting to the king the sum of 10*l.* for every ordinance made contrary, as often as they should be convicted thereof by due process." The statute 15 Henry IV. c. 6. 7. grants this petition in precisely the same words.*

Edward IV. confirmed the drapers, goldsmiths, merchant tailors, salters, ironmongers, and clothworkers; and of minor companies, the pewterers, barber-surgeons, tallow-chandlers, and cooks.

The reign of this prince was remarkable for the further enlargement of the power of the companies, by associating the liverymen at large of the trading companies with the electors at common hall. In his seventh year it was enacted by the Common Council, "that the election of mayor and sheriffs should be in the Common Council, together with the masters and wardens of each mystery. The number of voters, however, appearing by this regulation to be too much narrowed, it was at last established by act of Common Council, of 15th of Edward IV., that the master and wardens should

* Rol. Parl. iv. p. 507.

associate with themselves the honest men of their mysteries, and to come in their best liveries to the elections of the mayor and sheriffs: and moreover, that none but themselves and the members of Common Council should be present." These City elections were finally regulated as above by the act 2. George I.

The statute of the 8th of this king, c. 11. against the old grievance of promiscuously giving liveries, again excepts from its operation "gilds, fraternities, or mysteries corporate." These frequent prohibitions on the same subject would seem strange to modern readers, if the reason had not been just explained. The evil of these party distinctions had reached its height in the preceding war between the "Roses," and again called forth legislative enactments on Edward's becoming secured on the throne. Henry VII., who resorted to the same measure at the beginning of his reign, finally destroyed the practice by the heavy fine he is known to have inflicted on his father-in-law, Lord Stanley.

At the coronation of Richard III. the example first occurs of the heads of the great livery companies being chosen by the Common Council to attend the mayor of London to Westminster as cup-bearer. The persons so chosen were the under-written, viz.

"Henry Cole, goldsmith	John Tate, mercer
William Sandes, grocer	William Sparke, clothworker
John Swann, cissor	Thomas Ostriche, haberdasher
William Mariner, salter	Richard Knight, fishmonger
John Pasmer, pellipar	Thomas Bretayn, ironmonger
Roger ———	(blank of two names here.)

who went in great state; and their claim in this particular was formally allowed, and still remains on record at the Town Clerk's Office.*

In this same reign the twelve companies also gave a proof of their civic importance and liberality, by contributing, with the mayor, Ralph Josceline, towards the repair of the city walls, each company taking his respective portion. The skinners made that part thereof on the east, between Aldgate and Bevis Marks, towards Bishopsgate, and had their arms put up there in three places. The mayor, with his company of drapers, made all that part betwixt Bishopsgate and All-

* Lib. L. fol. 191. *a.* and *b.*

hallows church. From All-hallows towards the postern of Moorgate, Crosby's executors (the grocers) were the builders, and placed the said Crosby's arms there, where they remained till the late destruction of that part of the wall. The remainder of the wall, from Crosby's portion as far as to Cripplegate postern, was made by other companies. The goldsmiths repaired from Cripplegate towards Aldersgate, and there their work ceased.

The reigns of Henry VII. and Henry VIII. form an important era in the history of the companies. From their first general incorporation by Edward III., these societies had been gradually augmenting in numbers, and, by engrossing the trade of the kingdom, and constituting the bulk of the Common Council, they had acquired such wealth and consequence as to attract the especial attention of government. The policy ascribed to Louis VII. of France, and to King John, of interposing the commercial class between the nobility and their vassals, eminently applied to Henry VII., who, wishing to establish a throne which had been so frequently shaken in the contests to which we have alluded, found in the companies a power made for the purpose. He began, like Edward III., by conferring the highest distinction he could on them; and to that end, not only became a brother of the same fraternity, the Tailors' Company, but delivered them a new charter from the throne, himself habited in the company's livery, made of velvet and other rich materials; and in the same dress presided afterwards as their master.

Besides re-incorporating the tailors, Henry VII. granted confirmations to most of the other companies, (including the goldsmiths, fishmongers, and haberdashers,) and first incorporated the poulterers, coopers, and scriveners. His greatest boon was to the commonalty of the companies, and is thus noticed by Anderson:*

"In 1504, the bye-laws made by corporations, or fellowships of crafts, gilds, and fraternities, were found to be many ways against the king's prerogative, the common law of England, and the liberty of the subject, 'being (says Lord Bacon)

* Hist. Commerce, 8vo. II. p. 14. See also Rot. Parl. iv. p. 507.

fraternities in evil.' Wherefore an act of parliament this year (19 Henry VII. c. 7.) restrains the masters or wardens of such fraternities from making any new bye-laws or ordinances concerning the prices of wares and other things, for their own singular profit, until first examined and approved of by the Lord Chancellor, Lord Treasurer, or King's Justices, on pain of forfeiting 40*l.* for every offence."*

Henry VIII. incorporated the innholders, and some other minor companies, and re-incorporated the fishmongers on the union of the two trades of stock-fishmongers and salt-fishmongers. He also first incorporated the barber-surgeons, to whom, like his father, he delivered their charter on the throne, as represented in Holbein's fine painting in their hall.

Stow's quaint notices of the rise of several of the minor companies, about, or a little before this reign, is amusing, and exactly corresponds with what has been stated, namely, that these fraternities sprung from the congregating together of men of the same calling, for trade and social purposes.

Thus, speaking of the pewterers, he says, "These were a company or meeting of friendly and neighbourly men in the time of Edward IV., and became, in the 13th of that king, incorporated." Of the tallow-chandlers, that they "were a society of great antiquity, living in good formality among men, and loving agreement with themselves, and so came to be incorporated in the reign of Edward IV." That the masons, otherwise termed "free-masons," "were a society of ancient standing and good reckoning, by means of affable and kind meetings divers times, and as a loving brotherhood should use to do, did frequent their mutual assemblies in the time of King Henry IV., in the 12th year of whose most gracious reign they were incorporated." And in finishing with a notice of the *innholders*, incorporated as above, he adds of them, that "having been a community or society of honest friendly

* The preamble, as in Pynson's Statutes, states, nearly as in p. 106., for "that, the mayster wardens and people of guyldes, fraternytees, and of other companyes corporate, dwellinge in dyvers partyes of the realme, often tymes by colour of rule and governuance to them granted and confirmed by charters and letters patentes of dyvers kynges, made amonge themselfe many unlawfull and unreasonable ordynaunces." * * * * * And over that, it is enacted "that none of the same bodyes corporate take upon them to make any actes or ordynances."—Statutes, 19 Henry VII. cap. 7.

men, by their often meeting and conversing together, as in those days it was a matter much observed, they came to be incorporated in the 6th year of King Henry VIII."

Various circumstances seem to have impeded the chartering of more new companies in this reign, notwithstanding their flourishing state. Northouck (p. 113) ascribes the causes of the frequent riots against foreigners, and particularly of that in the 6th Henry VIII., known by the name of "Evil May-day," to the trading corporations having now ceased to be useful by having answered the first object of their creation. "Their exclusive privileges," says that writer, "had sheltered and protected citizens against the feudal claims; but that tyranny was now no more, and the limitations of these seminaries of traders began, under the increase of traffic, to operate to their disadvantage. Strangers, shut out of corporations, settled round the walls; hence the trades without, being clear from municipal restrictions and burdens, grew formidable to the trade carried on within. This now began to be the case with London; foreigners to their jurisdiction, whether natives or not, were always regarded with a zealous antipathy, and were frequently the sufferers by such tumultuous violence as on the above occasion."

Several resolutions subsequently passed, the most particular of which was an enactment of the Star-chamber, "that all strangers be contributors, as the king's natural born subjects were;" and that they should come to the mayor of London to take the oaths to be true to the king and his heirs: and of this enactment sundry exemplifications were made, and sent to the several companies in 1525.

In the 15th and 16th of Henry VIII. (c. 11.) a statute operating on the like principle was passed, restraining aliens in regard to the numbers they should take of apprentices and journeymen, and which grants power to the corporations of handicrafts to examine and stamp the former's work. This act is curious for particularizing the then extent of the suburbs of London, over which the jurisdiction of the wardens of the companies was authorized. Their limits of examination reached "two miles from the city, viz. within the town of Westminster, the parishes of St. Martin's in the Fields, our Lady of the Strand, St. Clement's Danes without

Temple-bar, St. Giles's in the Fields, St. Andrew, Holborn, the town and borough of Southwark, Shoreditch, Whitechapel parish, St. John of Jerusalem, Clerkenwell; Clerkenwell parish, St. Botolph without Aldgate, St. Katherine's near the Tower of London, and Bermondsey.* Henry VIII. also, the more firmly to establish the companies, permitted them to receive from the heralds grants of arms. Some, however, as the drapers and linen armourers, received grants at much earlier dates.

In 1544, the citizens, members of the twelve companies, gave a specimen of the great opulence to which they had arisen, by lending King Henry VIII. 21,263*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* on lands mortgaged to them towards his wars in Scotland.

This seems to have been nearly the first instance of loan, on an application from the crown for pecuniary assistance; and it is worth remark, as it will be seen, in pursuing the company's history, to what a ruinous extent the precedent was afterwards carried. Earlier instances occur of their contributing towards state triumphs; but, with the exception of paying their rents or fermes, and occasional fees on the renewal of patents, we only meet with a single entry of the company's furnishing money towards warlike operations. It was on occasion of the attempt of the Duke of Burgundy against Calais, (then in the possession of the English,) in the reign of Henry VI., when the warden's accounts of the grocers (as one of the contributing companies) record a payment of 13*l.* 1*s.* 8*d.* for "ij. speres and iiij bowes, sent by the company of grocers, for the sauf kepyng of Caleys against the seige of the fals Duke of Burgoyne."†

* Northouck, p. 117.

† And the following similar entry of money received from the members towards the same object: "Also rec^{d} of certeyn p'sones of the craft for waiges of ij speres and iiij bowes, sowldiers, for the sauf keeping of Caleys agenst the seege of the fals pretending Duke of Burgoyne."—Grocers' Books.

FROM THE

REFORMATION TO THE REVOLUTION.

THE effects of the Reformation were severely felt by the Livery Companies. It had been customary, in making gifts and devises to these societies in the Catholic times, to charge such gifts with annual payments, for supporting chantries for the souls of the respective donors; and, as scarcely an atom of property was left without being so restricted, at a period when the supposed efficacy of these religious establishments formed part of the national belief, almost the whole of the Companies' Trust Estates became liable, at the Reformation, to change masters with the change of religion.

The act of Parliament of Henry VIII.* entitled "an acte for dissolucion of colleges, ch[a]untries, and free chapelles, at the king's majestie's pleasure," had given the whole of these colleges and chantries, and their estates, to that king and his successors; but they do not appear to have been wholly taken possession of by the crown until the next reign, when a new act,† entitled "an acte whereby certaine ch[a]untries, colleges, free chapells, and the possessions of the same be given to the king's ma[tie]", vested all such as had not been before seized on, (and which included "all payments by corporations, misteryes or craftes, for priests' obits and lamps,") in the the king; to whom they were thenceforth to be paid by the companies.‡

* Act 37 Henry VIII. c. iv.

† Act 1 Edward VI. c. xiv.

‡ The act: "consydering that a greate pte of superstition and errour in Christian religion hath byn brought into the myndes and estimacons of men, by

"This," says Strype, "was a great blow to the corporations of London; nor was there any other way for them but to purchase and buy off these rent-charges, and get as good pennyworths as they could of the king; and this they did in the 3d of Edward VI. by selling other of their lands to enable them to make these purchases. This cost the companies 18,700*l.*, which possessions, when they had thus cleared again, they employed to good uses, according to the first intent of them, abating the superstition.*

The "certificates" returned by the respective companies to the king's commissioners on this occasion were all of a similar nature, as will be seen under their proper heads.† They were principally in answer to the following questions, and afford a very particular and important statement of the company's trust-property at this time:

1. Whether or not they had any peculiar brotherhood or guild within their corporation? 2. Whether they had any college, chantry, chapel, fraternity, brotherhood or guild, within the same?—What number of stipendiary priests they paid from bequests of estates, and what were the amount of such stipends?—Who were the donors, and what were the particulars of the estates left, with their yearly value, and the payments and deductions to be made from them? 3. Whether they possessed any, and what jewels, goods, orna-

the devising and phantasinge vaine opynions of purgatorye and masses satisfactorye, to be done for them which be departed; the which doctrine and vaine opynion by nothing more is mayntayneet and upholden than by the abuse of treatalls, chauntries, and other provysions made for the contynuance of the saide blyndnesse and ignoraunce;" and that the converting of the same to good and godlie uses, as the erecting of grammar schools, augmenting the universities, and better provision of the poor, cannot be better done than by the king, with the advice of his council; and calling to mind the act 37 Henry VIII. it ordains as above, and enumerates (as particularly included in the act) "all manner of corporations, gilds, fraternities, companies, and fellowships of mysteries or crafts."

* Strype's Stow, 11, p. 336.

† As—"Societas sive corporatio *aurifabrorum* Londoniæ prædictæ, *&c. They render an account of divers sums for stipends of chantry, priests, &c.*" The like account is rendered by the eleven other great companies, amongst a variety of others, in the following order: Corporatio societatis de les *salters*. Corporatio societatis pelliparіorum vocatorum *skynners*. Corporatio societatis de lez *vynteners*. Corporatio societatis *mercerorum*. Corporatio societatis de lez *fisshemongers*. Corporatio societatis *mercatorum scissorum*. Corporatio societatis pannariorum Londoniæ [vocatorum] the *drapers*. Corporatio societatis de lez *iremongers*. Corporatio de lez *haberdashers*. Corporatio societatis de lez *clothworkers*: as, vide Compotus Ministrorum Regis, 5 Edw. VI. in Londonia, in archivo curiæ augmentationum.

ments, chattels, and other things appertaining to any chantry or stipendiary priests; and if so, to return all the particulars concerning them. And lastly, whether they had any other yearly profits or advantages, (exclusively of those above mentioned,) which to their knowledge the king ought to have under the operation of the act.

To ensure correct returns to the above queries, the commissioners were empowered to survey all such mysteries, crafts, and corporations, and to inspect all evidences, compositions, books of accompts, and other writings, which they might possess.*

The companies paid the chantry rents so given to Edward VI. until the third year of his reign, when the king requiring them to purchase them, they sold other of their estates, under circumstances which will be presently detailed. The particulars of the sales and purchases on this occasion will be found in the note.†

* The following is a specimen of the returns:

"The cytye of London and county of Middlesex. The corporacions and companies within the citie of London. The company of the *salters*. Thomas Beaumonde gave unto the master and brethren of the same companye, to find a prest to singe within the churche of Allhallowes, Bread-stret, as much landes as amount unto xvij*l.* xvij*s.* iiij*d.*; whereof to Sir John Cornysshe prest for his stipende by yere, vii*l.* xi*s.* viii*d.*; to the king for quit rent, xiij*s.* viii*d.*; spent vppon an obite there, lx*s.* ix*d.*; spent uppon leights there, xx*s.* [*together*] xii*l.* vii*s.* i*d.* And then remayneth clere cx*s.* ii*d.*" After which follow accounts of other endowments for chantries given to the same company.

The like gifts and foundations *mutatis mutandis* are severally placed under the heads (*inter alia*) of the eleven great companies following: skynners, vinteners, mercers, fysshemongers, iremongers, merchaunt taylors, grocers, clothe-workers, haberdasshers, goldesmythes, and drapers.

† Strype's Stow, 11, p. 336.

A particular Note of suche Charitable good uses as are performed by the Twelve Great Companies of London, out of suche rents as they purchased of King Edward VI.

MERCERS—(No return.)

GROCERS.

They purchased of the king in rente	86	8	00
They sould tenements to buy the same *per annum*	65	02	04
Payments yerelie out of the rents purchased.			
In pensions to poore decaied brethren	30	00	00
In exhibitions to schollers	15	06	08
Towards the maintenance of a schole	10	00	00
In almes to poore men and women	50	00	00
Sum of the yerelie payments	105	06	08

DRAPERS.

They purchased of the kinge in rente *per annum*	55	07	00
They sould tenements to buy the same *per annum*	40	16	08

Edward VI. followed up the seizure of the chantry estates by a measure of emancipation calculated to promote the general interests of trade, but which inflicted another blow on the companies. By a clause in the same act, of the 2d and 3d of his reign, all manner of workmen connected in the building of houses and other edifices were licensed to exercise their

Payments yerelie out of the rents purchased.

In pensions to poore decaied brethren	18	00	00
In exhibitions	15	00	00
In almes to poore men and women	50	00	00
Sum of the yerelie payments	83	00	00

GOLDSMITHS.

They purchased of the king in rent *per annum*	106	16	09
They sould tenements to buy the same *per annum*	105	12	00

Payments yerelie out of the rents purchased.

In pensions yerely to poore decaied brethren	30	00	00
In exhibitions to schollers	20	13	04
To the maintenance of two scholes	20	00	00
To almes to poore men and women	80	00	00
Sum of the yerelie payments	150	13	04

FISHMONGERS.

They purchased of the kinge in rente *per annum*	95	01	04
They soulde tenements to buy the same *per annum*	113	09	04

Payments yerelie out of the rentes purchased.

In pensions to poore decaied brethren	25	00	00
In exhibitions to schollers	30	00	00
To the maintenance of a schole	30	00	00
In almes to the poore of their companie	22	10	08
Sum of ther yerelie payments of the rentes purchased	107	10	08

SKYNNERS.

They purchased of the kinge in rente *per annum*	46	03	07
They soulde tenements to buye the same *per annum*	47	08	06

Payments yerelie out of the rentes purchased.

In pensions to poore decaied brethren	25	13	04
In exhibitions to schollers	13	06	08
To the maintenance of a schole	33	06	08
To the almesmen	6	13	08
Sum of ther yerelie payments	79	00	00

MERCHANT-TAILERS.

They purchased of the kinge in rente *per annum*	98	11	05
They soulde tenements to buy the same *per annum*	124	01	08

Payments yerelie out of the rentes purchased.

In pensions to poore decaied brethren	58	00	00
In exhibitions to schollers	18	00	00
One grammar schole	10	00	00
To ther almesmen	42	00	00
Sum of ther yerelie payments	128	00	00

occupations in cities and towns corporate, though they were *not free* of such corporations. This makes it evident, as Northouck observes, "that inconvenience began to be felt from the exclusive privileges of corporations, and which now demanded some relaxation." The city afterwards got this

HABERDASHERS.

They purchased of the kinge in rente *per annum*	40	10	02
They soulde tenements to buy the same rente *per annum*	25	10	00
Payments yerelie out of the rents purchased.			
In pensions to poore decaied brethren	23	06	08
In exhibitions to schollers	16	13	04
In almes to poore men and women	20	00	00
Sum of ther yerelie payments	60	00	00

SALTERS.

They purchased of the kinge in rente *per annum*	48	09	09
They sould tenements to buy the same *per annum*	47	10	08
Payments yerelie out of the rents purchased.			
In pensions to poore decaied brethren	10	00	00
In exhibitions to schollers	10	00	00
In almes to ther poore brethren	37	06	08
Sums of ther yerelie payments	57	06	08

IRONMONGERS.

They purchased of the kinge in rente *per annum*	12	05	00
They soulde tenements to buy the same *per annum*	08	00	00
Payments yerelie out of the rents purchased.			
In pensions to poore decaied brethren	07	00	00
In exhibitions to schollers	13	06	08
To ther almesmen	10	00	00
Sum of ther yerelie payments	30	06	08

VINTNERS.

They purchased of the kinge in rente *per annum*	18	06	08
They sould tenements to purchase the same *per annum*	06	00	00
Payments yerelie out of the rents purchased.			
In pensions to decaied brethren	10	00	00
In exhibitions to scollers	13	06	08
To ther almesmen	15	00	00
Sum of ther yerelie payments	38	06	08

CLOTHWORKERS.

They purchased of the kinge in rent *per annum*	20	05	02
They sould tenements to buy the same	18	03	04
Payments yerelie out of the Rents purchased.			
In pensions to poore decaied brethren	15	00	00
In exhibitions to schollers	13	06	08
To ther almesmen,	18	07	06
To the maintenance of a schole	20	00	00
Sum of ther yerelie payments	66	14	02

Memorandum.—That the annual value of all the rents purchased in the patents of King Edward VI. (and for the which after the rate of 20 years' purchase was paid, amounting to 18,714 18 $\frac{3}{4}$,) was 734 11 $5\frac{1}{2}$.

act repealed, on the plea of the costs and charges craftsmen were liable to for the national as well as corporation taxes, and the great danger of "the decaie of *cunning*," by driving away freemen, if foreigners were admitted amongst them; but these very reasons against admitting cheaper workmen into corporations afford strong proof that their restrictions and privileges had a tendency to check their trade, and throw it into the hands of unprivileged manufacturers.*

The act of parliament, 1 Mary, was of a less liberal character: it prohibited the linendrapers, woollendrapers, haberdashers, grocers, and mercers, who lived in the open country, and were not free of any city, borough, or corporation town, from vending their wares in such, or any where else, except in open fairs, and by retail.

Philip and Mary reincorporated the stationers, accompanying their charter with a number of new regulations for the book trade, most of which were calculated to fetter the liberty of the press in matters of religion. The first legal appointment of a court of assistants which occurs in any of the companies was made to the stationers at this time, and the members of it nominated in this incorporation charter. The election of masters and wardens was, however, still vested in the old master, wardens, and commonalty.† Philip and Mary confirmed many of the other companies. The custom of forced loans, which was afterwards carried to a most oppressive extent, was resumed by Queen Mary, in 1557. It had been begun by Henry VIII., who in 1545 compelled the twelve companies to advance him £21,263 6*s.* 8*d.* upon a mortgage of crown lands, towards the charges of his war with Scotland. After that, he determined to raise a further sum by a benevolence, and sent commissioners into the city to assess the Londoners.‡ The sum required on this occasion by

* See *ante*, p. 111.

† Charters and Grants of the Stationers' Company, 8vo. London, 1741.

‡ Alderman Richard Read not only objected to this arbitrary measure, but positively refused to pay the sum demanded of him; for which Henry, whose tyrannical spirit would endure no opposition, enrolled him as a foot soldier, and sent him to Scotland with the army, where, after great hardships, he was taken prisoner, and obliged to pay a considerable sum for his ransom.—*Northouck's London*, 121.

Mary was £20,000, which was in like manner lent by the city companies, at 12 per cent., secured on certain of the crown lands. In the July of the same year there occurs the first compulsory levy of soldiers on them. The form of precept sent by the mayor in consequence to the grocers, commands "the wardens to provide 60 good sadd and hable men to be souldgears, whereof 2 to be horsemen, well horsed and armyd; 20 of them to be harquebuziers or archers, 20 to bear pykes, and 18 to be bill-men, all well harnyshed and weponed, mete and convenient, accordynge to the appoynment of our sovereigne lorde and ladye the king's and queene's majestie; as well for the suretie and safeguarde of their highnesse's chamber and citie of London, as the resistance of such militious attempts as may happen to be made against them by foreigne enemie."*

The next year, (1558,) Maitland states that £200,000 was raised in the city, by way of loan, at 12 per cent., to carry on the French war, and to which all the companies were compelled otherwise largely to contribute. The grocers' books state the sum to be raised by the twelve companies to have been £65,000, and that their proportion was £7,055; the six three-fourths of which were supplied from amongst the members by individual contribution.†

From this period the extracting of money from the trading corporations became a regular source of supply to government, and was prosecuted during Elizabeth's and the succeeding reigns with a greediness and injustice that scarcely left those societies time to breathe. Contributions towards setting the poor to work; towards erecting the Royal Exchange; towards cleansing the city ditch; and towards projects of discovering new countries; money for furnishing military and naval armaments; for men, arms, and ammunition, to protect the city; for state and city pageants and attendances; for provision of coal and corn; compulsory loans for government and for the prince; state lotteries, monopolous patents, "concealments," seditious publications and practices, sumptuary

* Account of the Grocers' Company, p. 10.
† Ibid.

regulations, and twenty other sponging expedients, were amongst the more prominent of the engines by which that "mother of her people," Elizabeth, and afterwards, James and Charles, contrived to screw from the companies their wealth. "Specie in their hands," as Malcolm observes, "had the faculty of attracting clouds of *precepts;* and, whatever the companies were compelled to lavish, the crown was ready to receive."*

Precepts from the lord mayor, in consequence of government or other demands, were the same to all the companies; the proportion of articles varied according to the state of each. Thus, an outline of the public history of every company in London may be obtained from the court-books of one or two: in their private arrangements each had its peculiarities. We shall select instances from the Companies' books, and from the City records, of the issue of precepts on all the preceding subjects, and in the order mentioned, giving, in general, only their substance; but in cases, when particularly interesting, the precept itself. They embraced, however, numerous subjects, which our want of space will not permit us to notice.

LORD MAYORS' PRECEPTS TO THE COMPANIES.

Setting the Poor to Work: 1566.—"A'sessment agreed upon in this hall (the ironmongers), the 17th of September, for and touching the sum of xl*li.* demaunded and tasked of this company, towards setting at worke of the worke-folkes in Brydwell; whereof xx*li.* was assessed and tasked by the four 'sessors thereof, to be particularly gathered of this company."

* Lond. Redivivum. The precepts mentioned were a species of writ, of comparatively late growth, which were directed to the masters and wardens by the mayor, in consequence of mandates or orders from the prince or privy council. They enjoined them to call their companies together, to confer on the demand made, and to yield immediate compliance, as they would answer the contrary, &c. as in the king's writ. If the companies objected, they made return of their objection, whether on the score of being overrated, want of sufficient security, or otherwise: the general plea, however, was inability. In cases of positive refusal, which rarely took place, the "king of the city" could, "sovereign-like," compel by fine and imprisonment.

Erecting the Royal Exchange: 1565.—The sum of 75*l.* levied as the ironmongers' proportion "towards building the bourse" (Royal Exchange.)

Cleansing the City Ditch: 1569.—"Precept issued by the lord mayor, assessing the ironmongers' company xx*li.* towards cleansing the city ditch, between the Postern and Aldgate."

Projects of Discovery: 1573.—A collection made on the Ironmongers' Company "for the voyage pretended (intended) to Rochelle." The sum amounted to 200*l.*, which was delivered to the bishop of London, who promised that certain merchants of the city should be bound for its repayment.

A second application for a similar purpose, but more properly belonging to the next reign, shews that a desire to get rid of surplus population is not peculiar to our own times. An entry in the merchant-tailors' books, (March, 1609,) states a precept to have been received from the lord mayor, "touching this company making some adventure to Virginia.* It states the necessity of getting rid of a swarm of unhappy inmates who inhabit the city of London, a continual cause of dearth and famine, and the very continual cause of all the plagues that happen in this kingdom; and that they should make contribution to *entice* them to go to it. The adventure was not to be less than 12*l.* 10*s.*

As an inducement, or "to entice," (as it is here said,) persons to emigrate,

They were to be promised "meat, drink, and clothing, with a house and garden for the maintenance of a family, and a portion of land likewise for them and their posterity of 100 acres each."

"Every man that hath a trade," it is added, "or is able to endure day-labour, as much for his wife, as much for his children, that were of years to do service, besides further rewards, according to merit."

Adventurers of 50*l.* or more were to receive their respective proportions, according to other adventures. The merchant-tailors agreed to embark 200*l.* on this scheme; 100*l.* thereof to be advanced from the stock of the house, and the remainder

* So called by Sir Walter Raleigh, in honour of the virgin queen, Elizabeth.

by a joint subscription of the company. Besides this sum, individuals of the company advanced 587*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* on their own risk.

The Virginia scheme was succeeded some months afterwards by one relative to Ireland, and from which the whole of the companies, as well as the city, acquired what are called the "Irish Estates;"—the particulars we shall reserve for a distinct account.

Military and Naval Armaments.—The grocers have a precept, dated 1562, which orders them to get ready "xxxv. good apte and talle personnes to be souldgears, xxiv. of whom to be armed with corslettes, and weaponed with pykes or bills." At the same date, nineteen soldiers are ordered to be provided by the Ironmongers' Company, as their proportion of the same levy.

1566. (July.)—On the 8th of this month the queen issued her letters to the lord mayor, commanding him to equip one hundred men for her service in Ireland. His lordship ordered the ironmongers to provide three of the number, whose armour and weapons were to be 4*l.* 17*s.* rod value, and their clothing of "Hampshire watched karsey" (watchet blue) "guarded with yellow woollen cloth." They were to assemble on the 27th of July at the Artillery Ground.

1569.—A precept in the grocers' books orders that that company do provide "60 men of honeste behavioure to serve the queen, each to be well and sufficiently furnyshed with a jerkyn and a pair of galley slopps of crode clothe, calyver matches with flaskes, a mirror, a sword, and a dagger; and every of them to be paid 8*d.* for presse-money, to march against the rebels in the nothe." At the same date the Ironmongers' Company are ordered to furnish 28 soldiers towards the same expedition.

1577.—A precept from the mayor orders the company to provide "100 able men, apprentices, journeymen, or others free of the city; of agility and honest behav^r, between the ages of 19 and 40, to be trained for harquebussetts; every one of them having a murryan, a sworde, and a dagger, and a caliver, with sufficient furniture for the same; and one half pounde of powder, besides toche powder." Twenty-five of

the number were to be householders, free of the company, and were to muster in their doublets, hose, and jerkins, in thirteen days.

The instructions for training these men are curious: first, the man to be taught how to handle and carry his piece, flaske, and touche-box; and the weight of powder and shot necessary for the gun, which seems to imply that the soldier in those days was permitted to make his cartridges and bullets.

"Then to teach how, in handsome manner, he shall charge his piece, and after how to lay it to his cheek; then how to shoot his piece at random; and finally, how to fire at a mark at the greatest possible distance. Then to fire and load quick, on a march or in a skirmish.

"20 bullets for the caliver of the Tower is just a pound weight; and one pound of powder will make 25 shot, allowing $\frac{3}{4}$ weight of powder to every bullet; and the overplus, after the rate, is 5 shot more, which is for touch powder."* 200lb. of gunpowder were provided for these men, at 10*d.* per pound.

1579.—3000 men were provided by the city of London, according to orders from the lords of the queen's council, for defence of the realm. The ironmongers' proportion amounted to 73 with calivers and shot, and 38 with corslets, fully furnished with pikes, swords, and daggers. The merchant tailors had to find 200 men similarly equipped; ten of whom were to be between 19 and 40 years of age, and fifty to be freemen and householders of the company; they were to be ready in fourteen days. The court of the company were to

* Malcolm (by whom the above was copied from the ironmongers' books) attaches the following remarks: "I cannot help contemplating the genius of modern times, which has so greatly simplified the noble art of man-killing. Now the soldier carries his cartridges in the most convenient manner, tears off the paper, and pours into the pan of his piece as much as is sufficient for communication with the barrel, puts the remainder into his gun, with a bullet appended to it, wedges it tight with his ramrod, and by the easy operation of pulling his fore finger towards him, throws latent fire (produced by collision of flint and steel) into the receptacle of powder; and thus he loads and fires many times in a minute. See opposed to him the soldier of Queen Bess, with his load of murryan, calivers, swords, and daggers, lighted match, and touch-powder. Surely they must have been momentarily in danger of exploding their powder, and equally in danger of losing or extinguishing their matches; besides, they were deficient in evolutions; for we find no instructions for advancing, retreating, and forming into columns, divisions, and squares."—Lond. Red. 11, 57.

furnish 120 of these soldiers with arms and accoutrements, and the livery to furnish 80 of them.

For Naval Armaments the companies possessed the dangerous power of impressment of their members. In 1578, the grocers had a precept "to provide xv. men for her majesty's shippes." The notice of it in their books is accompanied by an entry of payment to the city chamberlain of 8*l.* 19*s.* 4*d.* "for xv. blew cotes, made for the xv. men which were *pressed* by this companie to serve in the queene's majesties shippes." The ironmongers' books state that company to have received an order, at the same date, for their "viii. men to hold themselves in a readinesse to embark on board the vessels appointed."

In 1588, the threatened danger of the Spanish Armada deservedly claimed all the energies of the companies, in common with the country, and the call on them seems to have been responded to with the greatest alacrity. The government demanded 10,000 men of the city, which the aldermen raised by impressment in their wards, and the particulars of which will be found in Maitland.* The number furnished by the companies, was in proportion; the grocers sent 500 men, the other companies according to their rank. In the same way 38 ships were supplied.

The Armada having been happily defeated, the government resolved on increasing the naval force of the country, in order to act against the Spaniards on their own coasts. In 1591, letters were in consequence received by the lord mayor from the lord treasurer and lord high admiral, "written at the requeste of the queene's most excellent majestie, that six shippes of war and one pynasse should be furnyshed and set forth by the cittie for her majestie's service; and that vij^{m}*l.* should be levied out of the *halls* of the citie, by an equal and indifferent assessmente." This armament the mayor estimated at 7,400*l.*, and it was raised as directed. The ironmongers' books state their proportion to have been 344*l.*, the grocers 622*l.* 1*s.* 10*d.* Five years afterwards, (1596,) a further sum of 3500*l.* was required to be lent by the city, towards providing twelve ships and one thousand men. The companies

* Hist. London, i. p. 273.

were again called on; and the money, we may presume, chiefly paid by them, as we again find the ironmongers receipted for 172*l.*, the merchant tailors 290*l.*, the grocers 526*l.*, and the other companies such different large sums as must have nearly made up the amount. The precept issued on the occasion states the assessment to be made "for setting forth of the shippes and pynasses latelie furnyshed by the cittie, under the Right Honourable the Earl of Essex and the Lord Admiral, to annoye the King of Spaine." In January 1603, a similar call was made to fit out two ships and a pinnace, "for the suppressing of the Dunkirkers."

It would be needless to multiply examples on this head. King Charles made his last attempt to levy that odious impost "ship-money" in 1639. The system of individual application we have been elucidating had long before given distaste. On the 8th of April, a letter, addressed to the wardens of the grocers, was received from the lord mayor, "for the loane of 100*l.* from this company for six months, towards the setting forth and furnishing of a shipp." The proposal, or rather the order, was as unpalatable to the court of assistants as to the rest of the nation, and consequently, after the subject had been gravely debated and considered, it was resolved, "that forasmuch as it appears that this company is much indebted, and hath yearly payd the shipp-money, and hath heretofore lent several sums of money to this city for the like occasions, which are not yet repayd, and for diverse other things, it is resolved and agreed by this court not to lend the said money required by the said letter, unlesse sufficient security be given for repayment thereof at the end of six months."* The end of this arbitrary mode of levying money without consent of parliament is well known.

Protection of the City.—Men, arms, and ammunition, had been customarily provided by the companies, in conjunction with the city, during times of danger; but we do not find them enjoined to keep up a separate and regular standing force before 1572. In that year, the mayor, by the queen's express command, sent precepts summoning the masters and assistants of the several companies to meet in their halls for that pur-

* Account of the Grocers' Company, p. 103.

pose. They selected from amongst themselves "3000 of the most sizeable and active young men," part of whom were appointed musketeers, and the rest pikemen. The whole were regularly drilled till they were certified to be proficient, when they had the honor to be reviewed by the queen in person in Greenwich Park. The establishment, before noticed, of an *armoury* amongst the companies, is not precisely dated in any of their books, but existed in 1555. From this period till the Restoration, all of them employed an armourer, and made regular returns to the precepts sent them of the arms and ammunition in their possession. The following are instances:

1574. (June 7.) The lord mayor, in pursuance of an order received from the queen's council, signified to the Grocers' Company "that certaine provisions of gunpowder should be made, to remain within the citie, as well for the better defence thereof in times of peryl and danger, as for present service of the same, if need required; that this and the other companies should, after the ratable and proportionable allotment, provide their shares thereof; the same to be kept in their own halls or other convenient places. They were to provide 14 fyrkins of the gunpowder called corne powder, every fyrkin to containe 60 pounds nett at the least, and soe much more as should be thought good by them."

1586. (Oct. 8.) The master and wardens of the merchant tailors are threatened with imprisonment by the mayor, for not making their provision of gunpowder.

1589. The queen in council ordered that London should furnish 20 lasts of gunpowder, to be ready for emergencies. The proportion required by the mayor's precept to be kept by the ironmongers on this occasion was 1920lb.

1638. Order was given for all the companies to be prepared with their proportions of ammunition. The precept to the merchant tailors directs that company to prepare 40 barrels of powder, and match and bullets answerable to the use of the city; and that the powder shall be placed in some remote situation, from the danger of fire. In their return to Sir Henry Garvay, mayor, they state having made the required provision, in obedience to his lordship's order; and that they had deposited the gunpowder in their garden, as the most convenient place they could find. They also state that they

have provided 3cwt of match and bullets, proportionate to the powder. In 1638 they state that they have in their armoury 40 square muskets and rests, 12 round muskets, 40 muskets with hand pieces, 40 corslets with hand pieces, 70 pikes, 133 swords, and 28 halberds.

In 1642, the same company received a precept on the like business, and by which they were enjoined to certify immediately "what quantity of arms and ammunition, matches, powder, and shot, and the particular sorts thereof, they had ready for the defence and safety of the city. The return was that they had 153 swords, 60 hand pieces for musquets, 52 musquets, 70 pikes, 50 corslets, 40 musquet rests, 32 halberds and black bills, 300cwt. of musquet bullets, 300cwt. of match, and 40 barrels of gunpowder. Repetitions of the like precepts and returns are found throughout the civil wars and interregnum.

State Pageants, &c.—The reign of Elizabeth was the age of show. Accounts of levies on the companies for pageants, Maygames, masques, and mummeries, occupy a large portion of their books throughout the whole of it. The services required of them on these occasions, (and which must have put them to great expense,) will be explained by the following extracts:

1559. The ironmongers sent "men in armour to the Maygame that went before the queen's majeste to Greenwich;" and in April following, their court ordered, in pursuance of a second precept from the mayor, that "28 hanssom men, well and hansomely arrayed, and 10 whiffelers,* to go with them to feaching the queene's majeste," should be furnished with two new streamers of silk, a great flag, and 12 small banners.† In the July of the same year the queen was pleased to divert herself with another royal pageant at Greenwich. The twelve principal trade corporations of London sent out the same number of companies, consisting together of 1400 men, to be mustered in Greenwich Park before the queen; 800 whereof were pikemen in bright armour, 400 harquebussiers in coats of mail and helmets, and 200 halberdiers in German rivets. These troops were attended by 28 whifflers, richly dressed, and led by the twelve principal wardens of the aforesaid corporations,

* Fifers. † Londinium Redivivum, ii. 42.

well mounted and dressed in black velvet, with six ensigns in white satin, faced with black sarsnet, and rich scarfs. The grocers' contribution to this brilliant pageant is noticed as follows, in a precept from the lord mayor, which orders "190 personnes, apte and picked men; whereof 60 to be with calyvers, flashes, touche boxes, morions, swordes, and daggers, for a *shewe* at Greenwich."*

1571. The merchant tailors sent 187 men in military costume, as their proportion towards another splendid "Maying." The next year, (1572,) a precept was received by them for the like purpose, requiring the company to furnish "188 men of the mystery;" 94 of whom were to be provided "with corslets and pikes, 36 with corslets and halberds, and 58 with kalivers and morryens, for a shew." The ironmongers, on the same occasion, had to provide "12 callyvars, 30 morrys pikes, and 15 halberds;" in other words, 57 men with those weapons. These kind of exhibitions, but too much alike to need more examples, were repeated yearly.

The Pageants of James and Charles consisted chiefly of processions and attendances of the companies and corporations of London, to receive royal and distinguished personages on their state passage through the city. The first was on James's entry from Scotland, January 10, 1603, when great preparations were ordered to be made by the companies for the king and queen's royal passage to Westminster, on the succeeding 9th of April. The sum of £234 was assessed on the merchant tailors, as their proportion of £2500, which the city was to raise on this occasion, or, as it is expressed, "for the expence of receiving the king's ma^{tie} on his arrivall from Scotland, towards his coronation." The precept directs that the citizens should ride in murry gowns.

1617. (Jan. 3.) A precept was issued to the same company to receive the Russian ambassador. It orders that "ten persons of the chief and best of your company do presently furnish themselves to be present upon warning, to meet and attend my brethren the alde^{r}men at Guildhall, at such a time as shall hereafter be made known, in velvett coats, with chaines of gold, well mounted on horseback, in comely and

* Account of the Grocers' Company, p. 64.

decent order, to accompany and ride with the alde[r]men to the Tower wharf, for the more graceful entertainment of the said ambassador." And hereof they were to be very careful to be forthwith well furnished, in regard that the time of the landing of the said ambassador was uncertain. Another precept, directed to the merchant tailors the same year, orders them to attend the king on his coming to town from Gray's-inn-fields to Whitehall. By a subsequent precept, it was ordered that the aldermen and members of companies should meet the king on horseback.

Sometimes the processions reached a great way. We find the lord mayor and aldermen in scarlet attend on one occasion to meet Henry Prince of Wales, when the commons, in their liveries, stood from Bishopsgate-street to St. Paul's.

Before the reign of Charles I. the companies always *stood;* for which purpose we find directions in the precepts for their providing "*rails.*" The procession of Edward VI. to his coronation shows them so standing, (as will be perceived in the initial vignette, at p. 113.) In Le Serre's large print representing the passage through Cheapside of Mary de Medicis, 16th November, 1639, attended by Charles and his court, we have a lively picture of one of these grand pageants when it had become the fashion for the companies to be seated. The annexed copy of part of this print, &c. shews the ceremonial, and all the accompanying paraphernalia.

The account describes the "great street of London," (Cheapside,) to have had all its length "benches with backs, and enriched with ballusters three feet high, all covered over equally with blue cloth," in which, and the continuation of the same standings, (said to have extended "a league in length,") "all the companies or fraternities of the different trades, in all amounting to *fifty*, appeared in citizens' gowns, with trimmings of martin skin, sitting on the benches, every company having its banner of arms, in order that they might be distinguished one from the other." The other particulars of the pageant will be found minutely detailed in the author.* The dressing up of the various streets, we may stop to remark, are described to have been with "woven tapistry; that with Flemish or embroidery, this with Chinese, and the other with Indian drapery." The street of the drapers, (Mercery, in Cheap,) and through which the procession is here represented as passing, was remarkable for being "hung on both sides with scarlet."

Provision of Coals and Corn.—Coals, as an article legally ordained to be provided by the companies, are not mentioned till the plague year (1665,) when we find the following notice of them, and of the custom in Northouck:†

"For a constant supply of sea coal for the use of the poor in times, of scarcity, and to defeat the combinations of coal-dealers, the several City companies under mentioned were ordered to purchase and lay up yearly, between Lady-day and Michaelmas, the following quantities of coals; which, in dear times, were to be vended in such manner, and at such prices, as the lord mayor and court of aldermen should by written precept direct, so that the coals should not be sold to loss:

"Mercers, 488; grocers, 675; drapers, 562; fishmongers, 465; goldsmiths, 525; skinners, 315; merch.t taylr.s 750; haberdashers, 578; salters, 360; ironmongers, 255; vintners, 375; clothworkers, 412; dyers, 105; brewers, 104; leathersellers, 210; pewterers, 52; cutlers, 75; cooks, 30; coopers, 52; tylers and bricklayers, 19; bowyers, 3; fletchers, 3; blacksmiths, 15; apothecaries, 45; joyners, 23; weavers, 27; woolmen, 3; woodmongers, 60; white bakers, 45; wax chandlers, 19; tallow chandlers, 97; armourers, 19; girdlers,

* Le Serre, Entré Royalle de la Règne Mère, &c. fo. 1639.
† Hist. Lond. 222.

105; butchers, 22; sadlers, 90; carpenters, 38; cordwainers, 60; barber-surgeons, 60; paper-stainers, 12; curriers, 11; masons, 12; plumbers, 19; innholders, 45; founders, 7; poulterers, 12; scriveners, 60; pewterers, 7; plasterers, 8; brown bakers, 12; stationers, 75; embroiderers, 30; upholders, 9; musicians, 6; turners, 13; basket-makers, 6; glaziers, 6 chaldrons."*

Notwithstanding that the above ordinance would seem to imply the existence of a previous custom of their being provided by the companies, coals are not noticed as an article of gift by any of them before the 26 Henry VI. (1448.) At this date, the fishmongers were bound, under the will of Henry Jordeyn, to buy and distribute yearly to the poor 138 quarters of coals, at 8*d.* per quarter, or to give money after that rate in lieu of them.† We also find no mention of the chaldron (of which the quarter or *vat* is the fourth part) till the statute 9 Henry V. c. 10, when the article is first called *sea coal*, ("chaldre de carbon maritisme,") both of which are evidences that they were only then getting known. Coals were, however, certainly used in the royal household in 1321, and are mentioned in charters of King John, Henry III. Edward I. Edward III. and Richard II. before which periods they had become articles of commerce.‡ In the reigns subsequently to

* And on which our author makes this comment: "Such magazines of coals opened in November or December, as the season dictated, and sold in small quantities, not exceeding a sack of three bushels, would prove a much more prudent assistance to poor working families in hard weather, than double the money distributed gratuitously. How this laudable regulation sunk into disuse does not appear; but, as the city halls are dispersed in various parts of the town, the scheme was excellent, and it is to be lamented that the corporation should forget it, and leave attempts of this nature to private undertakers.

The same act prohibits all retail dealers in coals from meeting the vessels, or by their agents contracting for coals, before the ships were arrived in the port of London, on penalty of 5*s.* for every chaldron of coals so forestalled, or bought by precontract.

† See account of Fishmongers' Company, art. Trust Estates.

‡ Newcastle-upon-Tyne is the only place mentioned in any of the above charters as then furnishing coals; the discovery of other coal districts being subsequent. Their nature seems, from the mode in which they are spoken of, to have been but little understood at first. Henry III. licenses the "men of Newcastle to dig coals and stones in the common soil of that town;" and the charters 2 Edward II. and 30 Edward III. that they may "dig for coal-slate and coal," at the same place. In 1512, (80 years after their first mention as the subject of charitable donation,) historians state the very best coals to have been 5*s.* a chaldron, and an inferior sort 4*s.* 6*d.* They are mentioned about the same time to have been hawked about the streets in sacks, and so continued till late in the reign of Charles II.; one of Larron's London cries of that date being "Qui veut de Charbon!" which a man is carrying in a sack on his back, with a measure in his hand.

Henry VI. many companies had estates left them charged with the purchasing and distribution of coals to the poor, like the fishmongers, under the different names of "great coals," and "horse coals;" the providing of charcoal, however, in these times, was most usual. There seems to have been no obligation imposed on the companies in any of the above instances to provide coals for public supply and sale, farther than was connected with the particular description of poor they had to relieve, under the trusts of their several wills.

Corn was accustomed to be provided by the City and companies against times of scarcity for more than two centuries, and occasioned during that time such an abundant issue of the sort of orders we are describing, (partly to enforce the raising of means for purchasing it, or to regulate the keeping and distribution of it when bought,) that "corn precepts" were more voluminous than those on any other subject: in fact, a nucleus in that "cloud of precepts," to repeat a term already used, which overshadowed the prosperity of the companies during the whole of their operation.

To afford a distinct idea of this custom, which is important on various accounts, as shewing the vast difference in the growth and quantity of the article in ancient and modern times, as having been lately the subject of inquiry and information against some of the companies, and as a custom which it has been thought might have been continued to the present time with good effect,—we shall give its history at some length.

The origin of the corn custom is involved in obscurity. No condition of providing corn is imposed by any of the city charters; and though, in the numerous metropolitan dearths recorded in history, many of the mayors must no doubt have extended their care to the perishing objects around them, not any instance of very early occurrence is recorded. Sir Stephen Brown, in 1438, is the first mayor who is mentioned as making this provision; and he is eulogized for it by both Stow and Fuller. The latter's words are "that, during a great dearth in his mayoralty, he charitably relieved the wants of the poor citizens, by sending ships at his own expence to Dantzic, which returned laden with rye, and which seasonable supply soon sunk grain to reasonable rates;" and he adds, "he is beheld as one of the first merchants who, during a want of corn,

shewed the Londoners the way to the barn-door, I mean Spurmland, prompted by charity (not covetousness) to this adventure."

It was near the same period that Stow mentions the erection of a public granary at Leadenhall, by Sir Simon Eyre, who was lord mayor in 1435, and which a succeeding mayor, Roger Achilly, in 1502, found so ill supplied, that there was not in that "and all the city garners" 100 quarters of grain, and, in consequence of which, "he immediately made a great provision of wheat."

Before 1520, a regular custom had obtained of the City providing corn. The expense at this time seems to have been kept up by loans and contributions from the mayor and aldermen, and sometimes from the citizens. The earliest entry as to it in the City Records is in 1521,(Milbourn, mayor,) when it was resolved, that "the chamberlain should become bound to persons lending money for provisions of corne for the city." And in another entry, the same year, the bridge-masters are ordered to make the purchases of wheat necessary.

The first notice of the companies being compelled to assist in this provision is in the mayoralty of Sir Christopher Yerford, 1521,* when an act of common council passed "for £1000, to be borrowed on account of the great derth and scarcity of whete which had then lately been, and was more lyke t'ensue, yf good and politique p^r^vision were not shortly made and hade." It was in consequence agreed "that in all goodly hast the said sum should be levyed and payed by the felishippes of sondry misteres and crafts of this citie, by way of a *prest and lone;*" and that the lord mayor and aldermen should "at their discretions" appoint what sum should be levied of each company. And it was further agreed, that in making such payment, "ev^r^y p^r^ticuler p'son of the seid feliship should be assessed by the wardens" thereof. "The said somes of money so lent to be repayed by thees words yere and yere.

"Memorand'. That now my lord mayor and aldermen

* 25 Sept. 12 Henry VIII., Yerford, mayor; Jor. 12. fo. 74, lib. N. fo. 142.

have named and appoynted the days of payme^t as ys specifyed in the sev^rall p^rcepts directed to the wardens.

"It'm. They have devysed that the briggemaster shall be bound for the said money."

The above act was followed by a precept, apparently the first on this subject, issued the 12th of the succeeding month of October, which repeated part of the act, and promised payment to the companies "in ij yeres folowyng; that ys to say, the first payme^t to be made on the feast of All Sajnt that shal be in the yere of o^r Lord M.V.^cXXJ.; and the second payme^t on the feast of All Seynts then next folowyng." The bridgemasters, before payment by the companies, were to make to each of them "sufficient wryttyng for the sure repayme^t of the same."

No further mention is found till 1543, (Bowyer, mayor,) when corn is stated to have been provided again by the court of aldermen, and ordered to be laid up in the Bridgehouse.

In the same mayoralty also there recur entries of monies lent by the companies "for the city's store of corne;" as subsequently, in the mayoralties of Garrard, 1555, Hewett, 1559, Lodge, 1562, Harper, 1561, Mallory, 1564.*

In 1545 (Warren, mayor,) there was a great arrival of foreign wheat, and the companies were again called on to assist in purchasing it. These importations, so seldom necessary in the present day, show the then scanty growth of corn in England. The Common Council agreed "that my lorde mayer," should immediately "call the wardeyns of all the substancyall companyes before hym, and move theym for the lone of some money to pay for the wheate that is nowe come from beyonde the sea." The companies promptly obeyed, and supplied the next day the respective quotas they were

* But, for provision of bread, and an orderly supply of the City with corn against dear years, "the magistrates," says Strype, "were especially concerned that care might be taken for the poorer and laborious sort, which were the greater number;" and, to give a proof of this commendable care, he informs us that, in 1586, a scarce year for corn, the county magistrates preventing its being brought to London, the mayor and aldermen jointly applied to the government for redress, through the City's professed great patron, Lord Treasurer Burleigh.

rated at.* This importation not being thought sufficient, the mayor further "moved" the same court "touching certeyn wheate" that one Wodhouse (apparently a home grower) was "myndyd to send to this cytie," as stated in his letters addressed "to my lorde mayer, late dysceased, yf he myght be assyrteyned of the pr^ce (price) thereof;" and the court agreeing that the lord mayor should offer him 14*s.* per quarter for as much "good and swete wheate" as he would supply, a second application was made to certain of the Twelve Companies, the particulars whereof are detailed in the following entry:

"It'm: At this court, the wardeyns of the m^rcers, groc^rs, drap^rs, fyshemong^rs, goldsmythes, skynn^rs, m^rchaunt taylló^rs, and hab^rdashers, aperyed, and were sev^rally moved by this court to prepare in a redynes off and from their companyes all suche sumes of money as is wythin p'ticularly expressed and rated by the same court to be paid on Tuysday and Wednysday next comyng, to suche p^rson and p^rsones as this court shall then appoint." The wardens of which companies appeared accordingly, and promised "to do theyr endevo^rs;" the "resydew of the wardeyns of crafts" (who are afterwards particularised) were to be sent to on the same afternoon to "my lorde mayers house," in order to receive a similar charge for the remaining eight of the great companies to prepare their assessments also, of "certeyn brewers wheate to the m^rchants of the styllyard." The chamberlain was to be bound "for the sure payment of all the same sumes agayn

* The list hereunder contains the names and sums of the companies who subscribed on this occasion; and from which we also learn what were then reckoned the "substantial companies," and their comparative wealth:

Mercers, c*l.*	Leathersellers, xl*l.*
Grocers, c*l.*	Talough-chaundelers, xx*l.*
Drapers, c*l.*	Cutlers, x*l.*
Fyshemong^rs. c. markes.	Peauterers, xxx*l.*
Goldsmythes, c. markes.	Sadlers, xxx*l.*
Skynn^rs. c. markes.	Barbours, xx*l.*
M^rchauntayllo^rs. c*l.*	Gyrdelers, xx*l.*
Hab^rdashers, c. markes.	Coryours, xx*l.*
Salters, l*l.*	Corden^rs. xx*l.*
Ironmong^rs. xl*l.*	Inholders, xx*l.*
Vynten^rs. xl*l.*	Armourers, x*l.*
Clothworkers, c. markes.	Colkyers, x*l.*
Dyers, xxl*l.*	Fletchers, x*l.*
Brewers, xl*l.*	Cowpers, xx*l.*

at the ensuing Michaelmas," and the wheat purchased was ordered to be stored up in the Bridge-house, "for the p^r^vysion of this cytie."

June 9, 1546. The wardens of the grocers, mercers, drapers, fishmongers, goldsmiths, skinners, merchant tailors, salters, haberdashers, armorers, and clothworkers, are stated to have agreed that their respective fellowships should provide the like sums of money towards the importation of foreign wheat then made, as they had severally done the preceding year on the like occasion, and a similar engagement was entered into by the wardens of several other companies a few days afterwards. The chamberlain was to be bound for repayment as before.

29th May, 1547. Precepts were ordered to be issued to certain of the chief companies named, for the loan of money for the importation of foreign wheat and rye of that year; the like order was repeated in 1550, "to wyll them to pay their money sev^r^ally lotted upon theym;" for the like purpose, in 1551; and a third time, in the March of 1552; on which last occasion the report states that the wardens of all the companies then enumerated (and which includes the greater part of them) "dyd lovyngly grante assente and agree to dysburse and laye oute by the way of lone for the provysion and byeing of certayne wheate in Fraunce, to and for the cyties use," all the several sums attached to their names. The next month (2d June, Gerrard, mayor,) it was agreed that "my lorde mayer assistyd with some of my ma^rs^ th' aldermen," calling the wardens "of *all* the companies and fealoshippes of this cytie" before them, should "advise theym to call theyre sev^r^all companies together," and "to move them" to make some provision of the rye which was then "at the water syde to be boughte;" so that every one of them might "have somewhat in store," whereby they might "escheue such damages as might insue by the lacke thereof."

In 1559, the companies again received precepts "to disburse and lay out by waye of a lone for a season" their proportions of money for several thousand quarters of wheat, to be delivered "to William Dodlier, the comptroller of the chamber." The next year (1560, Chester, mayor,) similar application was again made for money, "to be gathered by

the companies for a provision of corn for the City, on account of the great scarcity and want there was, and was likely still more to be, on account of the abundance of rain and unseasonable weather." The requisition (which seems now for the first time to have assumed a commanding, instead of supplicatory tone,) is given below, and will afford a perfect idea of the nature of these documents.* This precept does not seem to have been very readily obeyed, as another, issued soon afterwards, and addressed to the drapers, alludes to that company's neglect of it, and stating that the same necessity for corn still continued, "strightly commands them *immediately* to collect and pay over 300*l.* being the amount they had therein been assessed at."

The peremptory manner in which these loans were demanded, or the inconvenience the companies found themselves put to in making them, caused an application from the mercers the following year, 1561, for the return of their "money formerly lent." It was answered by another precept, requiring and commanding them, as they "thought *longe for the same*," that they should call together those of their company who had "disbursed anye money for the saide use," and de-

* By the Maior: Forasmuche as we at this present beinge verye carefull and myndefull according to o^r^ dewtie to provide for the comon weale comodytie and profytt of this o^r^· sovereigne ladye the quenes highness's cytie and chamber of London, and of all the cytisens and inhabitants of the same, and consideringe also, and muche fearinge the greate and excessyve prices of wheate and all other kinds and sorts of corn and grayne mete and necessarye for man's sustenance, and also the greate scarcytie and want of the same that nowe are and very shortlie is like to ensue, by reason of the greate excessive and aboundaunce of rayne and other unseasonable weather that yt hathe pleased Almightie God of late to send w^th^ in this realme, yf some good remedye provision and staye be not the soner provided for the same, have thought good and expedyent for th' eschewinge and avoydinge of such p^r^ills and inconvenyences as might ensue by the same occasyons, to take uppe and make w^th^· all convenynt spede of the companyes and fellowshippes of the said cytie a very good and substanciall masse and sume of money to provide and buye corne w^th^· all beyonde the sea as on this side, for the use and comon provision of the said cytie, towards the payment and makinge uppe of whiche masse and sume of money, we have assessed and taxed yo^r^· companye at the sume of (c^li^·) whiche sume of (c^li^·) we straytelie charge and comaunde you that y^e^ imediatelie upon the recepte thereof, (for the matter is of great importance, and requyreth muche hast) callinge yo^r^· companye together, at yo^r^· comon hall, do furthw^th^· assesse, taxe, gather, and levye of the wealthie and abel p^r^sones of the same companie the said sume of (c^li^·) in such sorte that ye faill not to paye the same and every p^r^cell thereof to William Dommes, comptroller of the chamber of the said cytie, at the Guildhall of the same cytie, on this side the xij^th^· day of this present Julye. Fayle not hereof as ye tender the comon wealthe of the said cytie and also yo^r^· owne private healthe, and as you will answer for the contrarye at yo^r^· p^r^ill. Geven at the Guildhall aforesaid, the vj^th^· of Julye, 1560.—Blakewell.

clare to them that they should have if they would "*wheate* out of the Bridge-house for their money, at 23*s*. the quarter. If they refused to take wheat, the wardens were to "move and p[r]suade them *gentlye* to forbeare their seide money untyl suche tyme as the cityes corne in the Bridge-house might be conveniently sold and uttered."

In the October of 1562, February $156\frac{4}{5}$, and February $156\frac{5}{4}$, all the companies received the like sort of precept.

From $156\frac{5}{6}$ (or rather 1520) to $157\frac{3}{4}$, the precepts enforce a variety of *regulations*, which were made from time to time, for the better providing, managing, and distributing of the city's store of grain.

The PROVIDING of occasional supplies, through loans from the mayor, aldermen, and casual lenders, on bond from the bridge-master or chamberlain, was in 1559 and 1565, altered to a more settled system, by the aldermen engaging, at the former date, to advance a fixed sum of 10*l*. each, in part of a permanent fund, and by the Common Council passing an act in 1565, for the mayor and aldermen to buy corn and grain regularly every year when cheap, and to store it up till it became dear. "That the lord mayer and the aldermen of this cytie for the tyme beyinge shall alwayes from henceforth yerely p[r]vide and bye for the cityes p[r]vision use and store, a great and substancyall masse and quantyty of wheate, at such tyme of the yere as the same wheat may be had and bought for x or xij*s*. a quarter, and that they the sayd lord mayer and ald[r]men shall make yerely the like p[r]vision of rye and barlye, at such tyme of the yere as the same shal be most plentyfull and best, chepe w[th]out eny mann[r] of disputacon, contraryetye of opynyons of the sayd lord mayer and ald[r]men for the tyme beyeing, or eny other contradiccon or delay."*

Before, and subsequent to the above act, though the companies were only required to lend money on security, they could be coerced for refusal. In 1520, the Common Council being informed that "divers p[r]ticuler p[r]sones of the mistere of tylers had refused to pay their assessments," it was ordered that the lord mayor should "from tyme to tyme, at the suggestion, request, and enformation of the wardens of the said

* 25 Sept. 1565, Rep. 15, fo. 472.

tylers, comyt to warde" all so refusing, "for their disobedience, there to remain till they had paid."*

The bridgemaster was the first person appointed to buy corn, and he was to keep it stored up at the Bridge-house.† In 1544, the providing of it was intrusted to the lord mayor and sheriffs, who were commissioned by common council to purchase 6000 or 8000 quarters of wheat, at the best prices they could get it for; and who, having contracted with Henry Saxy and two merchants of the Steelyard for 8000 quarters, report "that they had bought 3000 quarters, nearly 2000 of one Matthieu Mayor, merchant, of the Stylyard, at 14*s.* the quarter, to be delivered immediately after the next midlent, "God wyllyng, so that the wynde and wether wyll so serve," and the remaining 1000 quarters at 12*s.* 8*d.* of one William Watson, merchant, to be delivered by him immediately after the next Easter, "yf he be not lett or dysturbed by the kyng of Denm^rks power." The same mayor (Bowyer,) on another occasion, on reporting an advantageous bargain he had made with these Steelyard-merchants, informs the Common Council of having previously entertained them at his house to dinner. In 1545, the next lord mayor (Sir Martin Bowes) was empowered again to treat with "certaine merchants of the Steelyard for buying wheate at 18*s.* and 20*s.* the quarter," and certifies his having concluded with the aforementioned Saxy for 2000 quarters upon those terms.

In dearths of foreign grain, the City borrowed from the court. Various instances occur in 1544, and the beginning of the following year. The first was in January, when the lord mayor wrote to the "lords of the kynges counsayl, on account of the great scarcytye," for the loan of 1000 quarters of wheat "for vytallyng the citye," and that the same in com-

* 10 Jan. 12 Henry VIII. (Brugge) Rep. 5, fo. 161.

† Corn was first landed at the port of Billingate, then at Queenhythe, in order that the queen might receive her custom. The only markets at this time were Cornhill, and St. Michael-le-Quarn parish: (the bakers, to be near the latter market, settled in Bread-street ward.) The corn which came up the Lea was baked at Stratford. The after-markets were Leadenhall, Newgate market, Queenhythe, Graschurch, and Southwark. Of granaries, the first mentioned is Leadenhall, next the Bridge-house, (first only appropriated to the City, and then divided into 12 parts for the companies,) next Bridewell, then Christchurch, and then the companies' own halls.

ing thither might "not be stayed by his graces p[r]veyors."* The council offered the quantity for three months. The lord mayor, and aldermen Dorn, Hill, Warren, Forman, Laxton, and Bowes, were ordered to wait on them and arrange terms. They were also instructed, if the lords would grant them further licence, to "conclude with Hen' Bourman, of Harwiche, to make such p[r]vision of wheate," as they could "for the citye, in the counties of Norf[k] and Suff[k]; and lykewyse with one Burfeld, dwellyng upon London-bridge; and some other sad, honest, and discrete p[r]sons, for the lyke p[r]vision to be made in other plac[s] of the realme where they shall thynke best." The wardens of the bakers were also "admonished to make diligent labour and meanes for some competent provision of wheate," and subsequently delivered in an account "of all the corn and meal in store or bargaine" provided by them and the Stratford bakers.† These proceedings show a great want of system, and afford proof that the incompetent growth of English wheat still continued. The whole year passed in similar applications to the king's council, sometimes requesting that the royal purveyors might not be allowed to seize the corn coming to the City, and at other times to borrow part of what they had collected for the king's household. On one of these latter applications the request is said to have been "lovingly grantyd;" my lord, St. John, observing "that there were MM. q[r]ters of the kynges wheat comyng very shortly, whereof the citye should not fayle to have p'te." It was the next year all returned, and the court themselves became borrowers.

The Management and Distribution of this commodity, like its Providing, involved a number of regulations. The principal ones during the years 1545 and 1546 were, that the lord mayor should stay all wheat in the Bridge-house for the only use of the City, and that the bridgemaster should see to its safe keeping and management whilst there. "Straight

* 4 Jan., 35 Hen. VIII. Rep. Bowyer, No. 11, fo. 19.

† 19 June, 1544, Rep. 11, fo. 81.

These bakers, just mentioned, who chiefly supplied the city with bread, brought it to market in long carts, standing to sell it in Cheapside, and other public places. It was better weight than the same loaves of the London bakers. Many regulations respecting the Stratford bakers are to be seen in Stow, who states them to have left serving the City about 1568.

commandment" was to be given to the bakers not to buy or take up any meal, when they needed to sell, "but of the City's wheat at the Bridge-house;" and in their so taking of it up, the price and quantity they should have were to be regulated by the lord mayor. This was that the corporation, in *plentiful* seasons, might be able to sell off their stock to advantage; in *scarce* ones, we find the quantity restricted both with the bakers and brewers; and that the Steelyard merchants could not sell to either without the City's licence. It was an order of Common Council to the lord mayor in 1546, in his contracting with them for the corn for that year, that "Henry Hoke, bruer, shall have but cc. q^ters of the wheate to be bought of them, albeyt that they have solde hym *more* as they sey." From 1546 to 1576, the substance of the different orders, arranged in order of time, was: 1546. That the chamberlain demand of the companies their assessments towards paying the Steelyard-merchants, and give the companies' bonds. Same date. Two aldermen weekly to purvey, to see that the markets are well provided. 1547. Corn sold out of the Bridge-house be measured by one of the City corn-meters. 1559. That the City's store be ground and sold to the citizens. 1565. That the bridgemasters put to sale in the markets, every market-day, 4 quarters of the City's wheat meal at 3*s.* a bushel, and 4 bushels of meglin wheat at 2*s.* 6*d.* and that the companies send two members each to the markets, by turns, to see to such sale. 1572. That a sample of all corn brought by water by the river Lea, be brought for inspection to the lord mayor before sale, that the corn-meters measure it, and the porters take it up. 1573. That the lord mayor view the granaries weekly by himself or deputy; and that he and the aldermen order no corn at any time, forming part of the City provision, "to be solde better cheap" than the same should cost, with all losses and charges thereon, nor above 2*d.* or 4*d.* per bushel under the then market price, unless with the companies' consent, and taking an equal quantity of each.

The buying of corn from the Steelyard-merchants, and that principally through loans from the companies, continued till the dissolution of that confederacy in 1558. From that period the City chiefly became their own importers and pur-

veyors, paying through the like assistance of the companies, and from casual contributions. The companies appear to have received back part of their loans in the meantime, and had ceased to be clamorous. In 1573 the Common Council having ordered a new and large loan to be raised on the companies "by indifferent taxation," towards the purchase of wheat, 2000 marks were applied for from them, and that sum afterwards raised, the same year, to 2000*l.* The precepts issued on the occasion state the great scarcity there was of wheat and other grain, the expediency of preventing "extremities," on account of it, and several other reasons; and finally, hold out a threat of the queen's displeasure on non-compliance.* A remonstrance, and application from the companies for their former lendings, followed. The City responded, and pleaded, amongst other reasons of non-payment, their total inability, arising from the bad nature of a quantity of the wheat they had before purchased, and the consequent loss they had sustained; and they called on the companies to consider and see in what way, by participation, they could alleviate it. The overture commenced in the form of a pre-

* "By the Maior: Forasmuche as all comon polecye requyreth the prevenc'on of extremyties, and consideringe as you knowe the urgent and present necessitie, and the lacke of provision of wheate and other grayne for furniture of this so great and populous citie, of the want whereof the queene's ma^tie. and her most honorable consell are not ignorant; but havinge sp'cial care and regard to the same, are not a lytle offended and displeased, with some grefe that there bene no better p'vision heretofore made, and that presentlie the cittie shoulde be no better stored, by reson wherof the prices of corne and grayne is now muche dearer in this cittie than in any other parte of this realme; have not only at sundrye times and gentle meanes, but also w^th. some terror, as welle in the Starre-chamber as in other places afore the counsell, given as admonicion that the same her ma^tie's. cittie and chamber may not be unfurnished for lacke of good p'vision. And we, as our duties is, havinge great care and especial consideracion of the same, and p'cevinge by order of the harvest past, and the unkynd season of the yeare, sith that the prices of corne is verrye likelye to encrease and be advanced to a greater and higher price than yet is, have thought good and verrye necessarye for the avoyding of greater inconvenyences, to make immediate p'vision of a great masse and quantity of wheate and other grayne, as well w^thin the realme as beyond the seas for the provision aforesaid, w^ch. cannot be done w^thout a great some of money presentlie to be defrayed, w^ch. is not to be levyed but by the good assestens of you and others; good coustomers and cittezens of this cittie, have therefore assessed your company —— some of ——, which is agreed upon by acte of co'en counsell, w^ch. some of —— we do not only require you, but also threaghthe, charge, and comande you, immediatlie upon the recept hereof, calling your companye together in your comon hall, you do forthw^th. tax, levy, and gather of the welthiest and most able persones of the same the some aforesaid, in such wise that you fayle not to pay the same, and ev'rie p'cell thereof, to the hands of George Helton, of the cittie of London, w^th. all expedicion, and w^thout repayment thereof unto you. Fayle not hereof as you tender the mytigac'on of our sovereigne ladye

cept, in answer to the companies' application, to the following effect: That

"Where' there was a some of money lent by them and other worshipfull companyes of this cytty, for provision to be made for corne in Danske (Dantzic) and other countreys beyond the sea, and also the most apt places w^th^in this realme, for the cyttie's urgent necessities in the tearme of dearth, now ij. years past, w^ch^ corn so provided muche of yt by reason of the so unseasonable harvest, contrary windes, fowle weather, and long lying in the way from beyond the sea, had become musty and not wholesome, and a good quantity lost and meet to no use, as did appear by 200 quarters and upwards remaining in the Bridge-house, by reason whereof there was lost 2100*l.* or thereabout; and because the loss was so great, it was thought good not only to make the companies privy thereunto, but also to pray them forthwith to confer how the same might best be borne, and to report their opinion thereon."

The precept was accompanied by a repetition of the statement in what were called "articles" submitted to the companies' further consideration; and in which it was proposed to them to accept repayment of their debts in *wheat*, 2000 quarters of which, of good quality, from Sussex, was stated to be then in the Bridge-house, together with 2000 and odd quarters of other wheat grain remaining there of the last

the queen's majestie's displeasure alreadye conceived and do tender the com'on weale of this cittie, together w^th.^ your pryvate condytte, and as you will answer for the contrarye.

The names of the companies, with the sums they were assessed and paid, were as follows:

	£.	s.	d.		£.	s.	d.
Mercers	500	00	00	Cordwaners	62	00	00
Grocers	500	00	00	Inholders	37	10	00
Drap^rs^	378	00	00	Armourers	12	10	00
Fishmongers	250	00	00	Brwyers	7	5	00
Goldsmyths	375	00	00	Fletchers	6	5	00
Skynners	200	00	00	Cowp^s.^	62	10	00
Merchant t^s.^	427	00	00	Carpenters	37	10	00
Haberdashers	378	00	00	Plom^ers.^	12	10	00
Salters	187	00	00	Paynters	12	10	00
Ironmongers	187	00	00	Butchers	25	10	00
Vynteners	187	00	00	Poulters	12	10	00
Clothworkers	273	00	00	Cookes	37	10	00
Dyers	62	00	00	Tylours	17	10	00
Leathersellers	162	00	00	Masons	62	10	00

year's provision. "If the worshippfull companyes thought meet to have the same delivered to them" on the above account, ("the losse fyrst borne,") it was asked whether they would chuse it to be placed under their own custody, for the city store, or that it should remain at the Bridge-house for that purpose, subject to their own control, but in the keeping of the City.

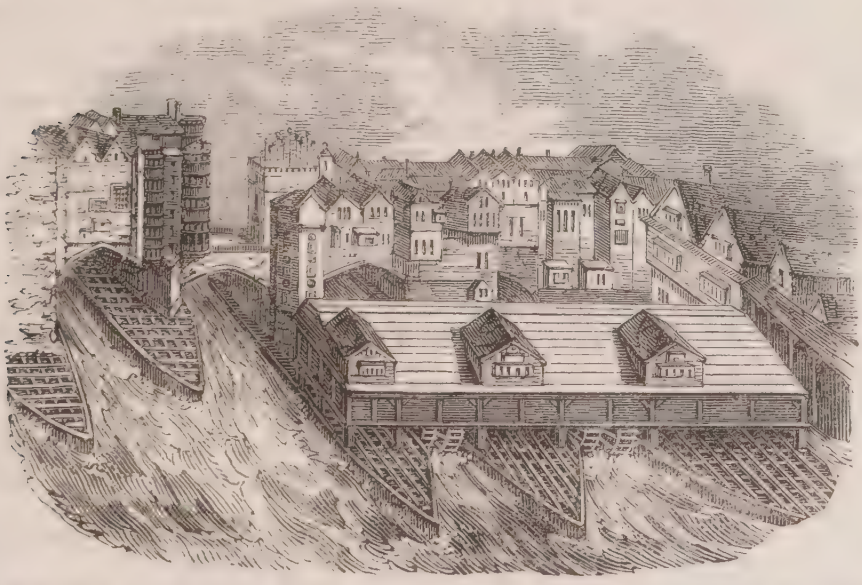
The answer of the companies, and investigation of the City corn-accounts in consequence, occupied nearly a twelvemonth, during which the corporation were obliged to raise money other ways.* In the December of 1577 a conference was opened on the subject "whether stores of corn for the future should be provided and kept by the *companies*, or by the *City* upon loans from the companies, by orders of the court of aldermen?" On the City's part, the necessity of some accommodation from the companies was urged, on the plea of the queen's council's having insisted, that there should be always a stock of at least 5000 quarters of wheat kept in the city against emergencies. The companies wanting the return of their loans under the loss stated, and part of the wheat being about to be sold, and its produce paid to them in part, it was inquired whether they would, under such circumstances, require their money, or have it again laid out to buy the City grain. If they insisted on its return, then it was said they must themselves lay it out in grain, to be kept for the same purposes, and under the same conditions as if the City purchased with the company's money.

Placed in this dilemma, the companies begged, in a mild answer, "to have the returne of their money without loss, according to promise; which being done, they would think it their duty to satisfy the queen's most honourable coun-

* "One of them was by the appropriation to this purpose of 300*l.* part of a fine due to the corporation from Sir Thomas Lodge, for a lease of his house belonging to them; and the other, the like appropriation of 1000*l.* part of the Orphen Money. The act of Common Council empowering the latter is dated 14th Nov. 1577, and ordains that "the some of 1000*l.* of Orphenage Monye shall with convenient speed be provyded, to be employed for and towardes the provision of corne for the use of the Cyttye, and also the some of ccxlv*l.* in money remayninge due to be payde by Mr. Chamberlain, of this cyttie, for the accompte of corne, and the fynes of such p'sons w^ch. were lately electyd sheryffs of the same cyttye, all w^ch. saide somes afforesaid to be forthw^th. payde unto Mr. Bates, one of the bridge-masters, to be by hym ymployed for the p'vision of corne for the use of the same cyttye for this yere nexte ensuinge."—Lib. b. fo. 186.

cils good pleasure." They also admitted that there was a necessity for the city always having 5000 quarters of grain; but "the providing thereof, whether it should be by the lord mayor and aldermen, or by the several companies, they omitted to answer till the pleasure of the Common Council should be further known."

The result of subsequent negotiations on this business was, that the companies agreed, in October, 1578, to fix themselves with the providing of quotas of corn according to what they should be assessed, and the city agreed to let them have rooms in the Bridge-house, for storing it up, subject to the oversight and regulations of the lord mayor and aldermen. The accompanying vignette represents these *Rooms*, and the appurtenant mills and erections belonging to the City, as they appeared near the time.* It is copied (by permission) from a plate of them in the "Chronicles of London Bridge," the original of which is an ancient and highly curious drawing, now in the Pepysian library at Cambridge.



"All the garners of the Bridge-house," it is said in the account of fitting up this corn depot, "were divided into xij.

* The regulation, just noticed, of delivering out the city corn *ground*, compelled the erection at the Bridge-house of *mills*, as well as granaries. They had also *ovens*, making the whole what might be called a complete metropolitan flour factory and baking-house. Strype's account is, that at "the Bridge-house were granaries for corn, as well as ovens, to bake bread for the poor in times of scarcity." Of the ovens (which were *ten* in number,) he adds, "six were very large; the others were only half the size. Sir John Throston, kn^t. sometime an embroiderer, then goldsmith, and one of the sheriffs in 1516, left 200*l.* towards building these ovens."

equall parts, and the same by indifferent lots," appropriated to the Twelve Companies, "to every of them an equal part for the bestowing and keeping of the said corn," and it was to be provided by rateable proportions between them. The companies had possession given them on the ensuing 4th of November; and on the 6th were enjoined by precept to purchase their next year's stock, which was to average altogether 5000 quarters, at 20*s.* per quarter.

All contention between the City and the companies being for a time settled by this arrangement, we meet with few notices, except as to regulations, till 1596.* In that year, the great

* The principal regulations made from time to time for the companies' management of their corn, consist of those which succeeded the arrangement in 1578, for them *to find their own corn, and store it at the Bridge-house;* and of the regulations to which they were subjected from 1596 to 1666, during which interval *they kept it in granaries at their halls.* The regulations for making the provision, *when it was found by the City*, have already been detailed.

1. By orders, 1578, 1586, 1589, and 1624, and during the mayoralties of Ramsey, Barne, Hart, Spencer, and Goare, the companies were allotted to advance and pay for corn purchased for the City's store, and to take the corn. By the first regulation, 1578, when they had spent 20 years of their stock, they were to recruit the same again within 30 days; and by another, the same year, the Court of Aldermen were not to order it to be sold cheaper than it cost, without the consent of the companies, or of the Common Council. (Jor. Ramsey, 438-9.)

2. 1579, (*Woodroffe*, M.) The companies were required to carry into the markets of Southwark 15 qrs. of *meal* per week, till all their old corn was sold at the market price; and each company was to depute two of its members to that, or other markets to which it might be sent, to superintend the sale. (Jor. Woodroffe, 83. Rep. do. 4.) When their old corn was sold off, the stock was to be renewed with wheat of that year's growth.

3. 1580, (*Branch*, M.) The companies commanded, on account of the dearness of wheat, to take into Queenhithe market, every Monday, Wednesday, and Friday, 8 qrs. "well ground," and to retail it at 3*s.* per bushel, "and not more, at their peril."

4. 1581, (*Harvie*, M.) Every company to appoint one buyer, and no more, to buy their complement of corn, and to have such complement stored up, and certify the same under the corn meter's hand monthly to the corn committees, and which committees (composed of their own members and members of the corporation,) to have complete control over them.

5. 1590, (*Allot*, M.) The companies ordered to provide this year 10,000 qrs. (Rep. Allot, 230;) and again 8,000 qrs. (Jor. Allot, 52.)

6. 1596, (*Skinner, &c.* Mrs) Determined, that upon great quantities of corn being imported, the COMPANIES' HALLS shall be used for stowage thereof. N.B. On this act of Common Council being passed, *the companies removed their corn from the Bridge-house, and thenceforward stored it up in their own granaries.* (Jor. Skinner, 172; Rep. Rowe, 258.)

From 1596 —

7. 1596-7, (*Billingsby*, M.) The companies compelled to take the City's corn for their stores. (Jor. Billingsby, 228, 238,) and to provide sacks to carry it to the mills, and to the markets. (Rep. Billingsby, 26.)

8. 1597, (*Saltonstall*, M.) Companies refusing to make their provisions to be committed. (Rep. Saltonstall, 158.) Wardens committed accordingly in 1632. (Rep. Raynton, 37-45.)

9. 1600, (*Ryder*, M.) Order for no chandler or other to harbour in his house

alteration took place, of the companies building *granaries at their own halls*, (see *note*.) This removal seems to have been hastened by an attempt of the government, two years before, to obtain the granaries and ovens from them. The circumstance is related by Strype, who informs us, that the year 1594 being a year of dearth, and there being abundance of wheat and rye landed from abroad, Sir John Spencer, then lord mayor, procured an order from the queen's council to compel the companies to buy the same, to store up at the Bridge-house. Before they could do so, they learnt that Sir John Hawkins had applied for both granaries and ovens for the use of the navy. The lord mayor with difficulty got excused from giving them up, by stating, that if the Bridge-house granaries were taken from the companies, "they would neglect making their provision, and plead want of room in excuse." The companies eventually lodged corn there again; but they took what had happened as a sign of insecurity, and having obtained the consent of the Common Council, laid in their next stocks of grain on their own premises.

The companies' records preserve some curious specimens of the working of this custom in the reigns of the Stuarts. The wardens made their provisions from time to time, as we see, but often through compulsion; and at length sent refusals, which either obliged the mayor to modify the demand,

any corn but for his own spending, except merchants importing it. (Jor. Ryder, 220.)

10. 1606-7, (*Rowe, &c.* M^rs^) Foreign corn for the companies' stores to be bought by a committee. (Rep. Rowe, 222.) Another committee appointed to see that they have their full stores. (Rep. Watts, 241.)

11. 1612, (*Swimerton*, M.) Bakers and chandlers not to buy corn to furnish the companies. (Rep. Swimerton, 167.)

12. 1615, 1616, 1617, and 1619, (*Jolles, Lemon, Bolles, Cockaine*, M^rs^) A member of the companies committed, for refusing to pay corn-money. (Rep. Jolles, 367.) Companies to serve the markets with corn themselves, and not by others. (Rep. Lemon, 160.) Companies corn to be sold 4*d*. under the market. (Rep. Bolles, 381.) A special order for the lord mayor to license the transportation of defective corn. (Rep. Cockaine, 514.)

13. 1630, (*Ducy*, M.) Order that companies unprovided of corn shall pay 3*s*. for every bushel of their proportion to the poor. (Rep. Ducy, 260.)

14. 1631, (*Whitmore*, M.) The companies are commanded to buy wheat and rye from abroad, and refuse.

15. 1644, (*Woollaston*, M.) Companies to provide their stores and one quart^r^ more, and particular members of companies to be persuaded to provide corn for themselves. (Rep. Woollaston, 126.)

N.B. The regulations and precepts which follow from this time being so nearly similar, we forbear to quote more examples.

or abandon it altogether. As the thing progressed, real utility and charity began to be lost sight of: the wants of the poor were but partly consulted in the measure. Applications were made to borrow their stores from quarters which should have been above it, and attempts tried by the same parties to force the companies into sales for mere private advantage. The history of the grocers gives two remarkable illustrations, with which, and a few observations added, we shall close the subject. The *first* of them affords a curious instance of royal poverty and meanness: it is preserved in the following letter, sent on the 1st of October, 1622, to the wardens of the Grocers, from the Duke of Lenox, lord high steward, and other great officers of the king's household:

"*To our lovinge Friends the Wardens and Assistants of the Company of Grocers of the City of London.*

"After our hearty commendations: Whereas by the neglect of his Majes[ties] purveyors, his house is att this tyme altogeather unfurnished with *wheate*, by means whereof there is a present want of 100 quarters of wheate for the service of his household, we doe therefore pray and desire you, that out of your stock his Majes[tie] may be supplied with 30 or 40 quarters of your best and sweatest wheate, untill his owne provision may be brought in, the which we doe faithfully promise shall be payd unto you agayn in November next att the furthest; and because itt is intended that by the exchange thereof you shall have noe losse, we have therefore committed the care thereof to Mr. Harvye, one of his Majes[ties] officers of the green clothe, who shall see the same duelye answeared and brought into your granarie by the tyme appoynted; and soe not doubtynge of your willinge performance uppon soe present and needefull occasion, wee bidd you heartilie farewell.

"Your loving Friends,

"LENOX.

"THOMAS EDMOND.

"Whitehall; the 27th of September, 1622." "JOHN SUCKLINGE."

This curious document, it is observed, although signed by three of the greatest men in the state, failed of producing its

full effect. The growing discontent we have described caused great hesitation on the part of the members to accede to the demand: after debating the matter, however, the officer mentioned in the letter, and who was in attendance, promised "soe to mediate that ten quarters should be taken in satisfaction of the whole demande," and accordingly that quantity was ordered to be lent to his Majesty. Whether it was ever repaid does not appear. The *second* instance consisted of an equally mean attempt, some years afterwards, in which the Court attempted the character of factors. The lord mayor, in 1631, wrote to inform the companies that "divers merchants trading to the East countries had of late brought into the kingdome great quantities of corne (being rye) which for quality was as good or better than the growth of this kingdome, though they had no vend for it;" that, on the suggestion of the lords of the Privy Council, they were contented to sell it at 8*d.* per bushel less than it cost them; and that the said lords, as well for their relief as for the encouragement of future speculators, had recommended the lord mayor and aldermen to press the companies to buy it at the prices offered, blaming him for not having *compelled* them so to do. The lord mayor's letter proceeds therefore to command them, in conformity with this recommendation, to repair to Mr. Alderman Clitheroe, governor of the Eastland Company, to purchase 500 quarters of the said rye at 6*s.* 6*d.* a bushel, "beinge one half of this companies proportion, at the rate of 10,000 quarters, which they were bound to have in store, accordinge to antient custome, and that they should lay up the same in the companies granarie, in readinesse for supplying the citie markets as occasion may require." The grocers' court, "after a grave, mature, and deliberate debate," ordered that answer should be returned with all humble respect, praying to be excused for the following reasons, viz. that the act of Common Council, ordering the companies to provide corn, expressed only *wheat*, and not *rye*. That they had so furnished the markets hitherto, at a loss of at least £400. and had yet 400 quarters in store, which supply they conceived would be sufficient to last them till the harvest, when they hoped to obtain a fresh store upon better terms than those offered. They, in addition, stated their expectation of receiv-

ing 200 quarters on contract; that they had found, notwithstanding dearths, the poor would not eat barley or rye, either alone, or even if mixed with two thirds wheat, so that 500 quarters of rye would require 1800 quarters of wheat to mix with it; that what they had so mixed formerly remained on their hands. And they lastly contended, "that there had been no public contract made for any corn with the merchants mentioned, and they conceived therefore that they had only bought it in hope of profit, for which purpose they landed some part of it upon the coast; and divers other merchants, both Dutch and English, had likewise brought in great quantities, which they offered to sell at 5*s*. the bushel, which was the cause of the said loss, it being a thing usually incident to merchants to receive loss by overloading a market with any commodity." This remonstrance quashed the attempt. On a different occasion (1642,) the companies answered with the greatest readiness a call on their charity made by the distressed Protestants of Londonderry; and this company, in particular, gave them 100 quarters of their corn. After the Restoration, in 1660, a sum of £12,000 was levied by Common Council on the City Companies, "to be laid out in corne as a present to the king's majestie." The proportion of the grocers was £1080, which they freely gave, "as an acte of honor and respect from the cittie, and which may in due time conduce to the singular advantage and benefit of the companie."

The continuance of the corn custom is to be traced down to the fire of London, when the companies' mills and granaries being destroyed, the provision ceased, and it was not afterwards renewed. The money for it was levied by a personal contribution from their members, and two of them were from time to time appointed by the court of assistants, under the name of "corn renters," to collect it.*

* We have given a lengthened account of the corn custom, as the most important of any that the city and companies were anciently concerned with, and as particularly illustrative of the system of *precept*, whilst it was in use. Whether this provision was ever beneficial to the extent which has been fancied, or at least, whether its revival in the present day would be attended with the advantage some writers have suggested, is very doubtful. The necessity at first originated in circumstances which no longer exist. It might be provident of the rich, and useful to the poor, to lay up stores of wheat for sale in times when there were frequent dearths, owing to the land being chiefly pasture, when the Steelyard merchants were the only importers of *foreign* wheat, and the king's purveyors seized the best

Compulsory Loans.—One of the earliest specimens of Elizabeth's forced loans occurs in the grocers' books, under the year 1562, and shews the meanness that sovereign could occasionally descend to, in borrowing sums of the most trivial consequence. It states that

"The queene sent letters of Privy Seal to the companie for a hundreth pondes to be paid to her grace's use, by way of lone for a certeyn time mentioned in the same letters; to be certeynly repaid againe."

This seems sufficiently intrusive; but its effrontery was far exceeded in 1575, in an instance quoted by Malcolm from the ironmongers' books. It affords a still finer specimen of "the good old times," as they have been called, of that queen, and occasions the above writer, in noticing it, to remark that "no minister during the eighteenth century could have been found to authorize, or lord mayor to execute, such a precept as the ensuing, directed to this company.

"Theis are to will and com'aunde youe that forthw$^{th.}$ youe prepare in a redynes the sume of lx*l.* of the stocke of youre halle, (and if you have not so moche in store) then you must *borrow the same at ynterest, at th' only costs and lossis of you*$^{r.}$ *hall,*) to be lent to the queen's ma$^{tie.}$ for 1 whole yeare, not in any wise cawsyng any brother of yo$^{r.}$ companye to bear any p'ticular charge or losse towards the same, but onlye of the rents and stocke of yo$^{r.}$ said hall, w$^{ch.}$ som'e of lx*l.* you shall paye uppon Twysdaye next comynge, in the mornyng, at Mr.

of what was grown at *home*. In more plentiful times, however, and with the facilities afforded by commerce and extended agricultural pursuits, the practice evidently tended to monopoly. The companies were always to buy when cheap, and sell when dear, but were never to lose. Query: were they not, from their wealth, often put into a situation to gain? Individually speaking, also, many of the regulations must have been an intolerable burden to them. Compelling them to take the City's surplus corn,—and that they might do so, forbidding bakers or chandlers to furnish them, as well as forcing them when they were allowed to import, to do it only through City committees, besides other similar orders, must strike the reader as both monopolous and oppressive, in looking through the preceding list of "Regulations." Other of these regulations must have been detrimental to the public; in particular, the order that no chandler or other (merchant importers excepted) should keep corn but for their own consumption, which was leaving the public no channel of purchase but the ones mentioned. On the whole, the ancient providing and selling of corn by the City and companies, baking it into bread, attending the markets to see to its sale, and being annoyed by having bargains attempted to be forced on them by the courtiers, or compelled to lend to their order, where there was no likelihood of return, not to mention other evils;—and, after all, where the advantage to the public was so questionable; seem to make this anything but a custom which it would be desirable to revive.

Stanley's howse in Aldersgate street; and thear you shall receive an aquyttaunce for the same in forme appoynted. Fayle youe not herof as youe will awnser for the contrarye at your p'yle. Yeovyn at the Gwyldhall of London, the xxvii of August, 1575."—Sebrighte.*

"It will hardly be credited," remarks Malcolm upon this, "that men should have been so blindly bigotted, at any period of our history, to the *then* form of goverment, as to have made no effort to amend such sort of proceedings as those of compelling loans in one half year, and in the next compelling the lenders to borrow. These precepts, and other resources," he continues, "produced queen Elizabeth 140,000*l.* apparently more than she at that time knew what to do with; however, herself or her ministers found an expedient, which was to force the citizens to receive it for a year or more, at *seven per cent.* in sums of from 500*l.* to 50*l.* each person, on pledges of gold or silver plate, or other ample security."†

A second instance of this princess's loans, but certainly more excusable, as being for public purposes, was in 1579, when she demanded a loan of 20,000*l.* from the city of London, upon her bond for six months, towards the defence of the country, and suppressing the Irish rebellion. It was readily granted, and without interest; and all the several companies contributed according to their means.

State Lotteries.—In 1567 the queen borrowed a hint from some of the continental governments, and had recourse to the expedient of a lottery, the first ever known in England. The mode she adopted, in the then absence of modern puffing, was that of personal application. A notice in the grocers' records, Nov. 1567, sets forth that the lord mayor had sent a precept to the wardens, to acquaint them that he had received from the lords of the queen's privy council, in her grace's name, a letter "in comendacion of the lotterie lately published by her highness, which, for the furtherance of the

* The merchant tailors' books of the same date record the receipt of a similar precept, with the amount of their subscription, in the following entry:

"1575. The sum of 133*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* borrowed for the queen on a precept from the mayor for that purpose." It states it to be lent from the rents and stock of the company, and not from the brotherhood." The like precepts travelled the round of the other companies.

† Lond. Redivivum, 11, 50.

same, did require that the wardens should call all the companie together, and exhorte the same to adventure some reasonable sum toward the preferment of the same lotterie."

The contents of this letter being considered, every one of the company present promised "to put in somewhat as to themselves should prove good." It was also resolved that the wardens should, of the goods of the house, "adventure and put into the said lotterie the some of xx*l.* which is for xxxx. lotterie shares;" and the court to be a sufficient warrant for the same.

The companies appear to have adopted mottos on this occasion as a distinction; that of the grocers was

"For the Grocers' Hawll
A lott greate or small."

It was likewise thought good that the master and wardens should cause the whole livery to assemble, "to the end the like exhortation should be made to them."

The payment of the prizes in this lottery, even when gained, are stated to have been very tardy, and, in various cases, it is doubtful whether they were paid at all.

In 1585 the queen had recourse to another lottery, for armour, of the tricks respecting which a still finer picture is given in the merchant tailors' records. On this occasion, to induce the lord mayor and City to be active in forwarding the business, a letter was addressed to them by lord chancellor Bromley and others of the privy council, directing the lord mayor to issue precepts to the companies, to persuade their respective members to make adventure. Its purport was—

That since the publication of the proceedings respecting the lottery the coming in of adventures was very slack, by reason of the hard opinion and distrust conceived of the last lotteries, and from the length of time set down for that in hand. And having her majesty's grant of the lottery, which was intended specially to benefit Mr. John Calthorpe, who had so well deserved in bringing the same into the realm, the council had reduced the time of the execution of the said lottery to the 8th of March then next ensuing, at which time "there should be a *true delivery of the prizes to the winners.*" They add, "we mean to appoint twenty persons to see that

no man shall be defrauded of such part or parts of the armour as may fall to his lot by the said lottery." It concludes:

"And in order to speed the execution of it we hope, on the receipt hereof, you will call the aldermen your brethren together, and *persuade every man* to adventure, and to *deal* with the masters and wardens of all the companies to make adventures. And for so doing, there shall be bestowed on the lord mayor, as her majesty's gift, in respect of the forward service of the said lottery, one basin and ewer of 100*l.* and to each of the sheriffs one basin and ewer of 100 marks, to remain to the use of the lord maior and sheriffs and their successors for ever."

Soon after we find the livery of the merchant tailors called together, and "recommended to try their fortune in the said lottery."

So loth, however, do both the principals and livery of that company appear to have been to make their fortunes by the means pointed out, that there is the following sarcastic motto entered in the company's books, as the one adopted by them on this occasion:

> "One *byrde* in the hande is worth two in the wood,
> If we get the great lot, it will do us good."

James, in 1612, tried another lottery of plate, towards the plantation of Virginia, in which all the companies adventured, and in which the grocers are stated to have been so fortunate as to have won a silver gilt salt and cover, worth 13*l.* 10*s.* for only a venture of 62*l.* 5*s.* and a fee of 19*s.* 6*d.* delivery.

Monopolous Patents.—The granting of patents for monopolies, and for the oversight and control of different trades, was another arbitrary and impolitic measure of Elizabeth, and which not only injured the companies, but the public. This mode of obtaining revenue was adopted when the system of forced loans and levies had been pushed as far as it would go. Strype, in his edition of Stow, records some entertaining instances. The first was an attempt to get the control of the Brewers' Company, whose records we have so largely borrowed from. With the usual pretence of benefiting the public, and filling the queen's purse, a Sir Thomas Georges,

he states, in the year 1580, "sued to have the office of gauger of beer, namely, the gauging and filling of every barrel, with the fee of a penny on the whole barrel, and a halfpenny on the half-barrel." To obtain his suit, he charged the brewers with defrauding the public, by false measure and undersized casks, to the amount of 30,000*l.* a year. This he engaged to save, besides putting 200*l.* a year rent in the queen's pocket, "and an increase in her customs of 700*l.* or 800*l.* more." The brewers, in a well drawn up answer, pointed out the delusive nature of the scheme, proving that the projector would himself get 10,000*l.* a year by it, and the queen nothing. The consequence was, to use the historian's words, "this business of having a surveyor for beer stuck still."* In 1590, Edward Darcy, a courtier, sued, and obtained from the queen a similar patent against the Leathersellers' Company, empowering him to search and seal all the leather throughout England: and, our author says, "found it a very gainful business to him; for on the skins he sealed "he sometimes received the tenth part, the ninth part, the seventh, the sixth, the fourth, and sometimes, and often, the third part of the value of the commodity." The profits of this projector lasted little more than a twelvemonth; for in 1592, the whole swarm of tradesmen connected with the article, leathersellers, fellmongers, glovers, point-makers, purse-makers, saddlers, girdlers, coffer-makers, budget-makers, stationers, white-tawyers, jerkin-makers, leather-dyers, and others, rose up with one accord to resist the innovation, and were found so formidable, from their numbers and clamor, that the privilege, to avoid a tumult, was, after much contention, revoked. Strype praises the firmness of this company's wardens, in concluding his account, who being imprisoned for their unyielding conduct during the contest, defended themselves by pleading "that at their first incorporation into this noble city, they were charged with a precise oath to be obesiant and obedient unto the mayor and ministers of the city, the franchises and customs thereof to maintain, and this city to keep harmless in that that in them was. 'Judge,' they said to the aldermen who were sent to them to mediate, 'if to admit Mr. Darcy's ministers to

* Strype's Stow, II, 289. Ibid. 293.

search and seal, is not to run into the horrible sin of perjury, which the queen could never abide, nor ever yet left unpunished?' Thus stout and hardy were these leathersellers."

Another attempt to obtain one of these excise patents against the Pewterers' Company was made some years afterwards by the Earl of Oxford; "whereby," says Strype, "he would have undone the pewterers, their wives, and families." The privy council, however, had begun to find out about this time that there was a general exclamation and discontent against these "patents of privilege," as they were called. The attorney-general being advised with on the occasion, "whether such patent might stand with the laws and statutes of the realm or not," negatived the application; and in this case the queen acted generously, for she conferred the privilege asked for by the earl on the company itself.* Numerous similar instances might be adduced. The next, quoted from the account of the Grocers' Company,† is a fine specimen of the absurdity and intolerance of the practice. "In 1575, a precept was read to the court [of assistants] by the wardens, of a licence granted by the queen's majesty to one *Acerbo Devitelto*, an Italian, that *he* only should bring into this realm 'comon and sallet oyle, and to sell the same to any person he will, foreign or freeman, and at *his owne beame;*' which being thought prejudicial to the freemen of the city, a petition to the mayor and aldermen on the subject was ordered to be drawn up." Patents received their death-blow from the parliament in 1641, when two patentees, Alderman Abell and Richard Kilvert, were severely fined for having obtained from Charles I. an exclusive patent for wine.‡ A very scarce

* Strype's Stow, 11, 294.

† Grocers' Comp. p. 70. The author adds the following quotation in a note: "She (Elizabeth) granted her servants and courtiers patents for monopolies; and those patents they sold to others, who were thereby enabled to raise commodities to what price they pleased, and who put invincible restraints upon all commerce, industry, and emulation in the arts. It is astonishing to consider the numbers and importance of those commodities which were thus assigned over to patentees: currants, salt, iron, powder, cards, calf-skins, felts, leather, ox-shin bones, train oil, lists of cloth, &c. &c., these are but a part of the commodities which had been appropriated to monopolists. When this list was read in the house, a member cried, "*Is not bread in the number?*" "*Bread!*" said every one with astonishment. "*Yes, I assure you,*" replied he, "*if affairs go on at this rate, we shall have bread reduced to a monopoly before the next parliament.*"—Hume's Hist. of England, v. 5.

‡ The "Perfect Diurnell" of 5th Feb. 1641, thus notices the transaction: "A bill was brought into the House of Commons concerning the wine business, by

and satirical contemporaneous tract on the subject, gives, in a supposed dialogue between the two parties, a ludicrous exposure of this business of patent-hunting.

Abell and Kilvert, who in the tract are called "the two maine projectors for wine," accidentally meet, and the latter claiming acquaintance with the alderman, as one at whose house he had often been a guest "when he kept the Ship Tavern, behind Old Fish-street," Abell answers, that he did indeed get a good estate there by retailing wines, but chiefly through finding hidden treasure in digging a vault near his cellar; or, as he terms it, "the Cardinal's Cellar," and without which, he adds, "I had never came to wear this gold chaine, with my thumbes under my girdle." "But now, Mr. Kilvert, (after having talk't sometime on indifferent subjects,) I know you to be a most politicke projector; money is the matter we ayme at, and profit the thing only that we pursue. We know what *may* be done. Now me thinkes it fit that we fixe upon some project *to* be done, and presently to have it put in practice." He proceeds—

Abell.—Those patents for *caske*, and for *tobacco*, and for *cards and dice*, with divers others, have already past the seale. What new reach have you now by which to enrich us?

Kilv.—Give me leave a little to recollect myself, hum, hum—let me see, mercers, goldsmiths, drapers, grocers; you are a vintner, M. Alderman, what think you of a monopoly or patent for *wines*, and *for dressing meat?*

Abell.—I doe approve of the project exceedingly. But first tell me one thing, Master Kilvert, are you a freeman of our City?

Kilv.—No indeed, sir, but for some reasons best reserved to myself. I would I were.

Abell.—Let me alone to procure that.

Kilv.—And then let me alone to extract money out of your City, and draw it into our owne purses.

Abell.—Buy then your freedome of the City. Then you have your choyce to be of what company you most fancy, which I could wish to be of the vintners; of which society I am none of the meanest members. That done, I will bring you to be one of our livery, and in a short time to be made one of the *assistance;* onely you must be sworne to secrecy, and not to disclose any mystery belonging to our trade, that may be talk't on at table.

which it appeared that Alderman Abell and Mr. Kilvert had in their hands which they deceived the king of, 57,000*l.* upon the wine licence; the Vintners of London, 66,000*l.*; the wine merchants of Bristol, 1051*l.*; all of which monies were ordered to be immediately raised on their lands and estates, and to be employed to the public use."

Kilvert joyfully agrees to this, and renews the discourse as to the wine patent; about which, on asking the alderman's opinion, the latter rejoins,

Abell.—Then now, Master Kilvert, with the project upon which we may ground the begging of this patent.

Kilvert's answer contains a fine piece of satire on the mode in which such patents were first obtained.

Kilv.—Marry, thus; we must first pretend both in the merchant and vintner some gross abuses, and these no meane ones either. And that the merchant shall pay to the king forty shillings for every tun ere he shall vent it to the vintner; in lieu of which, that the vintner may be no looser, he shall rayse the price also of his wines: upon all French wines a penny in the quart; upon all Spanish wines two-pence the quart; it is no matter how the subject suffers, so we get and gaine by it. Now to cover this our craft, (I will not say coinage,) because all things of the like nature carry a pretence for the king's profit, so we will allow him a competent proportion of forty thousand pounds per annum; when, the power of the patent being punctually executed, will yield double at least, if not treble that sume, and returne it into the coffers of the undertakers.

Abell.—Mr. Kilvert, I honour thee before all the feasts in our hall. Nay, we are free vintners and brothers of the guild, and are for the most part true Trojans, and know where to find the best butts of wine in the cellar, and will pierce them for thee; it shall be pure wine from the grape, not mixt and compounded, but real and brisk. You thinke there are no brewers but such as brew ale and beere; I tell you we do brew and cunger in our sellers, as much as any brewer of their ale. Yea, and without fire too; but so much for that. Methinkes I see myselfe in Cheapside upon an horse richly caparisoned, and my two shrieves to attend me; and me thinkes thee in thy caroch, drawn by four horses, when I shall call to thee, and say, 'friend Kilvert, give me thy hand.'

Kilv.—To which I shall answer, 'God bless your honour, my good lord maior.'

"*Concealments*," as they were called, (another branch of the tree of extortion,) were omissions charged to have been wilfully and fraudulently made by the companies, in returning the value of their chantry estates in the reign of Edward VI. This complaint, which had been started at that time, and afterwards abandoned, was revived in 1582,* and afforded another

* An attempt had been made to establish a similar sort of inquisition, as early as 1566, when precepts were sent to the companies to make out certificates for the queen, of the value of their lands and goods. The merchant tailors, on this occasion, return their estimate at only 204*l.* 15*s.* 4*d.*, notwithstanding that a like estimate had been just before returned, extending their value to 304*l.* 7*s.*, but out of which were various outgoings. Their plate, jewels, and goods, they state not

excuse for patents and patentees. Sir Edward Stafford, one of Elizabeth's courtiers, and others, having obtained the queen's patent on this behalf; "and being assisted," says Strype, (from whom we copy the succeeding account,) "by certain prying fellows, who hoped thereby to make some gain to themselves, the companies were again put to great trouble, and their lands and tenements made liable to be forfeited and taken away from them, by reason of such patents; what was discovered becoming the property of these patentees, commonly called *concealers*, and the queen having some small part in fee-farm."

"Thus, in the year above named, two of these concealers, named *Adams* and *Woodshaw*, discovered that, in the companies' contracting with Edward VI. they had not made a full disclosure, but retained some of these chantry lands, paying nothing for them. As, for example, the grocers purchased to the amount of £67 1*s.* 8*d.* yearly, for £1341 13*s.* 4*d.*, and afterwards built the Weigh-house, which cost them 1100*l.*; but the informers found out that the chantry lands they possessed had been actually worth £147 4*s.* 8*d.*, and they accordingly obtained for themselves the balance of £80 3*s.* reserving to the queen a fee-farm of £4 10*s.* per annum."

"In like manner the skinners bought of the king chantry-rents to the annual amount of 30*l.* 16*s.* 6*d.*, for which they paid 613*l.* 10*s.*, whereas there was now discovered to be lands of that nature in their possession to the yearly value of 101*l.* 8*s.* 8*d.*

	£	*s.*	*d.*
The SALTERS bought rents per annum . . .	33	18	3
For which they paid to the king	688	5	0
Their lands now discovered to be per annum . .	82	1	8
The VINTNERS bought, as before, per annum . .	9	15	0
For which they paid	195	6	8
Their lands now discovered to be per annum . .	30	0	0

Besides their hall, and 14 almshouses, passed to the patentees as concealed.

The DRAPERS bought rents per annum . .	37	5	10
For which they paid	746	13	4
Their lands now discovered to be per annum . .	110	7	0

to have exceeded in clear value 66*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*; and as a set-off, plead the company to have been indebted in the sum of 337*l.* 6*d.* There was no doubt some *concealment* in these returns, but properly, for it was fully justified by the arbitrary nature of the procedure.

"And so of various others of the Twelve Companies; all of which premises so concealed the queen passed to the said Adams and Woodshaw.

	£	s.	d.
So that the total amount of such lands so passed was per annum	838	4	6
Rents out of the same bought by the king of the companies per annum	312	16	3
Sum paid the king for the same	5640	0	8
To the queen, for all the same lands by the patentees, in fee-farm, per annum	22	12	4

"Note, (says our authority,) that the value of the said lands was here set down as they were charitably let by the companies, which was one great portion of their good deeds, but would be much more by improvement. Also the whole yearly value aforesaid, and the whole yearly value of all the rest of their lands, the companies showed that they did bestow upon the poor, and upon scholars, and other public good uses; without employing any one penny thereof in their dinners, or other like charges, but the same were wholly borne of their quarterage, and the wardens charge out of their own purses, as appeareth by this one example of the grocers here following:

	£	s.	d.
The whole rents of the GROCERS, per annum	216	14	04
WHEREOF,			
To the poor weekly, by divers wills, and otherwise, in alms,			
To the schoolmaster, usher, and almsmen at *Oundle*, and			
To poor scholars in the Universities	165	16	00
To fees and pensions of poor servants of the companies, whereof they live	46	00	00
Preparations of the school, almhouses, and other premises	40	00	00
Sum	251	16	00

Besides setting forth, entertaining and training of *soldiers*, provision of *armour* always in store, and 400 quarters of *wheat* ever aforehand; wherein the poorer sort bear no burden; and so in like sort and proportion is to be said of all the rest of the companies.

Note also, that the said companies are set by their lands, in subsidy, 638*l.* and so do pay at every whole subsidy 128*l.* 10*s.*; which, accounting every fourth year to pay a subsidy, amounteth yearly, *communibus anus*, to 31*l.* 7*s.* And so, if the companies lose their lands, the queen, it was argued, would lose more in subsidy than the whole that the patentees did give her for the lands.

Item.—If the land be taken away, and so the purchase of the rents void, if her Majesty in equity should repay the sums that the king received for the rents, it would amount to 5640*l.* 8*d.*"

"In fine, there was no way for the companies to enjoy these concealed, but now discovered lands, unless they would lay down money, and buy them of the patentees. Nor could the patentees be contented to have them valued according to the

old rents they went at, and as let by the companies, but according to what they might be rented for at that present; and so set the value at 20 years' purchase."

"Several of the companies contended, it seems, with these concealers; and it being doubtful whether some of the estates came under the statute for chantries, the matter was referred to the Lords Chief Justices, Sir Christopher Wray and Sir Edmund Anderson, who adjudged, that although messuages were demised to corporations of mysteries in London, yet, being appointed to chantries, obits, &c. they were given to the king by the statute 1 Edw. VI., and that the queen was in consequence entitled to the premises in controversy. Others the judges left doubtful, as they found them, and some they cleared."*

Four concealments were discovered in the Drapers' Company. For which, see under that head.†

* Strype's Stow, ii. 340.

† The plea put in by the City on the above occasion throws considerable additional light on this business, and is otherwise curious:

1. In the firste yeare of Kinge Edward the VI^th^ chauntries, colledges, and divers lands, tenements, &c. employed in superstitious uses, were given to the kinge, his heirs and successors.

2. In the same statute are divers clauses, lymittinge in what cases the kinge should have all or part, or rente, or the land itself.

3. Among others there is a clause to this effect: That all profites emploied by corporations of misteries to such superstitious uses, should be to the kinge as rentes-charge, whereunto all those and other the landes of such corporations should be liable.

4. Hereupon the lawe was then taken and put in use, that in such cases where landes were geven to such corporations with lymittinge of proffites to be so superstitiously emploied, the king should not have the landes, but the proffites so emploied, as rentes-charge.

5. Upon this statute, commissions were directed for London, to certein persons of the king's counsell learned, and other greate learned men in lawe, and suche as were of parliament, and prevye to the makynge of the lawe, and so beste understandinge the true meaninge of the statute.

6. These commissioners came to the Halles of *London*, and there had all the evidences of the companies laide before them, that they mighte, accordinge to theire understandinge, sett downe the rightes of the kinge.

7. They, accordinge to the said exposition, did sett downe and certifie those profittes to bee the kinge's, as rentes-charge, and did not entitle the kinge to the landes themselves.

8. The certificates were so accepted and allowed in the kinge's courts, no doubte, with the advise of the kinge's officers and judges and counsel learned.

9. These rents were accordingly paid to the kinge by the space of certen yeres, without question.

10. Afterward the kinge, in the thirde yere of his raigne, having occasion to levie a great masse of money, did require the companies to purchase those rentes, which they were lothe to doe, but beinge urged by their dutie of love and service to the kinge.

11. The companies accordingly purchased those rents, for which they paied to the kinge allmost xix thousand pounds.

12. For the raisinge of this somme of 18,700*l.* they were enforced to sell divers of the said landes and tenements to paye for the reste.

13. The kinge, most gratiouslye meaninge that both the companies and

Seditious publications and practices occasioned frequent appeals from Elizabeth to the loyalty of her citizens. The lord mayor regularly received command, when danger was apprehended from this source, to call on the companies ; and his precepts, invoking their aid, were accompanied in some instances by the most soothing explanations. The wardens of the grocers received such a precept in 1571 ; and, in making "an exhortation to the generaltie of the companie" thereon, prefaced it by informing them "of the greate zeal and love of the queene's majestie towards her good cytezens of this citie of London; who with her owne mouthe declared the same to the lords of her highness' privie counseyll, willing them to declare the same unto the lord maior, the aldermen, and comoners of the said Cytie, viz. that her grace doth hope that the good cytezens *doe well like her grace's government.*" The conspiracy is then described, which this year consisted of the Duke of Norfolk's plot for liberating and proclaiming Mary Queen of Scots, and on which charge that nobleman, and ulti-

the said purchasers should retayne bothe the said landes, and enjoy their said rentes, accordinge to their bargaynes, did, in the fifth yere of his raigne, in a session of the same parliament, passe an acte of parliament for their assurance against reversions, remainders, and other incumbrances.

14. In the preamble of the said acte is recited, howe the kinge was by the said statute, in the firste yere of his raign, intituled to the said proffittes, as rentes-charge, and not to the landes in the handes of the laye corporations.

15. So, by the judgement of the kinge, his nobles, judges, counscill learned, and whole court of parliamente in the said session, who had bene also of the former session, and beste understandinge their owne meaninge, it was confessed and recited, that the kinge in this case had the rentes, and not the landes.

16. In the bodie of the said acte is expressly sett downe, that the said companies and corporacions shall quietly enjoye and holde both the said rentes, manors, lands, tenements, and hereditaments.

17. According to this exposition, they have ever since quietly enjoyed the same.

18. They have made sondrye sales, grauntes, and leases of their said lands, as their grauntees have likewise done ; upon which grauntes are sondrye warrantises, bondes, and covenants.

19. Many of the said leases have become portions of widowes and orphanes.

20. Many have bestowed great buildings upon the same, to the beautifying of her majestie's Citie.

21. Many, but especiallie poore men, have their habitations and onely settlings of their livinge in the premises.

22. The arrearages of the profits are very greate sommes.

23. The companies having purchased the said rents, thoughe they mighte have turned them wholly to their owne profite, have emploied the same to publike uses, viz. reliefe of poore persons, of almes, exhibitions of schollers in the universities, provisions of grayne and armour, setting forth and entertainments of souldiers, and other service of their soveraigns, from time to time.

24. Nowe of late there hath been founde out a newe opynion upon the said statute, contrary to the aforesaid exposition and understanding thereof; and it is suggested that the kinge is entitled to the said *landes*, and not to

mately the unfortunate princess herself, suffered death. The most curious part of the above communication consisted of the artful manner in which the queen contrived to mix up her own danger with the citizens' safety. She joins the intention of the conspirators "to subvert her grace's government" with the "utter destruction of this noble cytie," the "spoyle of which," it is affirmed, they had promised to their adherents, "as the reward of "the devylishe enterpryse."*

The publication of Stubb's book (1579,) against what he supposed a contemplated marriage between Elizabeth and the Duke of Anjou, produced another issue of similar precepts, but, as the danger was less, of a more authoritative complexion. The wardens of the same company, in this case, were "to give warning, that they should be verye carefull in performinge all things that are contayned in her ma^ties^ proclamacion latelie set owte, which doth contayne the forbyddinge of the hav-

the *proffites;* and so the said companies have neither lande nor rente, notwithstanding their purchases *bona fide*, and by the judgement of the kinge, his counsell learned and parliaments.

25. Upon this suggestion, informations of intrusion are brought against all the said companies for concealed landes.

26. Yf the saide informations should prevaile, and the saide newe opynion be holden for lawe, infinite inconveniences would ensue, viz.

27. The companies being *bona fidei possessores*, and having truly purchased for greate sommes, at the king's request, should be defrauded of their lawfull bargaines,

28. The arrearages should be to them a greater burden than they are able to susteyne.

29. The warrantizes, covenants, bondes, and forfeitures, are an infinite somme, and a most unspeakable confusion.

30. The charge of their building should be wholly lost.

31. Multitudes of widowes and poore orphans should be thrust out of their portions, and utterly undone.

32. The testaments and laste wills of many persons should be utterly defeated.

33. Infinite numbers of poore inhabitants should in an instant be expelled from their dwellings.

34. Marvellous nombers of poore, susteined by those revenues of companies, should be put from their reliefe, and cast to misery, and will burden the state more than London shall be able to susteyne.

35. Many poore schollers must lose their exhibitions.

36. The companies shall not be able to furnish her majestie's service from time to time as they have done, and desire to doe; much lesse to maintayne the good continuaynce of her Citie to her majestie's honoure.

37. Finally, the confusion and tumbling up of the whole state and order of this citie would be uncredible:

38. Her majestie should hereof, by the said suggesters, receyve little or nothinge, and in no waye comparable to the losse that her highnes may susteyne in her Citie's dissabilitie."

The City concluded this plea, by begging that the queen would allow the same true interpretations of the statutes whereby they had hitherto enjoyed their lands; that she would command the suits, informations, and molestations against them-

* Acc. of the Grocers' Comp. 75-6.

inge, readinge, or keepinge of any of the seditious libells that have of late byne exposed abrode against the Duke of Anjoye, and his ambassadors, and to the disturbinge and troublinge of the queen's m^ties^ subjectes, about *alteracion of religion.*" The members of the grocers all promised compliance, but were so slow of performance, that 'two other precepts, to the same effect, it is said, were issued before the books were brought in."* The Ironmongers' Company are stated by Malcolm to have adopted the following ingenious method to obtain the seditious works possessed by that company, without obliging themselves to know, and consequently punish, delinquents. "A secret place" was made in the court room, to which every man present was compelled to ascend, put in his hand, and then return; "which was to the end that such persons of the company as had any of the same seditious books, should there let them fall; and, being but one man at one time, there was none to accuse him that had any book." The sagacious contriver of this scheme seems to have forgot that every man in the company was at liberty to leave his books at home. We are not informed whether any were found in the "secret place."†

The apprehension of the threatened Spanish armada occasioned the strongest measure of this kind which we find in the companies' records. It was a General Declaration, set on foot by the Earl of Leicester, in November, 1584, and engrossed on several rolls of parchment, and which was signed by the com-

selves and the companies to cease; and lastly, that she would, by a new act of parliament, ratify their possessions in plain and express form. The queen, in answer, referred both patentees and companies to the arbitration of the lords of her council; and, after much discussion, the rents in Adams' and Woodshaw's patent were obliged to be compounded for, which was done in the year 1587, and amounted to 227*l.* 16*s.* 10*d.* The mercers' rents, which they had before compounded for to the queen, amounted to 196*l.* 15*s.* 3*d.*; and there remained, Strype adds, much more to be compounded for.

Nothing perhaps displays greater injustice than the whole of these transactions relative to the chantry estates, and which is so admirably exposed in this plea. It should be stated, as a conclusion to this nefarious business, that, notwithstanding all the grievances thus inflicted by Elizabeth's patentees, and that composition was made to them, the companies were not allowed to rest: the subject was again renewed in the reign of James, and only terminated after some more sacrifices to that monarch, who, then by proclamation, and subsequently by act of parliament of his 21st year, renounced all claim for himself and his successors for ever.

* Acc. of the Grocers' Comp. 75-6.

† Lond. Red. 11—62.

panies, in common with the rest of the queen's subjects. The "Instrument of Association," as it was called, commences by telling them that "Allmightie God hath ordayned kinges, queenes, and princes, to have dominion and rule over theire subjects, and to preserve them in the profession and obligation of the true Christian religion, accordinge to his holie word and commandment, and in like sorte that all subjects should love, feare, and obey theire soveraigne princes, beinge kinges or queenes." It next proceeds to state the advantages the queen's subjects have enjoyed in having "soe gracious a ladye as their soveraigne Elizabeth to reign over them so many a yeere, with greate felicite, and to their inestimable comforte," and it finishes by recording the companies' solemn engagement. What could they less?—to defend her with their "lives, landes, and goodes." The company witness it by annexing their names and seals.

Sumptuary Regulations were carried to a ridiculous excess at this time. The "snip, and nip, and cut, and slish, and slash," as *Petruchio* calls the ornamentals of dress, were not to be profaned by vulgar wear. We now smile at the "wenches" being restricted to have their "gownes, kirtles, waistcoats and petticoats unmingled with silk," and the apprentices doff'd in the length of their "ruff bands," or obliged to wear the collars of their doublets without "piccadilly or other support;" but the circumstance of these trifles being regulated by precept shows the abundant use of the document in this reign. There is also something amusing in comparing the views and feelings of two centuries and a half ago with our own, even on this insignificant point. Perhaps no monarch ever showed a greater anxiety that the subject should dress plain, or was fonder of finery herself, than Elizabeth. This not only appears from her numerous proclamations on the subject, but from the precepts which she caused to be sent to the companies. The oddest method adopted to carry the royal orders into effect, as between the public and the companies, was one which Malcolm found in the books of the ironmongers. Two members of that company were, in 1579, "chosen to attend, with two men free of the grocers, at Bishopsgate, from 7 o'clock in the morning till 6 in the afternoon," who were to examine the habits of all

persons passing through the gate. Another absurd and formal instance of the queen's attention even to the *caps* of her subjects, appeared in a solemn precept from the mayor, commanding and admonishing the companies, under a denunciation of inflicting "the penalty on all offenders without any favour," that wore them otherwise than according to the fashion prescribed.*

James exceeded Elizabeth in his love for these minutiæ. "The abuse growing by excesse and strange fashions of apparell, used by manye apprentises, and by the inordinate pryde of mayde servauntes and women servauntes, in their excesse of apparell and follye in varietie of newe fashions," caused that decorous monarch such uneasiness, about the year 1611, that the mayor, by his orders, sent precepts to the wardens of companies, enjoining them to convene, and to harangue their several fraternities on this heinous sin. "Mr. Warden Burrell," on reading the precept to the Grocers' Company, made sundrye godly and charitable exhortacions to each, to see reformacion made in his owne familye accordinge to the meaninge of the same;" and the Common Council afterwards embodied certain regulations into an act, in which every item of apparel to be worn both by apprentices and maid servants, with the kind of material composing it, or "the stuffe, fashion, and goodnesse," are detailed with the minuteness of a taylor or dress-maker. *Apprentices* were to wear no "hat" the facing whereof should exceed three inches in breadth in the head; or which, with the band and trimming, should cost above 5*s.*; the band was to be destitute of lace, made of linen not exceeding 5*s.* the ell, and to have no other work or ornament than a plain hem and one stitch; and, if the apprentice should wear a *ruff-band*, it was not to exceed three inches in height before it was gathered and set into the stock, nor more than two inches in depth before the setting into the same stock. The collar of the doublet was to have neither "poynt, well (whale) bone, or plaits," but to be made close and comely, and, as well as the breeches, was to be made only of "cloth, kersey, fustian, sackcloth, canvasse, English leather, or English stuffe," and of not more than 2*s.* 6*d.* the yard; his stockings

* Lond. Red. ii. 63.

were to be of woollen, yarn, or kersey; he was not to wear "Spanish shoes with polonia heels," or have his hair with any "tufte or lock, but cut short in decent and comely manner." The London *servant girl* was, if possible, more restricted. She was to wear no "lawn, kambrick, tiffany, velvet lawns, or white wires" on the head, or about "the kerchief, koyfe, crest cloth, or shadow," but only linen, and that not to exceed 5*s.* the ell. Her ruff was on no account to be of more than four yards in length before the gathering or setting of it in, or of greater depth than three inches; nor was she to "wear any *fardingal* at all, great or little; nor any body or sleeves of wire, whalebone, or other stiffing (stiffening) saving canvass or buckram only."*

Government interference with the affairs of the companies partook of the nature of precepts, and a few examples of it will properly conclude their history. Besides the arbitrary operation of precepts, both Elizabeth and her immediate successors made it a business of their reigns to obtain the choice of officers, and the control of the property, of these rich bodies. Elizabeth first began in 1565 with an attempt to direct the disposal of some premises of the Ironmongers' Company; the application, however, only being made through her minister, did not in this instance succeed. The letter of Lord Burleigh and Sir William Cecil to the company, is given entire in the *note*, as a curious specimen of these sort of applications.† The next attempt was to thrust in a court candidate for the clerkship of the merchant tailors. The letters and proceedings on the occasion are minuted in the companies' books under the

* Grocers' Comp. p. 88.

† "After our hartie commendac'ons: whereas, we are gyven to understande, by Clement Cornewall, a member of y^r^ company, that about eight yeres nowe paste, at a courte holden in y^r^ hall, before the then m^r^, wardens, and assistants of the same company, for dyverse good and reasonable causes the same moving, there was graunte made of a lease unto the said Clement of the houses wherein he dwelled and had contynued by the space of fifty yeres paste, scituate in the Olde Jury of London; and of a corner house, and two tenements adjoining, appertayning to yo^r^ said company, for the terme of fifty yeres. Sithe w^ch.^ tyme, by reason of certen title as well thereunto as of other of y^r^ landes p'tended, ye have caused the said houses, amongst others, to be conveyed to thre p'sons of y^r^ said company, who of late have charged the company of the p'misses graunted to the said Clement, not only to his great trouble and vexac'on of mynde, being a very aged man, and greatly charged w^th.^ many young children, and therefore the lesse able to travayle therein; but also to his great hindrance and losse, for that he alledgeth he hath bestowed diverse so'mes of mony thereupon at sondry tymes. These are therefore to desire and pray you to permytte the said Clement and his

year 1571. The latter state letters to have been received from the following eminent persons, on behalf of the candidates whose names are attached.

The 1st letter:	From the Earl of Leicester and the Earl of Sussex	In favour of Henry Evans.
2d do.	From the Earl of Bedford and Sir Henry Sidney	In favour of James Chillester.
3d do.	From Mr. Serj. Manwood, in favour of Mr. Wood.	

And also other letters from different distinguished persons, in favour of nine more candidates.

Finding themselves thus circumstanced, and fearing to offend, the assistants displayed much *tact*. Dudley, Earl of Leicester, one of the interceders, was known to be a formidable man, and to rule the queen, and it was their interest to oblige him. They caused answers to be returned to all the applicants that the election was postponed, directly appointed Evans, and notified to the Earl of Sussex, as the sentiment and decision of the company, "that a clerk was elected before the receipt of the letter in behalf of Evans; that the list of the candidates previously to the election had been reduced to two, and that Evans was one of those two, and was the successful one."

In 1574, a further correspondence took place between Lord Burleigh and the merchant tailors, on a similar business. The company owned the ancient mansion of Sir John Percival, in Lombard street, and in which that eminent citizen, Sir Thomas Offley, and Sir William Harper, (who were all merchant tailors and lord mayors, between 1498 and 1561,) had kept their mayoralties. This mansion, which was commonly called "the great house in Lombard-street," continued to be inhabited by Lady Harper after her husband's death, whose lease, at the above date, was near expiring. It shows the control exercised by government over the companies at this time; that persons wanting favors of them scarcely ever applied in such cases direct to the companies; but, if they had court influence,

assignes to injoye the p'misses according to the grant to him thereof made, and the rather at this our request. In doing whereof you shall gyve us cause to doe you the like pleasure, if occasion shall serve. And thus fare you heartily well. From the Courte."

The Court of the Ironmongers evaded this request by saying, as the point in question had been referred to the three persons mentioned, they "had not therein to deale."—Lond. Red. ii. 62.

instructed some great person to interfere for them. Lady Harper procured Lord Burleigh to write, in order to obtain low terms for her on this occasion. The company offered her a new lease for 21 years at an additional rent of only 10*l.*, but the lady wanted it at less. Lord Burleigh wrote again, and was again humbly replied to by the company. They determined, after further negociation, not to sacrifice their premises, finding their tenant would come to no terms, and attempted to eject her. Matters were coming to extremity, but were prevented by the lord mayor (Hawes,) who, having learnt from court that such a contempt of the lord treasurer's authority might be attended with serious consequences, wrote himself, to advise the wardens to compromise. They gave Lady Harper 66*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* to quit possession, and afterwards let the house to Richard Offley, son of Sir Thomas, for the 21 years, at 13*l.* 6*s.* a year more rent, and 410*l.* fine. These premises were long esteemed the most valuable part of this companies' estates.

In both the above instances the queen's name was not used. In 1579, the ironmongers have a letter written by Elizabeth herself, recommending, or rather *commanding*, the grant of a new lease of some of that company's premises to a William Sparke. It scarcely need be added, that the company yielded immediate compliance. In the merchant tailors' books repeated entries occur of the like meddling with the affairs of that company during the remainder of this reign. As 1589: when we find mention of "Sir Francis Walsingham's letter for the reversion of the clerkship of the company in favour of Henry Foster;" 1593, of a precept to that company, "to certify their yearly expence at their quarter dinner, to the end that the same might be employed towards the relief of those who were infected with the plague;" in 1594, of "a letter from Lord Morley, on behalf of his chaplain, Mr. Parker, that he might succeed to the living of St. Martin Outwich;" and in 1602, of "a letter from her *majesty*, directed to the lord mayor and to this company, in favor of Mr. Thomas Lovell's having their house in Fenchurch street," (and of which a lease was granted to him in consequence.)

The same company's books, in the reigns of James and Charles, afford still stronger instances of the like unconstitutional interference.

In 1612, a letter is stated to have been read from "the Lady Elizabeth, the king's daughter, recommending one John Ward to the cook's place, if it should become vacant, by the death or resignation of John Beaumont, the present holder." And, a few days after, another from Prince Henry, "in behalf of Arthur Ingram, esq." This gentleman wished an extension of term of his house in Fenchurch street for 35 years, so as to make a 60 years' lease. The court granted the request on account of the prince being free of the company, but conditionally that Ingram should pay the old rent of 25*l.* together with a fine of 600*l.* by instalments of 10*l.* a year, and that as long as he lived he should present the master for the time, annually, with a brace of bucks, to keep the election-feast with.

In 1622 an attempt was made, and directly from the crown, to get the reversion of the clerkship of the company. The King, Prince Henry, the Princess Elizabeth, and the great George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, all condescended to become suitors on this occasion. The correspondence which took place affords a fine picture of court intrigue, and of the admirable management of the company to defeat it, and will be found in the note.*

* The first letter was recieved from Sir George Calwert, (dated Whitehall, 3d of March, 1621,) and recommends, on behalf of his majesty, one Lawrence Lowndes. It concludes—

"Nevertheless his majestie would have you to understand, that what is said of you herein is not to make this a *prudical* (precedent) for others, but merely out of his princely grace unto the party in particular."

A verbal answer was returned to Sir George Calvert, by the master and wardens, stating "that by their duties they could not repeal former orders for the restraint of any reversion for the clerk's place of this society." And the question was afterwards put to hands, whether that order should be repealed or not; but "*all* held up for further confirmation."

(May 16.) A second letter was sent from Sir George Calvert as follows:

"After our hearty commendations: It is not long since that his majesty, out of a gracious respect, was pleased to recommend one L. Lownes to your society as a p'son fit to do you service in the office of chief clerk of your hall. And I was com'anded to let you know with what earnestness his ma^tie. desired the furtherance and promotion of the said L. Lownes, esteeming him worthy of your choice, and promising par'larly to requite yo^r acceptance of him when occasion sho^d be offered, with this proviso, that it ought to be no precedent for others to expect the like hereafter. But as it seems the letter which his majestie did expressly charge me to write unto you carr^d no weight w^th. some of yo^r company, and, tho' you shewed no cause to except ag'st him, yet you returned a plain refusal both to him and his majestie's recommend^n; in this behalf I am therefore to give you notice what little satisfac'on his ma^tie. hath therein received, and how ill you were advised to pronounce a denial ag't him.

"No doubt divers of yo^r company exceeding well knowing the reasonableness

The other companies were annoyed with precisely similar applications at this time, which it appears travelled the whole round of these fraternities. In December, 1622, the grocers had no less than six suitors for their vacant cook's place: all well recommended. The lord mayor commended *his* cook to their court as being very sufficient in his profession, of an honest and civil behaviour, "and requested for his sake they would take consideration of his suite." He was opposed by the cook of Sir Humphrey Handford, knt., one of the sheriffs, who procured the same Sir George Calvert, by his *majesty's* command, to write in his behalf, recommending him as "singularly skilful in his profession;" also as known to the late Queen Anne [of Denmark,] and as having been for sometime, in consequence, in his majesty's own service. The only two candidates permitted to go to the ballot were the above; and the election was conducted with all the zeal and manœuvres which would have lately attended that of a member of parliament.

of his majestie's commands, were contented to give way unto it, which hath caused his ma^tie. to be the more sensible of the backwardness of the rest in particular.

"These are therefore in his ma^tys. name, to will that you take it once more into considerac'on, and notwithstanding your order, (which you make and may revoke at yo^r pleasure,) that you do confer the said place upon him when it shall fall next in yo^r disposing, either by death or otherwise; and in the interim, that you grant him a reversion thereof, wherein he may be sufficiently enabled to be the next successor therein; and in so doing you will express yo^r dutiful readiness to give his majestie all content. And as his majestie will have the greater cause to take notice of your affection towards him, and will not be wanting to gratify you in particular when you shall have trial of his princely favour, so likewise, on the contrary, his ma^tie. cannot best take it in all part to be neglected and denied in a business of so small moment.

"And so I rest yo^r very loving friend,

"GEORGE CALVERT."

In consequence of the above letter, a court was specially summoned on the 24th of the same month, when it was agreed to go to the *ballotting box*, notwithstanding their former determination on the subject.

Mr. George Wynne, a member, and brother-in-law to Sir George Calvert, was afterwards requested by the court to see Sir George, and persuade him to intercede with his majesty that they may not be further pressed for the grant of reversion of their clerk's place; and the matter seems to have lain for a time in abeyance.

In the September of 1624, Sir Edward Conway, another officer of the royal household, revived it, by sending two letters, recommending Lowndes afresh to their notice. The first contains the following passage:

"His majestie was then informed that you made the principal difficulty by reason that the place was then possessed, but had a dutifull inclination to satisfy his majestie when it should fall into yo^r gift. His ma^tie. keeping the same mind of Lowndes as to his fitness, continues his gracious recommendation of him, not intending to entrenche upon yo^r liberties, or dare it to example, *but will take it thankfully*, and acknowledge it in all yo^r occasions, if you satisfy him in this his request."

Charles principally confined himself to an interference with the companies' property and church patronage. A letter from him to the grocers, in 1636, announces his having conferred the vicarage of Plymouth on Dr. Wilson, who was incumbent of their church of St. Stephen's, Walbroke, and is accompanied by a request for them to keep their vacant living open for a successor to be named by the king. The company determined there should be no nomination till the rectory became void. The king afterwards notified the appointment of Dr. Howell as one of his own chaplains; but finding, on enquiry, that the doctor would not promise to reside on his London living, if elected, except during the winter, they put a second candidate in nomination with him. The company, after much intriguing on the part of the crown, and as determined a vindication of their rights, on behalf of themselves, chose their own candidate, Mr. Saxby. The king expressed himself much displeased, and Mr. Saxby, hearing of it, tendered his resignation. This was accepted by the grocers,

In the second the writer says: "You state that it was contrary to the rules of your livery to grant a reversion of the place; but when it fell void you would submit it to his majes$^{ty's}$ good pleasure; *his majesty being now informed that your present clerk is dropping ill, and not likely to recover,* has desired me to say that he expects you will keep yourself free from promise for any other, and that your livery give his ma$^{tie.}$ a due account, according to yo^{r} promise, when the place shall fall void. I make this addition of my *own*, to let you know that Mr. Lowndes has some good friends near the king, that will be ready to acquaint his majestie with any favor that shall be done him, and will not conceal or pass over any neglect, but use enforcement on either hand, as there shall be cause. And I will join with them to his majestie that may be for your advantage, and procure his good acceptance."

The poor clerk appears to have died whilst the contention was going on for his place, and must have been scarce cold (for it was only two days afterwards) when the following letter was received from the Duke of Buckingham:

"14th Sept. 1624: Whereas your clerk is latelie dead, I have thought fit to recommend one L. Lowndes, who is free of your company, &c. Dated Haveringham."

The above letters were read; and, to give them greater effect, a Mr Cawdell or Caldwell, a gentleman-usher of the Prince of Wales, was introduced to the court, to make his highness desire also that they should choose Lowndes for their chief clerk. Mr. Caldwell was requested to withdraw for a short time, whilst the company considered *what they should say;* and they having debated the matter, Mr. Caldwell was called in, and received for answer: "The court did with all due deference receive the prince's highness' message, and did propose to take such care in their proceedings as would be pleasing to his highness. "*And* immediately on his departure, a member of the court was named to wait on Sir Edward Conway, secretary of state, with the petition of the company to his majesty 'that they might have their former privilege of election of clerk to themselves.'"

In this petition (which purported to be that of the master warden and assistants,) they acknowledge the receipt of two letters in behalf of Laurence Lownes, for the

with the grant to him of a "benevolence of 20*l.*;" and the place being thus again vacant, they admitted the royal candinate, Dr. Howell;—at the same time, declaring such admission to have been by the *free* and unanimous consent of the whole court. "We may fairly say," adds the authority from which we quote our account,* "that the whole of this transaction affords a striking specimen of the unconstitutional exercise of power in the crown at this period."

The merchant tailors finally extinguished the arbitrary custom of royal interference,by an order, dated February 12, 1650, to the effect that, their court finding how various persons, when suitors for alms or situations which fall vacant, are in the habit of procuring eminent men to *interfere* in their behalf, by speaking, by recommendatory letters, and by other means, which were formally disallowed, and always disliked by this court, as tending to prejudice and forestall their own free election of such as themselves might wish to serve; do resolve, that whatsoever person shall in future become a suitor for an almshouse, place, or pension, and shall procure any

clerkship, and then proceed to state, "that by ancient charters from several kings, and which had been confirmed by his present majesty, sundry grants and privileges were allowed to them, and amongst the rest to chuse their own officers. That of all their officers the place of chief clerk to them was the one of greatest consequence, on account of the great information he was enabled to give as to their various gifts and charities;" and they conclude, "we do therefore pray that his majestie will be pleased to grant us the same indulgence of free elections to ourselves as heretofore." Sir Edward Conway was pleased to move his majestie" on the subject of this petition, and who returned the following answer:

"*Whitehall, Sept.* 24, 1624.

"His majestie believing the m^r^. and ward^ns^. of the Merch^t^. Taylors Company, that they made no larger answer to the former letters than they here specify, and that they will permit Lownes in case of an election, contents himself with their answer, and will not break through their privileges. "E. Conway."

Sir Edward undertook moreover "to satisfy the prince's highness and the Duke of Buckingham in the said matter of Lownes."

And now came on the election.

It was commenced by a second letter from the prince, brought by Mr. Caldwell, in behalf of the favorite Lowndes, in part of which is introduced these words:

"And now his highness being informed you are to proceed to election, hath sent me again, to let you understand, that he can receive no answer from you to his content *but the choice of Mr. Lownes*, a brother to his highness's servant, and whom he hath recommended to you for his sake."

It would be too long to give the whole of this correspondence. The issue was, that the company, with every pretence of paying the utmost deference to the king's recommendation, contrived so to manage that they put in their own candidate.

* Account of Grocers' Comp. 100—102.

person to apply to the court for such, or that shall bring any nobleman's letters in the like behalf, otherwise than as certificates of good behaviour, such person, in every such case, shall be held to be incapable of whatever favour he may apply for."

The history of Elizabeth's reign, as connected with the companies, is nearly all comprised in the preceding ample account of the precepts which emanated from her government. Strype mentions an endeavour being made, in 1575, to obtain an act of parliament, that no person should exercise any other trade than what he was apprenticed to. "The bill," he says, "was drawn up, and entitled 'A bill prohibiting the exercise of any art or mystery saving to such as have been apprentice to the same;' or to prohibit that any person of one art or mystery shall intermeddle with the art or mystery of others. It set forth how in the 37th of King Edward III. it was enacted, that artificers and men of mysteries should hold themselves to one mystery, and that none should use the mystery or trade of others, but that which he had chosen. And in the parliament holden in the fifth year of Queen Elizabeth, it was enacted that, after the first of May then next ensuing, it should not be lawful for any other than such as did then lawfully use or exercise any art, mystery, or manual occupation, except he was brought up therein seven years; nor to set any person at work in such mystery, except he should have been an apprentice, as aforesaid."*

The rage for incorporation, in consequence of the monopoly

* Strype's Stow, ii. p. 339.—"The city offered to the lord treasurer a paper, shewing, that it appeared by ancient records that several companies in London were incorporated, as well for the good government of their companies, and to see that true and perfect wares were made and sold in the realm, as to punish the disordered persons, and banish the deceitful and corrupt wares; at which time every several company might occupy no other trade but that whereunto the person was an apprentice; which order kept the foreign commodities at far lower prices than at the present they were, and yet the stuff and wares better made than now they were: that ignorance was a great occasion of making and maintaining evil and corrupt wares, and also of enhancing and raising up the prices of foreign commodities: that if every man occupied his own trade, those abuses might easily be espied, and ordered, either by the governor of the corporations, or by some other device made by her majesty and the honourable council: that there were in London, of several companies, far greater numbers that retailed silks than there were free of the mercers; and therefore no good order could be kept." And they repeat the circumstance, already noticed, of Brembre having disfranchised and fined several persons for changing their mysteries, in the reign of Richard II.—Ibid. 339.

here endeavoured to be perpetrated, is satirically remarked on by the same author, in speaking afterwards of the separation of the bowyers from the fletchers. Bows and arrows were both manufactured by one company at a time when they were actually in great use; but, in the reign of Elizabeth, when they had become almost wholly superseded by musquetry, these manufacturers got themselves formed into two corporations: "notwithstanding that I see small reason," says he, "of sundering bows from arrows, or arrows from bows; yet, because they have divided themselves into two several companies, let the fault be on their own heads, for as I find them, so I leave them."* A more ludicrous proof of the monopolous principle upon which these incorporations were then sought, is given in the instance of the painters' stainers. This company, under its original name of Painters, has been noticed amongst those which existed in the reign of Edward III. From this time, till 1575, it continued, as the above writer tells us, "a brotherhood and a company, but no *incorporation;* paying scot and lot, and all kinds of charges in the queen's affairs, and otherwise, as in time of war; charged with the setting forth of 12 soldiers, and all their furniture, yet having neither lands, revenues, nor any riches to discharge the same; but only levied among the brethren of the company, every man according to his ability."†

The fraternity, under these circumstances, petitioned to be incorporated, which was only just; but the cloven foot was shewn, in a prohibition which they wished to get embodied in their charter. It was, that they might have power to restrain "all persons from painting pictures of the queen, noblemen, and others, as well as all other manner of paintings," unless such persons had served a seven years' apprenticeship to their company; and for the absurd reason, that such works "shewed fair to the sight, but were not *substantially* wrought." Elizabeth, who possessed the portraits of Sir Antonio Moore, Hilliard, and other high names, it can hardly be conceived, would have done other than laugh at this petition; but it seems not to have been presented; for, upon asking the ad-

* Strype's Stow, ii. 217.

† Ibid. ii. 301.

vice of the lord mayor and aldermen, they honestly answered, "that they had no judgment or skill in the science to discern such fraudulent workmanship from what was *substantial* and good;" which caused the prohibition to be omitted. One cannot help reflecting, that had Vandyke lived in this age of absurd restriction, his "fair-looking works," for want of being "*substantially* wrought," might never have delighted posterity!

The Stuart reigns have been in part anticipated by the preceding mention of them, but were, in other respects, productive of important alterations. James incorporated no less than fifteen new companies,* notwithstanding the strongly expressed opinion of the public against creating more of these monopolies. He also effected great changes in many of the old ones, by tranferring the elective franchise from the "communitas" to the courts of the companies he chartered, as will be presently shown, thereby rendering the latter, which had previously only existed by prescription and sufferance, legal and perpetual.

The reign of Charles, and the Civil wars, are well known for their disastrous effects. No part of the nation felt these evils more than the livery companies. During an interval of 26 years, commencing with the troubles of that monarch, in 1640, till the fire of London, in 1666, which was the consummation of their miseries, the history of these societies is one of intolerable exaction, spoliation, and calamity. Charles's first demand on the City was in 1640, and for the sum of 20,000*l.* on account of the danger he found himself in from disputes with his parliament, and the discontents manifested by the Scots.†

* Viz. curriers, plumbers, founders, fruiterers, scriveners, brown-bakers, woolmongers, turners, apothecaries, silk-throwers, felt-makers, shipwrights, bowyers, and tobacco-pipe makers.

† The letter from the king and his peers, *(according to a copy preserved* amongst the merchant tailors' records,) was dated from York, and under the great seal. It states, in substance, that it is the king's intention to hold a parliament at Westminster on the 3d of the following November. It speaks of the discontents of his people, and also of a union with Scotland, which it is said would be the means of defending the kingdom from all invasions and spoils of the enemy: that the lords appointed by his majesty were to meet those of Scotland on the then Tuesday next, at Ripon, to take in account the state of Newcastle. Other points noticed are, the miserable condition of Northumberland and Durham, and the safety of the great county of York; the necessity that the king should not disband his forces, but keep them together, in hopes of the treaty mentioned. The king commends to his parliament a firm peace or just war; certifies that his treasure is exhausted, and

The companies were severally assessed by precept to contribute to this amount, and paid their respective quotas; but not without strong opposition from some of them. The ironmongers, in particular, had several meetings of their court upon it, and resolutely refused to contribute towards more than 50,000*l.* of the sum.* In 1641, (July 16,) a fresh precept commanded the names of all persons to be returned who had been masters or wardens, or who had fined for those offices; and of the livery, yeomanry, and freemen of each company; as also all who had fined for aldermen or sheriffs, and the residences of the whole. All these persons were summoned to attend their different companies on the 21st of the same month, to pay the monies they were assessed at each, according to act of parliament: they appear to have done it very unwillingly, for we find them hastened by another precept, dated the 24th. It states that 40,000*l.* must be paid by the next Wednesday at farthest, "for the most important affaires of this kingdome," and orders that the former precept should be duly executed, and the money forthwith paid to the commissioners. The proportion collected on this occasion from the ironmongers was from 10*l.* to 15*l.* each, on those who had

that he is in consequence unprovided for so long a time as till the parliament can meet and settle on some course to be taken; that the English forces ought not be disbanded until those of Scotland were so; that it is necessary for his majesty to be supplied with 200,000*l.* as well for continuing his forces together as dismissing them, least on their return his majesty's subjects might feel those sundry inconveniences that soldiers sent away unsatisfied are apt to occasion. The letter concludes: "We are persuaded that the City of London is able to grant this sum to his majesty, and that all hearts are united;" and adds, "these arguments we doubt not you will seriously consider, and our affectionate request is, that you be not failing at this time to his majesty; and for this purpose we have deputed Lords Henry Earl of Manchester, lord privy seal; William Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery, lord chamberlain of his majesty's household; John Earl of Clare, Edward Viscount Campden, Thomas Lord Coventry, George Lord Goring, &c. the members of this great council, who will enter into security with the officers of his ma^ties. revenue for the repayment of the money lent, and offer to join in their own personal security in addition; they foreseeing that the disbanding of his majesty's army may be the absolute loss of all those adjoining counties, and endanger the whole kingdom; the only means to prevent which will be a loan from the City of the aforesaid sum of 200,000*l.* Then follows a long list of names signing the letter, all of them peers.

* The precept sent to the companies on the occasion, as copied in their books, is as follows: "Your companye's proportion of money allotted to be lent (amongst other the companyes of this Cittie,) unto his ma^tie. is the some of 2000*l.* and if you be not already satisfied herein concerning the security offered for repayment thereof, or any other matter concerning this business, you may be pleased forthwith to repaire unto me, and you shall receive further satisfaction.—Henry Garwaie, mayor."

fined for master; 6*l.* 18*s.* 4*d.* on the office of warden; from each liveryman 5*l.*, and from each freeman 3*l.*

1642, (June 7th.) Parliament sent a message to the City, thanking the citizens for their former loans, and asking a further supply of 100,000*l.* for one year, at 8*l.* per cent. and the interest to be regularly paid into the chamber of the City. The professed motive for this loan was the relief and preservation of Ireland; its covert one, to strengthen parliament against the king. The message was taken into consideration at a common-hall convened for the purpose at Guildhall, which voted the sum most freely and with great alacrity; "and precepts were again addressed to the companies." The merchant tailors were assessed at 5,000*l.* and the grocers at the enormous sum of 9000*l.*: the latter company raised the money on their seal, by individual loans from the members. The ironmongers on this occasion paid their share (3,400*l.*) by absolute compulsion, having previously disputed the right of a common-hall to bind the companies.

In 1643, the whole of the companies' halls were compelled to make periodical payments in aid of the parliamentary struggle against the king: the ironmongers' hall was assessed, on the occasion, at 9*l.* 10*s.* per week for four months, and those of the other companies according to their several proportions. In August, the same year, there was a fresh demand on the City (founded on the danger of the approach of the royal army towards London,) for a loan of 50,000*l.* which parliament wished to borrow at 8*l.* per cent. The precept sent to the ironmongers claimed 1700*l.* as their share of the assessment. These repeated demands astounded the whole of the companies. The one last named, "upon reading the letter, tooke into their serious consideracion the contents thereof, and withall their owne sadd condicion, having formerly lent to divers lords and to the parliament, for relief of Ireland, the some of 5100*l.* for w^ch^ they pay interest, whereby they are disabled and impoverished, soe that they cannot finde any meanes to satisfy his lo^pp's^ desire." The grocers were equally dispirited on receipt of the demand made against them, and "entering into a sad and serious consideration of the miserable distractions and calamities of this kingdom, threatning the ruin thereof by sickness and famine, the certain attendants of an

unnatural and bloody warre, which nowe reigneth in this kingdome," and resolved to discard all conviviality, ordered that their election for the year should be omitted.

To furnish the loans thus arbitrarily and rapidly levied on them, the individuals of the companies had at this time not only impoverished themselves, but all the fraternities were obliged to sell or pawn their plate. What was more distressing, no returns, as promised, could be gotten either from the king or parliament, both parties being equally faithless, or equally incapable. In several cases, none of the members would attend summonses, knowing they were only to obtain money. The fellowship of these societies, which had formerly been highly paid for as a privilege, became a curse: men sought to detach themselves from them, and the heads of companies found it impossible to assemble a court without heavy fines on absenteeism. On one of these occasions, the Ironmongers' Company, who seem to have stood out against these exactions more pertinaciously than the rest, after having made several evasions, were summoned by the parliamentary committee to haberdashers' hall, (where that body then met,) when they were informed 'that their situation was not singular, for other companies, equally deranged in their affairs, had paid the sums levied on them.' Upon this, their court resolved to borrow 400*l.* and endeavour to evade paying the remainder: but in vain; for the commissioners told them, at the next meeting, "that the money was to preserve their liberties, their lives, and the *Gospel of Jesus Christ*, which was more deare than all the rest." After this solemn information, the assistants attempted to borrow 1300*l.*, 'but no man belonging to the hall would lend, pleading their individual weighty taxes as an excuse;' and the company were finally obliged to sell all their plate.

Not contented with extracting their money from the companies, we find these same commissioners, or another set similarly appointed, and of kindred feelings, dismantling their halls. Those decorations of a religious nature which had been spared at the Reformation, and amidst all the spoliations of Elizabeth's reign, came now to be looked upon as superstitious. An entry in the merchant tailors' court books, dated July 3, 1643, states complaint to have been made, "that in the com-

panies' *hangings for the hall* there are offensive and superstitious pictures." These pictures, or hangings, have been noticed as representing the history of St. John Baptist. The court directed the master and wardens to "view the same, and take order for reform, if there was any excess;" but they either would not see, or were loth to alter; for another order occurs nearly a twelvemonth afterwards, as "to defacing some of the superstitious pictures in the hangings in the upper end of the hall, and such other things as concern the same." They are eventually noticed as being "defaced."

It would be too much lengthening this part of our account to go further into the exactions and oppressions inflicted on the companies, during the Civil wars and Interregnum. We shall fill up the interval between the time we are speaking of, and the Restoration, with some slight notices only, from the excellently preserved records of the merchant tailors, and in the miscellaneous way and language we have received our extracts. They will afford to the intelligent reader, in many respects, a better key to the government proceedings of this day than more prolix details.

"1645 (March 11.) Ordered that the sum of 40*l.*, assessed upon this company by virtue of an ordinance of parliament of the 20th of February, 1644, towards maintaining the Scottish forces under the earl of Leven, be paid, being for four months, ending 11th of July last."

At the same court, it "was moved on the part of the stewards who provided the thanksgiving dinner, for the taking of Chester, and other victories of the parliament forces, to be allowed towards the said dinner the accustomed charge appointed to former stewards." The court agreed that 3*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* should be allowed, "and to be always allowed in future."

"1647. The companies' debt, for money borrowed by government, is stated at this date to amount to 24,731*l.* 8*s.* 2*d.*, or with interest, to the sum of 26,488*l.* 3*s.* 4*d.* From this they afterwards received in payment 1756*l.* 15*s.* 2*d.*, leaving a balance due to them on the 25th of March this same year, of 24,731*l.* 8*s.* 2*d.* as above."

The determination to take away the king's life, after his various imprisonments, having rendered it necessary to fill the metropolis with troops, the halls of the companies, in

common with the churches, and all other places, were turned into barracks. This company, who, it will be seen, possessed a peculiar interest on the occasion, had petitioned general Fairfax to be freed from this nuisance; and we find the circumstances connected with it thus noticed:

"1648 (January 2.) This day was read a warrant under the hand and seal of General Fairfax, for the freeing of the house from being soldiers quarters, now stationed in and near the city." The general's warrant is curious: "Whereas inconvenience has been represented to me to fall out in case any soldiers are quartered at Merchant Tailors' Hall, and there being very many poor belonging to that company, these are to require you, on sight thereof, to forbeare to quarter either horse or foot in the said hall; and hereof you are to be observant, as you will answer for the contrary. Given under my hand and seal, in Queen street, the 28th Decemb^r 1648, THO. FAIRFAX." Directed "To the Quarter-master, Centinels, and other officers whom it may concern." This favour (we believe nearly unique) so delighted the company, that an assembly of the members was purposely called to consider "of some gratification to Mr. Grosvener, the quarter-master-general *being a member of this company*," (and the individual who procured the above protection,) when it was ordered "that 20*l.* should be given to him for his respect to the company, and 10*s.* to the man who brought the protection."

1650 (August 25.) It was ordered, "that the new arms for this STATE and COMMONWEALTH of England and Ireland be provided by this court against the next lord mayor's day, as the City and other companies have done."*

* The above resolution was the consequence of the following precept, which had been previously sent to the merchant tailors and the other companies:

"Council of State: Information having been directed to me on the 3d instant, that in several churches, common halls of companies, and other public places, there still remain the arms and pictures of the late king, and which have been ordered to be taken away, I am directed to give order that the same be forthwith destroyed, as per the following: 'These, in the names of the Keepers of the Liberties of England, by authority of Parliament, are to require the churchwardens of the several parishes, and masters and wardens and other officers of the city, to cause the said pictures and arms to be removed and destroyed, and to send forth a certificate thereof.' Tho. Andrews, Mayor." The certificate of destruction, returned by the company to the said mayor, Thomas Andrews, was in these words: "in obedience to your precept 11th instant, we, the masters, &c. subscribed, do certify that we have caused to be taken down and destroyed the arms and pictures of the late king, which did remain in the common hall or other public places of our house. John Stone, Master."

Subsequently to the annihilation of the royal authority, or between that and the Protectorate, the city became the grand focus of the parliamentary government, as is abundantly testified by the numerous tracts and other records of the period. Guildhall was a second House of Commons, an auxiliary senate, and the companies' halls the meeting-places of those branches of it denominated committees. All the "*Mercuries*" or newspapers of the day abound with notices of the occupation of the companies' premises by these committees. Goldsmiths' hall was their bank, haberdashers' hall their court for adjustment of claims, clothworkers' hall for sequestration, and all the other halls of the great companies were offices for the transaction of other government business. Weavers' hall might properly be denominated their Exchequer. From this place parliament was accustomed to issue bills, about and before 1652, in the nature of our exchequer bills, and which were commonly known under the name of "weavers' hall bills."

The newspaper entitled "Severall Proceedings in Parliament," under the date 16 Dec. 1652, speaks of reports being made to the House touching these *weavers' hall bills*, when it was determined to have an act for regulating their dates of payment. A few days afterwards the form of this act is printed, from which it appears that 400,000*l.* was secured to several advancers by ordinance of parliament, in 1647, to be repaid out of the Grand Excise; and when measures were also taken for repaying the sum with 8*l.* per cent. interest. Mr. Heath, in his excellent Account of the Grocers' Company, to which we have been so much indebted, adds, from the records of that influential fraternity, the following notices under this particular year, and which most importantly connect themselves with the history and constitution of the companies at the period we are speaking of.

"1652. A special committee, entitled 'the Committee of Corporations,' was appointed by the parliament." It is not easy to determine with precision the object of this appointment, but it appears they were instructed to ascertain the validity of the charters of the different corporate bodies existing; as we find that, Dec. 1, that year, the grocers' charter was called for by them. The wardens were directed by the court to proceed with caution, to take the original and a copy

with them, and to endeavour to leave the latter, "but not the originall, unless peremptorily required." A proposal for confirming and renewing the charter appears to have followed this interview; for, on the 15th of the same month, it was ordered that 'the business concerning the renewing of this company's charter be left entirely to the discretion of the wardens, to propound such alterations and additions therein for the future privilege and advantage of this company, if they shall see occasion.' Cromwell, who assumed the protectorate in 1653, is stated to have granted the company (grocers) the charter by which they were empowered to make bye-laws for their own government; and amongst other privileges, it conferred upon them the power of levying a fine of 30*l.* on a member at his admission.

The companies took a conspicuous part in the rejoicings and festivities to celebrate the Restoration. The grand display made by the city on the coronation procession of the exiled monarch, and in which these societies so importantly contributed to the splendour of the scene, will be found minutely described in Ogilvy's "Arches of Triumph." All the trade societies which could afford it, on this glad event, bespoke the favour of the monarch by rich gifts, and, where less able, by affectionate congratulations. The king condescended to visit several of their halls, and feast with them; and that he might not be behindhand with his predecessors, Edward III. and Henry VII., he enrolled himself a brother of the Grocers' Company, in conjunction with the Duke of York. We shall see that this loyalty was thrown away. Charles was scarcely established on the throne, when he cast the same longing eyes at the wealth of the companies, (fleeced although they had been,) which produced so much unconstitutional interference in his sire and grandsire, James and Charles. Nor did he rest till, more successful than they, he brought the whole of them under complete subjection to the crown, through the operation of the quo-warranto. His first attempt was by passing an act, in his second year, "for well-governing and regulating corporations," and under pretence of which all freedom of action was soon destroyed. The grocers' books contain the following entry, as to its effects; and similar ones are to be found in those of the other companies.

"Agreed that Mr. John Owen, one of the late wardens of the company of grocers, Sir Stephen White, Richard Waring, esq., Thomas Gowar, esq., and Matthew Sheppard, esq., late assistants of the said company, being lately displaced by the said company of and from the said places, and all other places of trust or other employments relating to or concerning the government of the city of London, shall not henceforth sit in the said court of assistants in any affairs of the said company for time to come; and the master and wardens of this company are to see this order accordingly performed." These persons had in some way rendered themselves inimical to the crown, and, being members of the company, they were thus obliged to expel them.

The London Gazette of November 18, 1665, has the following notice of a fine new ship, which the corporation and companies, notwithstanding these infringements of their liberties, built and furnished, for the purpose of presenting to government. "This Saturday my lord major and the rest of the remanent aldermen went to Deptford to see their new ship the 'Loyal London,' and in what fitness she is; their care having been to provide and pay money from time to time to satisfie her workmen, and found her so forward, that she seems only to want anchors and some of her last furniture." A scheme for compelling each of the great companies to fit out a vessel, not for war, like this, but trading, had been many years before suggested to the government, but did not take effect. An account of it will be found in the note.*

The Fire of London, which took place the following

* One Thomas Barnaby, merchant, in King Edward VIth's days, urged to some great lord of the court the vast usefulness of shipping to this island, of which at that time there was a great deficiency. And, for the promoting of shipping, he advised this way—that every company of the City should provide and send out one ship at least, laden with the commodities proper to their own trade or manufacture, which might considerably advance navigation in this realm, and the riches also of such society. "There be, said he, so many rich halls, that may spend 800*l.*, some 600*l.*, some less, and some more, yearly. And great revenues come to them yearly for quarterages and forfeits, which rise to no small sum; and nothing done withal, but making great feasts every month or six weeks at their halls, and causing victuals to be dear; but it might be turned to a more honourable use; also, it would be a great maintaining to the king's subjects, for every craft to have a ship to carry their merchandizes to and fro, to the great advancement of the king's honour, and to their own commodities. And, if chance should fall, which God forbid, that a ship should be lost, the halls might easily bear the smarts thereof."—Strype's Stow, II, 292.

year, appears to have particularly directed its fury against the halls of the companies, which, it must be admitted, were favorably situated for the purpose, being mostly in the very heart of the City. Those of the leathersellers, pinners, and a few others, without the range of the conflagration, escaped, but all the rest, constituting the most numerous and elegant class of public buildings then in the metropolis, perished. All the books of all the companies abound with details of this calamity. It melted their plate, burnt their records, and laid their City premises, from which they chiefly drew their income, in ashes; and, to crown their calamities, they found themselves overwhelmed with a load of debt, (the consequence of the compulsory loans they had been subjected to,) and which they had now no means left of paying.

The merchant tailors' books point out the course pursued by that and most of the other companies under this infliction. The first object was to secure their melted plate, of which the greater societies had possessed vast quantities; and next, to take an account of their losses and capabilities. As early as the 20th of September, (1666,) only seventeen days after the commencement of the fire, it was ordered, at a court of that company, specially summoned for the occasion, that "the master and wardens, Messrs. Newel, Church, Mellish, Wallis, and White, or any three of them, do view the company's plate that is melted in the late dreadful fire, and do treat with Mr. Taylor, at the Tower, or any other person, about the refining of the same to the best advantage. They at the same time took into consideration the loss they had sustained by the fire; and ordered, "on account of the company's house being burned," that all persons who received 6*s.* 8*d.* and 2*s.* 6*d.* quarterly, and were chosen by the wardens' substitutes, and paid from the stock of the society, should be no longer paid their pensions, except those that were in great want." The grocers, on the 9th of November, the same year, received the particulars from their wardens "of the company's plate melted in the hall, in the late violent and destructive fire, and of the melted parcels taken up and put together, with the company's urgent occasions for a supply of money;" when it was ordered "that the same plate (amounting to 200lb. weight of metal) should be sold and disposed of to the best advantage and

benefit of the company." They had also a schedule of the company's houses and rents, as they existed before the fire, read to them; and "in regard of the shortness of the days, the distance of divers persons abodes, and the danger and troublesomeness of going in the dark amongst the ruins, not then allowing them time for debate and determination," agreed to meet weekly. Both companies seem to have possessed an equal desire to re-erect their destroyed premises. The committee of the grocers, for this purpose, continued their sittings till the November of 1667, passing that interval in "considering the interests of the company's tenants, and their applications for new leases." The merchant tailors, in like manner, ordered their committees "to agree with the company's tenants whose houses were burned, either by addition of years or otherwise, as they should think fit, for rebuilding their several houses, and to continue a committee to meet weekly on the same day and hour, for better dispatch; and what such committee should do the court would approve of."

By the like sort of extraordinary exertion, by subscriptions and collections amongst themselves, and by the donations of their wealthier members, some of them to great amount, the whole of the companies, notwithstanding this accumulation of misfortunes, had their halls rebuilt in two or three years, and, generally, in a superior manner to what they were before; their houses and premises also, by granting advantageous leases to the tenants, in conformity with the resolutions mentioned, arose every where again with the new metropolis. As early as 1670, we find the old order of things quite restored, and the companies started on a new course of prosperity.—In the pursuit of this we shall awhile leave them, to continue our review of their general state, under the altered circumstances in which time had now placed them.

The manners of the companies, it scarcely need be observed, must have much changed during the lapse of nearly two centuries. By the new charters of James, the ancient mode of election by the commonalty was superseded; and in all instances where such charters were obtained, the courts were thenceforward made self-elective. They ordain that, out of those fraternities, there shall be constituted a certain number of persons, to be named *assistants*, who shall be aiding and

assisting to the master and wardens, and that the master and wardens, or any two of them, shall have power when they please to call a court of the same master, wardens, and assistants, to the number of twelve or more, (including such master and wardens,) who shall govern and make ordinances for the company." The persons composing the first courts are named and constituted for life, unless on reasonable cause shown to the contrary, and are empowered, they and their successors (exclusively), to elect and nominate for ever afterwards all future masters and wardens from amongst themselves; no person being allowed to be on the court who had not previously served master or warden.* Elections from this time have in all these newly-chartered companies been privately made a short time before the feast, the new master and wardens being only introduced and proclaimed at the general assembly as the principals chosen for the ensuing year. This first election is called the "*private election.*" In Slack v. the Drapers' Company, (8vo. London, 1804,) Mr. Smith, the clerk, states "the master and wardens of that company to have been from time to time annually elected and chosen on the first Monday in August, by the master, wardens, and court of assistants, by and under the authority of a charter granted to the company by King James I.; that the court held in pursuance thereof for choosing master and wardens had always been called, in common parlance, the '*private election;*' that on the Thursday subsequently to the first Monday in every August an entertainment was made, the summoning of members to which is matter of courtesy and not of right; that it was usual after dinner on the day of the entertainment, with

* The charters embodying the constitution of the companies were regularly confirmed every new reign until after Elizabeth, by what are termed *Inspeximuses*, or fresh charters, professing to have seen those which had preceded. They recite the back charters as far as to the original grant, which they give at length, noticing all the way such additional privileges as have been conferred by succeeding monarchs, and then ratify and confirm, if unobjectionable, the whole of them. Almost all the companies' charters were so confirmed by Elizabeth, who was the last sovereign to whom these original grants were presented for that purpose. James I. granted a series of entire new charters to *nine* out of the Twelve Companies, viz. the grocers, drapers, fishmongers, skinners, haberdashers, salters, ironmongers, vintners, and clothworkers, (exclusively of those which he granted to the minor companies.) The merchant tailors, who had been re-incorporated by Henry VII.; and the mercers and goldsmiths, who seem to have preferred their ancient incorporations, never applied for these new grants, or do not now possess them.

certain ceremonies of honor to the person elected, for the clerk of the said company publicly to notify and declare aloud to the persons then assembled at the said entertainment the name of the person who had on the preceding Monday been elected master, and the names of the persons who had on the preceding Monday been elected wardens for the year ensuing, and that the said entertainment was, in common parlance, called the ELECTION DINNER, but that no election or choice whatever had been made on that day."*

With the charters of King James a new form of OATH was introduced, and which was administered to both freemen and liverymen. It was in substance, as to *freemen*, to be true to the king and to the company, to obey the summons of the master and wardens, to be obedient to the same at all times, unless there was reasonable excuse to the contrary, to keep the lawful secrets of the mystery, "not to conceal frorayne [non freemen] usinge the fraternity's handycraft or merchandize, nor to cover any such under their own franchise;" and to take no such foreigner, or other than of the mystery, journeyman, or who had not served seven years' apprenticeship within the city. The *liverymen*, exclusively of the above, were sworn to be good and true brothers of the fraternity whereof they were then admitted *full brothers;* "to come to quarter-days and other assemblies for the worship and profit of the fraternity when thereunto lawfully named; not to withdraw themselves, being in good health and within the city, from the feast kept yearly at the common hall of the fraternity in order to avoid the charge of becoming master; to preserve a moral and seemly conduct; and finally, to obey the lawful acts and ordinances of the fraternity."

The old ORDINANCES were remodelled† to suit the genius

* The custom of Private Election, or as it was called "Secret Election," is mentioned in the merchant tailors' books as early as 1569, as having taken place before the general meeting. It is said at this time to have taken place at the nomination of the master and wardens, and that afterwards "the same was solemnly put in execution before certain eminent persons. In the instance quoted those persons were the Right Honourable Sir Thomas Roe, knight, lord maior; the High and Mighty Prince Duke of Norfolk, the Earl of Arundell, Duke of Leinster, and other great personages."

† The merchant tailors' records mention that company's ordinances to have been laid before the Lord Chancellor on the 23d of January, 1612; and that their clerk informed the court that it was the advice of the city recorder "he should be presented with some remembrance for the better finishing of that

of the charters, being in most respects an echo of the oaths, and it is but fair to say that they were certainly ameliorated. Most of their milder provisions, however, would be thought despotical in the present age: they perpetuate their several monopolies with the most jealous care, particularly as to the exclusion of "foreigners," and all who had not served apprenticeships to the mystery, and their right of trade-search, in order to detect such, in case of their finding them so employed; they enforce a peculiar style of dress in their members, exact the strictest obedience to the masters, enjoin attendance on pageants, and payment of dues, under the heaviest penalties, and generally inculcate the most slavish subjection. The ordinances of the merchant tailors, which we shall quote in illustration, commence with declaring—

That every brother, on being duly summoned, shall be present with the master and wardens, "in his whole liverie or otherwise, at such place, times, and hower assigned reasonable, bee it for any noble triumph, for the kinge's highness, his noble yssue, or other great estates, concerning the honour of the kinge and this his realm, or els his own quarter daye's assembly, or anye reasonable cause;" excusing such brother only in case he had "byn maior, alderman, or sheriff of the cittie of London." They continue the absurd sumptuary regulations we have been describing: — After observing, as to this point, that "where many young men, householders, and many other covenant servauntes, having little substance or none, usinge the handycrafts of taylore," did "take vppon them to weare costlie apparell and garmentes of the newest fashion, and of such stuff as exceedeth theire degrees to weare or use," they ordain that "none under the obeysance of the master and wardens, and sworne vnto all the good and lawfull rules and ordynaunces of the fraternity," shall thenceforth take on him "to vse or weare anie costlie arraye garmentes and apparell," other than what shall "bee decent and fitt for his degree and callinge, and such as a cittizen and merchantman ought to have," and as to which the judgment of the master was to be the law.*

business." The court, it is added, agreed thereon "to attend the recorder to intreat him to *move* his lordship in their suit, and at the same time to present him withten double sufferants (sovereigns) in gold."

* This company's books contain numerous entertaining entries of fines for

Disrespect to the court, as the first sign of insubordination, was severely punished: "Any person of the mystery presumptuouslie, obstinatelye, rudely, and without reverence," speaking "unseemlie wordes," rebuking and reviling another, or otherwise misbehaving himself against any person of that, or any other mystery, in any matter before the master and wardens, "whether it were within the common hall, or without in anie other place in open audience within the precincts of the cittie," was to be fined according to the nature of the offence and the ability of the party.*

Every man of the company was ordained in future to bear charge in "all manner cessings (assessments), prests, costs, contributions, impositions, and all other charges appertain-

breach of the sumptuary regulations. 1574. We find "Robert Maltby committed to prison "for that he came to this house (hall) in a cloke of pepadore, a pair of hose lined with taffity, and a shirt edged with silver, contrary to the ordinances." Near the same date, Thomas Elliott, another member, is enjoined "to pay to this house a fine for wearing a cloke in this house contrary to the ordinances." And it was at the same time ordered, in conformity with such ordinances, "as to those who should consider themselves in their apparell and array," that a fine should be inflicted on any person, a member of the company, who should wear any dress or apparell which should be above his station in life." In 1575, one Swaynson is warned in like manner respecting his dress, "he having on apparell not fit for his abilities to wear;" and is ordered to be fined if he does not reform.

* This and the succeeding articles of the ordinances are all elucidated by entries, showing in like manner their operation. In 1586, John Swinnerton (afterwards Sir John Swinnerton, and lord mayor,) is said to have been committed, by order of the court, for "impertinence" to them, and is only liberated on making submission. A similar punishment was inflicted for insulting or striking each other, and especially when aggravated by happening in the presence of the court. In 1562 is a long account of the trouble brought on one William Kimpton, a member, for having, contrary to the ordinances, and in the presence of the master and wardens, called Stephen Misney, "a brother of this mystery, *a crafty boy.*" For this misdemeanor Kimpton was sentenced to pay a fine of 40*s.*, which not being prepared with, he is stated to have left in pawne with the said master a ring of gold for payment. In consequence of coming forward with this pledge and making submission, his fine is afterwards mitigated to half. Similar pledges seem to have been frequent in case of fines. The next year, (1563) William Hector is credited in the accounts for having also "delivered in pledge for his fine of 40*s.* a ring of gold, for calling Thomas Wylford "*a prating boy.*" In 1568 we find one Miles Gilbert committed to prison, for that he, in the presence of the master and wardens, openly in the street, struck and drew blood of Lwys Lloyd, a brother of this mystery, contrary to the ordinances. The year 1581 contains a long account of the offence and punishment of a member named Offley, "for making rash and unseemly speeches, and striking Mr. Phillips in the face, a grave father, and late a member of this house." In a similar case in 1583, the court, besides fining the aggressor 20*s.*, obliged him to write the plaintiff the following apology: "I know I have offended you, and not used myself well towards you in speaking such evil words against you, I am sorry for them from the bottom of my heart, and do ask you heartily forgiveness for the same. I pray you forgive me, for they were uttered by me in color, both rudely, rashly, and unadvisedly. I pray that we may be friends, and so continue."

ing to the worshipp, benefitt, or creditt of the same misterie."

Refusal "to bear and keep the office and room of master, after being indifferentlie named and elected by the master and wardens," with the advice and consent of the assistants, late masters, "agreeably to the ould auncient rules and laudable customs aforetyme used;" and the person so elected wilfully refusing complience, was subjected to a fine of 100*l.* for the use of the fraternity, "without anie redemption, and never afterwards to be admitted into the said room, reasonable cause excepted." Minor penalties were inflicted for refusing to serve the office of warden.*

The minor points in the new ordinances chiefly respected the regulation of apprentices and servants, and are similar in effect to the very ancient ordinances already given, but somewhat altered in circumstances and language with the change of times. No person of the mystery was to hire himself to a person of another mystery where greater wages were offered, "all fraude, guile, and male engyne sett aside." No member was to take a covenant servant, either born in the city or of another mystery, to inform and learn him the "handycraft or occupation of this mystery," nor "by collor or covin to receive reward for instructions secretly given for that purpose, unless such learner should be bound and inrolled as an apprentice. No member was to suffer his appentice or servant "to buy and sell to his own use, or that of persons of other mysteries;" such practice, it is said, having brought masters "to an after deale and sore damage." Controversies between the livery and their apprentices were to be settled in the old way, before the master at the common hall. The original and dangerous power of distress for nonpayment of dues (exercised by the weavers' gild near the Conquest) was retained. "If anie member," says the article as to this point, "of his

* 1613. One Robinson is fined for not serving renter-warden. This cause was brought before the lord mayor by summons, "when his lords'p in a mild speech informed the defendant, that if mildness of persuasion would not do, justice must follow. He then required him to enter into a recognizance in 100*l.*, and on refusal committed him to Newgate till he complied. On the following 3d of November the Merchant Tailors' court again appointed Robinson to the same office, who still refused to either pay or serve; but ultimately being persuaded by his friends, he consented to pay a fine of 50*l.* by two instalments within the year, which the court agreed to accept.

froward disposition or otherwise refuse to pay quarterage, penalties, arrearages, or other amerciaments, the master and wardens, with their officers, shall have power at lawful times to enter such member's shop, and distrain for the same." The proceeds in this case were to be applied to the use of the fellowship, twelve days being allowed for redeeming such distress before sale, and, if sold, the surplus to be returned to the party.

Officers continued nearly stationary both in name and employment. The clergyman of the company seems to have been the only one whose duties were materially changed by the Reformation; when the daily singing of mass, and services for the dead, gave way to religious celebrations suited to the genius of Protestantism. He prayed on public days for the prosperity of the fraternity. An entry in the merchant tailors' books, under the year 1645, states the names of the livery to have been then called over, according to ancient custom, after which "in reverend manner prayer was made by the chaplain, and, some of the ordinances of the hall being openly read, preparation was made for dinner." The custom in this company of the chaplain saying "a commendable grace" for deceased brothers, has been mentioned under the head "Funerals." He, besides, preached before the companies at their several churches, where they had a portion of the church reserved, as we particularly find to be the case with the merchant tailors, who, at their church of St. Martin Outwich, had a gallery expressly erected for themselves, and besides accommodated their friends, the Skinners' Company, with sittings in the church. In like manner, the fishmongers had an aisle set apart for them in the church of St. Michael, Crooked lane. Besides these duties, we find mention made, in 1566, of "common prayer on court-days, according to the laudable custom of this land."*

* The prayer used on those occasions, which is long, but a very good one, is recorded in the company's book, under the year 1566, and concludes in the following excellent manner: "Good Lord, keep this noble city of London, and defend it from grievous plagues and contagious sickness, that we may often in brotherly and true love assemble and meet together to thy glory and our mutual comfort in Christ Jesus; and, merciful Father, bless this *society and brotherhood*, and be present with us in all our assemblies and councils, that we may use them to thy glory and the discharge of our duties. Bless and direct by thy Holy Spirit all our actions and endeavours, and give us grace faithfully and honestly to discharge

In matters of ceremonial, or, what we have termed the observances of the companies, time had made great alterations at the period we have arrived at. Elections, during the whole of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, were preceded by the religious rite of going to the company's church, as in the Catholic era, but a sermon substituted for mass. The grocers, immediately that the accession of Elizabeth had changed the old faith, proceeded, previously to their election, to their church of St. Stephen, Coleman street, "to heare divine service," and attended there the following day at "a solemne sermon," after which they took the sacrament. The feast had increased in splendor, and improved in the delicacy of its food, but had lost other attractions.* Sisters disappeared as members of the fraternities early in the seventeenth century. We find them noticed in the drapers' charter, in the 5th of James I., but no mention of them is made in the reign of Charles I. In other respects various changes had also taken place: the sideboards were richer in plate; organs had succeeded shalmes and shugbusses in the concert, and boys reciting Latin verses, the song of the "Minstrel," and the "Clarke's play;" sovereigns honored the board, and both themselves and heirs condescended to be elected members. The

the trust reposed in us, as well for our good friends and brethren deceased, as any other way belonging to us, to the glory of thy holy name, and peaceful comforts of our own souls, and good example and incitement of others."

* The custom of selecting two or three individuals from the livery to act as stewards, for providing the dinners and superintending the general arrangements, prevailed from the first establishment of the Grocers' Company (and no doubt with others,) till within the last century; but at the time we are speaking of the arrangements required a special superintendance. In the seventeenth century the account of the Grocers' Company states the office with that society to have been one of considerable responsibility and some expense, as, it is said, appears from a fine being levied on any individual wishing to be excused from serving: the amount, it continues, was varied from 10 to 30*l.* according to circumstances. The stewards were held responsible for the fitness as well as the sufficiency of the provisions, as is manifest from a complaint inserted in the journals against Messrs. Randal, Parris, and Hammerston, stewards, for a dinner given on the 5th of November. A complaint was made of the "scantiness of the provisions, unfitting wine, and disrespectful carriage, unbecoming the due observance and entertainment of the company;" a vote of censure was passed by the company; and a fine ordered, the amount of which was to be fixed by the master and wardens. A few days afterwards, one of the stewards, Mr. Parris, "appeared in court to excuse himself from any share in the late miscarriage," and, after pleading inexperience in such matters, charged the fault of the wine upon the abuse of the vintner whom Mr. Hammerston had employed. The plea was of no avail; and, as the whole of the arrangements appear to have given general dissatisfaction, he was mulcted, as well as his colleagues."

elections of James I. as a clothworker, and his son Prince Henry, as a merchant tailor, are instances; as are subsequently those of Charles II. and William III. as grocers. The election ceremony itself, which has been already described, had little varied. A few miscellaneous specimens of it in later times are given below from the merchant tailors' records, and from those of the ironmongers and skinners. The ceremonies in all the other companies were nearly similar.*

The style of the companies' pageants had began to vary considerably from the ancient usage about the beginning of the

* In 1562, the dinner of the Batchelors' Company is said to have been "rabbits stewed, geese roasted, fresh sturgeon, and custard."

1565. The new warden is stated to be sworn in, in the absence of the master elect, and the master elect to be confirmed by the old master delivering the *garland* and cup of ipocras solemnly at the election time to the lord mayor, (who was present at the ceremony,) for and in the name of the new master.

1573. A fuller description is given of the manner in which the election of master and wardens was conducted. First, four persons are named for wardens. Then they chose fourth warden; the third next, (who are called '*renter-wardens*,') and then the court proceeds to elect first and second wardens.

The election is said to have been made by the clerk, first beginning with the youngest assistant, and so up to the old master. "Then they go to the youngest warden, and so to the rest, and after the wardens to the youngest and last master, and so upwards till they come to the master elect; the clerk reading the names, and every one making his mark or tick against the one he wishes to be master. In case of an equal number of ticks, the master pricks again. The master is elected in a similar manner to the wardens; and if there be but two named for the election as master, and that the new master is chosen only by the *tick* of the old master and wardens, all others being put aside," there is added in a N. B. "This is called the SECRET ELECTION, and is generally made in the *Great Parlour*."

The *publication* of the secret election is said to have been made afterwards in the *hall*, where a grand entertainment was given to the fraternity. "After dinner they pay their 'brotherhood money' to the master, and then every one drinketh a cup of ipocras, and departeth."

1585 (June 25.) The election of master and wardens this year was ordered to be kept in the *Batchelors' Chamber*, on the 12th of July, with a sermon at church, and the same election to be made with spiced bread, wine, beer and ale, with one or two gallons of ypocras. They to be chosen with their *garlands*, according to the old custom, after their return from church. The whole expense was to be at the charge of the company.

1605. The allowance for the election dinner was raised from 80*l.* to 100*l.* "on condition of the new master keeping his three quarter-days, and also his election day. And at quarter-days to invite the wives of aldermen of the company, the old masters, and the present master's and wardens' wives."

Malcolm transcribed from the Ironmongers' records, of 1565, the following long minute of the electing master and wardens of that company. First, it is agreed at this court, that the two wardens, at the dinner (at such time as the master shall be sworn in,) shall rise to go out, and then shall come in with the garland for the master only, in the chief warden's hands, with the minstrels before them and the beadle, and, making their obeisance to the master, shall deliver him the same garland; and there shall remain, and attend the master, till the master hath assayed the garland upon the heads of such of the most worshipful as he shall think meet. And then the master to receive it again, and set it on his own head. And then the wardens to depart, the garland remaining still on the old master's

reign of Queen Elizabeth,* and continued altering and improving in splendor until the fire of London, at which period, and for a few years afterwards, they had reached their acme. However childish, and in a few instances ridiculous, some of them may seem in the present intellectual age, which threatens to bring us all to the plainness of Quakers, it will be seen in others that occasionally much taste and ingenuity were exercised ; and that in almost all, particularly the latter spectacles, an excess of magnificence was displayed, which, if sights had not gone quite out of fashion with us, would draw crowds

head. And immediately the wardens to come in again, with the beadle and minstrels before them, either of them having his garland upon his head, and one to bear a cup before the chief warden, and to go once about the house; and, after obeisance made, the chief warden to take the cup, and deliver it to the old master. And then the master to take off the garland from his head, and set it on the new master's head. And then the master to take the cup and drink to the new master; and, after that, the warden (after due reverence) to depart to assay their garlands, as they shall think meet; and then to go out, and to come in again, with the minstrels and beadle before them, with their garlands on their heads, and either of them having his cup brought before him, and to go twice about the house ; and then the chief old warden to go and set the garland upon the new chief warden's head; and to take his cup, and drink to him, and so to deliver the same cup to him. And likewise the younger warden to set his garland upon the other new warden's head, &c."

"The garlands," he says, "are like the heraldic wreath, except that they are made of red velvet, and have pieces of silver fastened on them, engraved with the company's arms." He adds, "This day of ceremony, and the dinner accompanying it, was altered at the above date, from the *Sunday* after Trinity Sunday to the *Monday* following, when the householders were to attend at the hall in their best liveries, to go in procession to church, there to offer at the altar."

With the Skinners' Company *caps* of maintenance are used instead of wreaths or garlands ; which are "assayed upon the heads of the most worshipfull" of the company assembled, and being, after several similar ceremonies of going round, &c. found only to fit those who are agreed on for the new master and wardens, the latter are drank to, and receive the compliments and acclamations of all present. The drinking cups used on this occasion by the master and two wardens are concealed in three large silver cocks or birds, which are introduced, previously to the ceremony, with great form ; and being unscrewed, are found to be filled with wine : the procession includes a certain number of blue-coat boys, the company's almsmen, livery, trumpeters, &c. all of whom are clothed in their best dresses.

* Sir John Shaa, in 1501, was the first mayor who caused the aldermen to accompany him on horseback to the water side, to take barge for Westminster. The manner is afterwards detailed in "the Order observed by the lord maior, aldermen, and sheriffs," for wearing their Apparel, &c. printed by Day, in 1568. From this it appears, that the aldermen and sheriffs, after riding to Guildhall in their scarlet gowns furred, to meet the new lord mayor, proceeded in the same manner to the Vine Tree, to take barge to Westminster; and that, having performed the usual ceremonies there, they returned by land to Guildhall to dinner, the mayor and aldermen on horseback, and the City companies (all of whom accompanied them,) on foot. The show is more particularly described in Smith's "Brieffe Description of the Royall Citie of London," 1575. It states the lord mayor's barge to have been garnished with the City arms, and to have been accompanied by one of the queen's ship-boats, "trimmed up and rigged like a ship of war, with divers pieces of ordinance, standards, pennons, and targets of the proper arms of the said mayor, of his company, and of the merchant-adventurers, or

even now, aye, and crowned heads among them too, as they once did. We need only mention, as an instance, the "Maiden Chariot," as it was called, which formed part of the pageant of the Mercers' Company. This splendid piece of machinery, Elhanah Settle tells us, was twenty-two feet high, entirely covered with silver embossed work, carried upwards of twenty superbly dressed characters, and was drawn by nine white Flanders horses, three abreast, in rich trappings of silver and white feathers, each mounted by an allegorical personage, and the whole accompanied by more than one hundred attendants.

The setting out of what was called "the Midsummer watch," we should have noticed earlier, as properly belonging to the more ancient class of the companies' shows already mentioned, but shall describe it here. This was, as we have seen, "in the Order of the companies for the *Marching Watch*," a ceremony of established use in the 6th of Edward IV.,* and similar directions appear to have been regularly given every succeeding reign. Stow gives a splendid account of this pageant in the reign of Henry VIII., which monarch came purposely with his queen into the City to view it. We shall

of the staple, or of the company of the new trades;" that before the mayor there sailed the barge of his own company's livery, then the bachelors' barge, and then the barges of all the other companies in their order; that they returned by water as far as Paul's wharf, where they landed, and the mayor and aldermen again mounted their horses, and other parts of the show joining, the whole proceeded in great pomp to Guildhall. The order of the procession at this date, and its nature, is described thus: 1st, two great standards of the City's and lord mayor's companies' arms; 2d, two drums and a flute; then a city ensign, and then 70 or 80 poor men in pairs, in blue gowns, with red sleeves and caps, each one bearing a pike and a target, with the arms of the former chief city magistrates of the mayor's company; 3d, two banners of the royal arms and the mayor's, followed by a set of hautboys playing, and then whifflers or young freemen of the company, in velvet coats and gold chains, and bearing white staves. These preceded the *first and only pageant* shown at this date, which was called "THE PAGEANT OF TRIUMPH," and was always allegorical of the office of magistracy. The succeeding part of the procession, which was very long and splendid, consisted (in order) of trumpeters, with the mayor's banners, whifflers as before, the bachelors in pairs in long gowns and crimson satin hoods, to the amount of 60 or 100, trumpeters, city drum and fife, ensign of the mayor's company, city waits in blue gowns, red sleeves and caps, and with silver collars; the livery of the lord mayor's company in long gowns, with their hoods parted black and red, over their left shoulders, sheriffs, mayors, and city officers, sword bearer, wearing the cap of maintenance and holding the pearl sword, and mace-bearer by his side with the gilt mace; the mayor, in scarlet, hood of black velvet, and *collar* of SS; old lord mayor, similarly dressed, but with gold *chain* only, aldermen (including recorder) in scarlet, those who had been mayors having gold chains and black velvet tippets; last, the two sheriffs, in their black scarlet gowns and gold chains.

* See *ante*, p. 101.

not again repeat his account, which has been often copied, but merely observe, that the Marching Watch was a grand sort of annual military muster of the citizens, embodying all the companies, for the purpose of forming a regular guard for the City during the ensuing year. The emulation for magnificence on this occasion created an expense so great and detrimental that Henry VIII. prohibited the show, and confined the citizens to the merely serviceable and efficient object of the assembling. It was afterwards revived on a more economical plan, and continued under the name of the "Standing Watch," till the force was finally superseded by the City Trained Bands, now the Artillery Company.

To furnish machinery for this and other pageants which were anciently exhibited on similar occasions, artificers were regularly kept by the City at Leadenhall, the place from which they always set out. The like custom was also common in other places, many of the accounts of whose pageants are preserved. Some of these provincial spectacles certainly appear to have been poor enough, but the contemporary ones in the metropolis we may suppose were more splendid.*

Strutt (Sports and Pastimes,) quotes from the Harl. MSS. various particulars relative to setting out the Midsummer Watch at Chester in 1564, when a municipal ordinance there ordained that the pageant, "according to ancient custome," should consist of "four giants, one unicorn, one dromedary, one luce (lucern,) one camel, one ass, one dragon, six hobby-horses, and sixteen naked boys." And on a revival of the custom, at the restoration of Charles II., he notices a curious calculation of costs for getting up the like pageant (all the things for which were obliged to be new made, "by reason the ould modells were all broken:") The materials and workmanship of four great giants, 'all to be new made, and as neere as might be like as they were before,' the computist states, at the least, would cost five pounds a giant; and four men to carry them, two shillings and sixpence each. The materials for the composition of these monsters are afterwards

* The London companies also contributed their several articles of pageantry characteristic of their several trades. The grocers' records notice a payment, in 1505, "for serteyn costes and charges don vpon a pageant for the maire at Midsomer," meaning for this "watch."

stated to be "hoops of various magnitudes, deal boards, nails, pasteboards, scaleboard, paper of various sorts, with buckrum, size, cloth, and old sheets for their bodies, sleeves, and shirts, which were to be coloured; also tinselle, tinfoil, gold and silver leaf, and colours of various kinds, with glue and paste in abundance." These materials are all well known for similar constructions by the "property-makers" of our great theatres, but who, infinitely excelling in skill and cost, produce, in the grander stage pageants, machinery and figures to which it is probable the above were the mere shadow of a shade. One article in the bill of charge of this Chester shew is noticed as remarkable for its ludicrousness; it is "for arsnick to put into the paste to save the giants from being eaten by the rats."

Exclusively of the several companies' proportion of men for the watch, on its revival in Elizabeth's reign, we learn, from precepts and entries in their records and those of the City, that each had to furnish a certain quantity of arms, and also bearers of lights, as substitutes for the lantern afterwards adopted by our watchmen, and which were called "cresset lights." In 1567, the merchant tailors' books state that company to have provided "at the muster and show, on Midsummer eve, 12 persons with comely cressets, with good sufficient lights for the same, 2 cresset-bearers, 1 bag-bearer, to bear cresset lights, with straw hats upon their heads having the company's arms, on the assembling at Leadenhall." And in 1585 they were again called upon by precept to furnish the like number.* These cresset lights are mentioned by an early dramatic writer; also quoted by Strutt, as general accompaniments of public rejoicings:

> "Let nothing that's magnifical,
> Or that may tend to London's graceful state,
> Be unperformed, as showes and solemne feastes,
> *Watches* in armour, triumphs, *cresset lights*,
> Bonefires, belles, and peals of ordinaunce,
> And pleasure. See that plaies be published,
> Mai-games and maskes, with mirthe and minstralsie,
> Pageants and school-feastes, beares and puppet-plaies."

* *Form of precept for the standing watch.* "There shall be a standing watch in the city on the eve of St. John the Baptist. And these are to command you for that service, that you have 12 cresset-bearers, and a convenient number of bag-bearers, with sufficient lights for that night; every one of them having a

The *Lord Mayor's Show*, as exhibited with all the increased splendor we have alluded to, was the king of City sights.—To the simple procession of minstrels, whom we have seen with the companies' beadle on horseback, first succeeded spectacles on the water, chiefly in the nature of sham fights, with a few allegorical characters on land, who sang or recited complimentary verses. Malcolm, from the ironmongers records, describes nearly the earliest of these improved pageants, and which took place at the inauguration of Sir William Draper, ironmonger, in 1566. It was arranged and written by J. Tailer, of Westminster, and was without any scenic representation; but there was, he says, "a foist or barge, with 10 pair of oars and masts;* whether," he continues, "they were furnished with sails for the flags, does not appear." However, the queen's arms flowed from the main-top, and a flag of "the red crosse" from the fore-top; to each of which were added long pendants; and "*two* auncients for the pope (poop) or baste." The last-mentioned flags were not displayed, as at present, from fixed staffs, but held by men termed 'auncient bearers for the foiste.' This vessel had her master and gunner, 'and squibs sufficient for the tyme, with all things well paynted and trymmed accordingly, with 20 pavases,' and 2 half-barrels of 'gunpowder on board; so that, with her guns and squibs, she must have made a most formidable man of war.†

In 1568, on Sir Thomas Roe, merchant tailor, being elected mayor, the company (as was the custom) vote him 40*l.* from

straw hat, with creset lights; together with some officers of your company, to go to Cree Church by 7 at night on the said eve, there to stand," &c.—*City Records.*

* A "foyst" was a galley or small vessel, with fireworks, usually exhibited on lord mayor's day on the water. *Foist*, a barge or pinnace, from *fuste*,[1] Dutch and French:

"Yet one day in the year, for sweet 'tis voic'd,
And that is when it is the lord *mayor's foist.*"
B. Jon. Epig. 134. *On the Famous Voyage*, p. 267.

"These are things that will not strike their topsails, and to a *foist.*—*Philaster*, v. p. 165.

[1] So called in Vischer's View of London, where it is shewn; and also in various other old Thames views.

† Londinium Redivivum, ii. p. 43-7. In the Grocers' Pageant, at Sir John Frederick's inauguration, 1661, there was a large ship or vessel, "rigged and manned," which at its head had Galatea, a sea nymph, drawn in a sea-chariot by dolphins, and who was accompanied by syrens, tritons, sea-lions, &c. These, at the lord mayor's going by water, saluted him on the river, near the Temple, and were, against his return, "conveyed through Paul's Church-yard into Cheapside, where they made a stand near St. Lawrence lane."

their treasury. The master and three wardens are appointed to attend him, and also other of the company, to see the tables at Guildhall, for the feast, properly arranged and covered. Sixteen of "the Batchelors' Company" are ordered also to attend there, to carry up the service to table, and others to be in waiting for different purposes.

The pageant, in appropriate honour of the company's patron saint, John Baptist, consisted of an allegorical representation of the saint, and other similar personages, amongst whom were four boys, who spoke complimentary speeches, allusive to the name of the mayor. Saint John's speech begins:

ST. JOHN.—"I am that Voyce in Wilderness, w'ich ones the Jewes did calle."

1*st* BOY.—"Behold the ROE, the swift in chace."

Sir Walstan Dixie, skinner, and mayor, (1581,) is the first whose printed pageant is noticed by Strype. It displayed a slender allusion to the company he belonged to, in having the procession headed by a character representing "a Moor," who was mounted on a "lucern."

The other allegorical personages (as was usual for sometime afterwards,) consisted chiefly of children and females, and represented London, the Thames, the Country, the Soldier, Sailor, Nymphs, &c., as also, Magnanimity, Loyalty, and other virtues, all of which latter were, of course, ascribed to the new lord mayor.

Sir Thomas Middleton, grocer, and mayor in 1613, was nearly the first who attempted an emblematical and scenic representation of his company, in a water spectacle, consisting (in imitation of the pageant mentioned to have been exhibited by Sir John Wells to Henry VI.*) of "five islands, artfully garnished with all manner of Indian fruit trees, drugges, spiceries, and the like; the middle island having a faire castle especially beautified:" the latter probably allusive to the newly-established East India Company's forts, and whose adventures had contributed so much to enlarge the sphere of the grocers' trade.

The lord mayors' shows from the above period until 1708, when this species of pageantry was finally discontinued, derived their principal splendor from the great Livery Companies, and

* See *ante*, pp. 93-4.

assumed a style at once characteristic and dramatic. Poets were engaged to compose what were called "projects," that is, arrangements of scenes, with characters, song, and dialogue, descriptive of the company of the lord mayor elect. These compositions, after receiving the aid of the painter, mechanist, and dress-maker, were exhibited on moveable stages, (former exhibitions having been stationary,) and the printed accounts of them now form that rare species of tract denominated "Lord Mayors' Pageants." The company to which the new lord mayor belonged always furnished at its own cost the whole of the scenic representations, with the actors, and which were what might be termed "the lions of the show." The music to the processions consisted of the king's trumpeters and the City Waits; on the water it was chiefly "drumes and pfiffes." The companies' almsmen "in gownes, coats, and cappes," bore the banners and streamers, accompanied by their own beadles, and "the beadles of the four hospitals," who wore "long cappes with ribbons;" whifflers, in velvet coats and gold chains, marched with white staves; marshalmen, porters to carry or move the pageants, javelinmen, "auneyent bearers," and "trishers with long swordes," or combatants for the foiste, constituted the bulk of the menials in the processions; the batchelors, liverymen, new and old lord mayors, aldermen, the sheriffs and members of the corporation of London, with the city officers, and visitors of rank, composed the more splendid part of the cavalcade.

The foiste and its attendant galley, with the companies' state barges, were the great attractions on the water, unless where they were eclipsed by aquatic pageants like Middleton's. To give effect to this part of the show, small guns called "peales," or "chambers," kept firing salutes from the shore, while on board the most tremendous cannonading was kept up, and characters drest like wild men threw abroad squibs and crackers. The foiste and galley in 1617, when alderman Bolles, another member of the Grocers' Company, was made mayor, with the men, powder, shot, and other necessaries, are said, in the account of expenses, to have cost 32*l.* 10*s.*; the "foreman or *grene* man" had a benevolence of 10*s.* over his agreement; "six score chambers," and twice firing them off, cost 31*l.* and 26*l.* 11*s.* was paid for thirty-two of the king's trumpeters, with a boy to sound in the ship,

and which are said to have been present in this part of the show "in the accustomed manner."

In the same account of expenses we have several other curious hints as to the shows of the period, and the manner of getting them up and managing them.

The companies appear to have furnished themselves with a regular series of requisites for their pageants, towards the latter end of Elizabeth's reign. The larger articles, as just mentioned, were hung up in the roofs of their halls for fresh occasions; the smaller ones were stored in what was called "the Pageant Chamber." In the show of Sir John Lemon, fishmonger, and mayor, 1616, the cumbrous machines, as it will be seen, were suspended in Fishmongers' Hall, while we find the grocers, as above, paying 11*s.* "to the workmen for setting up the beastes [that drew the pageant] in the Pageant Chamber, over the *entry* into the hall." The merchant tailors mention, in their long list of paraphernalia, in the reign of James, banners and streamers of the king's arms, of the City, of "the companies' antient arms," (possibly when they were linen armourers,) of "the late queen's arms," and of the companies' then arms, together with the arms of Sir Robert Lewisham, and Sir Leonard Halliday, lord mayors of the company; also, "one large streamer of the companies' arms, on a green ground; two on a blue ground, two long streamers with a green ground, one with a red ground, and one with a yellow ground;" one "antient merchant tailors' arms," 50 trumpet banners, and "pavises and pennons," with the king's, the city's, and Sir Leonard Halliday's arms, and "100 small scutcheons, with various arms painted and gilded upon them."

The repairing or new making of these articles was done at Leadenhall, where the whole were made ready. The grocers, whose show on the above occasion included pageants of "a chariott, island, castle, and shipp," are said to have forwarded some of their articles there from their own hall, and others from Gresham house, and to have paid 3*s.* 3*d.* for "forty-nine dozen of large staff torches, ten and a half dozen of small ones, and five and a half dozen of links, to light the pageant and other shewes," [which had been so repaired,] "from Leadenhall, over night, to Carter-lane, and other appointed places." A dinner was prepared on Lord Mayor's Day for the numerous children characters at Black-

well-hall, and the porters there paid "for watching the pageant and shewes," whilst they ate it. To allow the pageants to pass through Cheapside the larger signs were removed, and the posts at St. Paul's taken up, that they might enter the churchyard; as we find by payments for "setting up the signs again," and for "taking upp of the spurres at St. Paule's, and for setting them againe, and for paving and gravell."

The most curious part of the land procession, at lord mayor's show, near this time, was the sort of character called above "firemen or grene men," and in the coronation pageant of Ann Boleyn, "monstrous and terrible *wild men*." These were fellows habited like savages in hairy dresses, partly covered with green leaves, who marched before the procession, flourishing large clubs to keep off the mob, and who were assisted by others, whimsically attired, and disguised with droll masks, having large staves or clubs, headed with cases of crackers. A print in Strutt's Sports and Pastimes contains representations of a green man, ("or wodehouse," as he is sometimes called,) from Bates' Book of Fireworks, published in 1635, and of the wild men, which we copy in the succeeding vignette—as clearing the way for an approaching pageant.

Four of these characters were the usual number employed; but in the mercers' mayoralty procession, (1681,) no less than 20 wild and green men are said to have preceded the grand "Maiden Chariot."

The most classically arranged pageants consisted of five principal pieces, or machines, viz.: 1. A triumphal temple, with appropriate characters, flanked by persons riding on the animals, which formed the company's supporters, who bore shields or banners of their arms; or perhaps, of a triumphal chariot, as above, drawn by the like animals, their supporters, carrying either the company's patron saint, or an allegorical personage representing LONDON, as the seat of sovereignty, in either case with numerous proper attendants. 2. A throne or scene, with allegorical personages, alluding to the British monarchy and kingdoms, comprising poetical characters complimentary of the reigning monarch's virtues. 3. An allegorical representation of the origin of the company's trade, or of their patron saint. 4. The principal pageant, called "The Pageant of Trade," "The Factory of Commerce," or more frequently "The Company's Pageant," (from its being a direct emblematical representation of the company's trade in all its various branches:) and 5, a scene allusive to the benefits or riches procured by such trade, under the name of "The Palace of Pleasure," or of "Riches," "The Arbour of Delights," and other names. There were frequent variations from this arrangement both as to the order and number of scenes, but the above seems to have been the style of those best conducted.

"The Trade Pageants," which were principal objects, were some of them very ingenious. We shall only notice a few of them in this place, reserving the rest for the separate accounts of the Companies.

The Ironmongers, in 1629, at the swearing-in of their mayor, exhibited, as their trade pageant, a representation of "Lemnion's Forge, with Vulcan, the smith of Lemnos, at work, surrounded by his servants, in black hair, waistcoats, and *leather aprons*. A fire blazed in the furnace, lightnings flashed, thunders rolled; and at intervals harsh music and songs sounded praises to iron, the anvil, and the hammer." In 1685, at the inauguration of Sir Robert Jeffreys, ironmonger, the same company's emblem was a pageant, representing "Mount Etna, with Vulcan and the Cyclops at work, within a cavern at the base; some at the forge, and others digging metals and minerals. Apollo de-

scended with Cupids, and entertained them with music: Vulcan also made his speech to the lord mayor." This latter triumph was particularly grand throughout, on account of the king and queen honouring the city with their presence on the occasion, and cost 473*l.* 0*s.* 4*d.*

In 1671, Sir George Waterman, SKINNER, had amongst the pageants of his show (in allusion to that particular company,) one which represented "a wilderness, consisting of variety of trees, bushes, shrubs, brambles, thickets, inhabited and haunted by divers wild beasts, and birds of various kinds and colours. In the front of this scene were two *negro boys*, properly habited, and mounted upon two panthers, bearing the banners of the lord mayor and the company's arms. In the rear of these, and in the same pageant, was erected a stately structure, formed in the figure of a pyramid, with four triumphal arches. In the front arch, Orpheus, habited in a silk robe, striped, stood playing on his lyre; on each side of whom was a satyr, properly habited, and which, together with the wild beasts, were continually moving, dancing, curvetting, and tumbling, to the music of another satyr, who was playing on a hautboy. Amongst these objects, an active bear took hold of a rope (which was pendant from another very high rope extended across the street,) with his teeth and paws, and shewed off sundry tricks." Sir Thomas Pilkington, of the same company, mayor in 1689, varied this scene of a *wilderness*, called "The Company's Pageant," by introducing, in addition to the wild beasts of the former show, "wolves, bears, panthers, leopards, sables, and beavers, together with *dogs*, *cats*, *foxes*, and *rabbits*, and which latter, the account says, tost up now and then into a balcony, full oft upon the company's heads, and being by them tost again into the crowd, *afforded great diversion.*"

The Drapers, at Sir Robert Clayton's show, in 1679, besides introducing characters in their trade pageant drest as the twelve months of the year, and numerous other allegorical personages, richly and appropriately dressed, displayed in front of a moving stage or scene, as emblematical of that mystery, a golden *ram*, "backed, "says the description, "by a pretty rider, being a beautiful boy, with such features of face, curiosity of complexion, and symmetry of limbs, that he

would have been an excellent original to draw an angel by, and might have prevailed with *Medea* as far as *Jason* did, when he obtained the golden fleece at Colchis." A shepherdess, of princely rank, superbly habited, and "bearing in one hand a golden crook, and in the other the city banner, made an appropriate speech to his lordship. The concluding pageant, still more in character, exhibited a landscape of *Salisbury Plain*, "where rustic shepherds and shepherdesses were feeding and folding their flocks; and for the future exaltation of the drapers' delight, here were several trades met together, all pertinent for making of cloth: as carders, spinners, dyers, woolcombers, shearers, dressers, fullers, weavers, which were set without order, because the excellence of this scene did consist in confusion. Although their number and weight were too cumbersome and ponderous for all of them to work, according to their distinct arts and mysteries, yet they were here met in their persons to rejoyce and express their frolicks in dancing, jumping, tumbling, piping, and singing; and all such jovial actions and movements of agility as might express their joy and exultation in their compliments to the new lord mayor, and their service to the Drapers' Company."

Sir John Levett, haberdasher, and mayor, 1699, had, amongst other pageants, "a stately chariot all enriched with embossed work of silver, driven upon four golden *Catherine-wheels*, in which was seated St. Catherine, the original patroness of the Honourable Company of Haberdashers, the chariot drawn by two large Indian goats, argent, being the supporters of the company;" and who was attended by various other appropriate personages. It was succeeded by a scenic exhibition called "*The Factory of Commerce*," consisting of a very large stage, on which "were planted, almost all round, several shops, viz. milliners, hosiers, hatters, cappers, and other branches of the haberdashery trade. *Commerce* sat in the rear of this scene on a rich throne, and who descended as the lord mayor passed by, and made his speech. "During the movement of this pageant, several papers of tobacco were given amongst the people."

The Clothworkers, in 1694, after an allegorical representation of LONDON, exhibited the garden of the Hesperides, with

Jason and his golden fleece.* Then the chariot of Apollo, of magnificent appointments, drawn by two golden griffins, (the company's supporters,) mounted by "triumphant figures," Apollo himself, allegorically connected with the company, as the shepherd of King Admetus, rode in the chariot, and, whilst addressing the lord mayor, "a rich figure of a rising sun, above 10 foot diameter, not seen before—and whose beames cherish both sheep and shepherd—appeared above his head out of the back of the chariot, with all his beams displayed in gold." "The Trade Pageant" expressed "the whole art and mystery of the clothworkers, by all manner of persons actually concerned in all branches of the trade, as carding, combing, spinning, rolling, shearing of wool, &c. The chief figure was Jack of Newbury, the famous Berkshire clothier, in his proper habit, on a rich seat erected for him." The golden ram, the company's crest, adorned the front of this pageant, which is described as a very large one, being filled "with several persons in rural and pastoral habits, dancing and rejoicing, with their pipes and other country music suitable to their characters, and also to the solemn joys of the day."

The Vintners, at Sir Samuel Dashwood's inauguration, 1702, displayed a highly classical arrangement, in honour of that elevated member of their company. On his lordship's return from being sworn-in, he was saluted by the Artillery Company, before whom stepped the vintners' patron saint, St. Martin, "on a stately white steed richly plumed and caparisoned;" himself splendidly armed cap à pie, having "a large mantle or scarf of scarlet; who, followed by several cripples and beggars supplicating for his charity, attended by 20 satyrs dancing before him with tambors, 2 persons in rich liveries, walking by his horseside, 10 halbeteers, with rural

* He had a dragon emblazoned on a large shield, which animal he was supposed to have just conquered to obtain the golden fleece. "This pageant," says the programme, "is entirely applicable to the honourable clothworkers, the fleece being a golden one, morally so represented by virtue of the riches arising from the manufacture of the fleece. The dragon, being a watchful creature, intimates the *caution*, *industry*, and *vigilance*, that ought to secure support and preserve trade; whilst Jason, that gave the dragon a sleeping potion, and so carried away the golden fleece, was in reality an industrious merchant, that equipped his ship, the Argonaut, and by traffic and commerce carried off the golden fleece, viz. the trade of the world." Jason, in the pageant, was attended by three other characters, representing Commerce, Navigation, and Industry.

music before them, and 10 old Roman lictors, in silver head-pieces, with axes and fasces, all march before the company to St. Paul's Church-yard, and there making a stand, to prevent the cries of the mendicants, the saint severs his scarf with his sword, and delivers to them a part." A Vineyard, Triumph of Bacchus, and other appropriate subjects, concluded this pageant, which, the author tells the company, in his address, (speaking of the ancient splendor and magnificence which formerly shined forth on this solemn City festival, *now almost dropt into oblivion*,)—had "taken its second resurrection amongst them."

In a prior show of the Goldsmiths, the trade pageant was a scenic exhibition called "*The Goldsmith's Laboratory*," and is described as representing "A large and spatious work-shop, of several artificers, distinct in their proper apartments, for the several operators in the mystery of the goldsmiths, containing forges, anvils, hammers, and other instruments of art, &c." In the midst, on a rich golden chair, sat St. Dunstan, the ancient patron and guardian of the company, in pontificalibus, in one hand a golden crosier, in the other his goldsmith's tongs, with the devil beneath his feet. A large goldsmith's forge faced the saint's throne, with fire, crucibles, &c. and a boy blowing the bellows. The representation of a goldsmith's shop full of plate, and artificers at work in the various departments, with the assay-master making an assay, and workmen hammering a massy piece of plate, in time with the accompanying music, &c. filled up this pageant, which was drawn by six horses, and numerously attended. A second pageant, allusive to the trade, followed, drawn by six white horses, with Astrea, the goddess of justice, holding in her right hand a *touchstone*, (the emblem of the assay or *touch*,) and in her left a golden balance with silver scales.

The extraordinary splendor of the triumphal chariot in the Mercers' processions has been noticed, and will be found further described, with the whole ceremony of their show, in the account of that company. This seems to have been the most splendid piece of pageantry possessed by any of the companies.

A curious relic of the old shows is kept by the Fishmongers' Company, whose magnificent funeral pall has been

described.* It is the original drawing for the mayoralty procession of their member, Sir John Lemon, in 1616, and which, from containing allusions in it to the story of Walworth and Wat Tyler, has been called, in most modern accounts of London, "the procession of Sir William Walworth, in 1380."† The representation occupies a roll of strong paper several feet in length, filled with characters and objects six or seven inches high, well drawn, and all properly coloured, emblazoned, and gilt. The pageants have inscriptions over them in the handwriting of the time, from which we learn, as already stated, that it was the custom to suspend them from the roof of the hall when done with, against other solemnities.

1. The first, or 'TRADE PAGEANT,' consists of an antique galley, or, as it is termed, "Fisshing Busse," ornamented with carvings of fishes, and other appropriate devices, which the printed pageant names "The Fishmongers' Esperanza, or Hope of London," and which you may fancy, says the author, to be that wherein St. Peter received his call from the Saviour; the company's crest, (two arms supporting an imperial crown,) adorns the heads, and the golden keys in saltier, the stern. Three fishermen are on board, one of whom is casting his net, while the others exultingly hold up live fish, which they are said to have "bestowed bountifully amongst the people."

INSCRIPTION.—"*This busse served on land;* and so did all the rest of these shews following."

2. A large dolphin, argent, naiant, crowned, said to have

* Several of the companies still possess remains of their old shows, in particular the grocers. The scenes were painted like those of the theatres, in distemper, and the animals or "beasts, which drew the pageants," were fabricated so like what are used there, that there seems little doubt that the latter specimens, at least, were the work of theatrical artists. Those who had no pageants (which were confined to the Twelve,) have many of them other articles which were used in their processions. We saw in the old pageant chamber at Brewers' Hall the fittings-up of their state barge, with various other articles; and in a corner of the room stood silk banners and streamers, covered with dust, and dropping from their staves,—a melancholy memento of former splendor.

† The printed pageant was composed by Anthony Munday, and is called "*Chrysanaleia*, the Golden Fishing, or Honour of Fishmongers," and which is thus noticed by Strype, (ii. p. 269.) "When Sir John Lemon, of this company, was mayor, (1616,) among the several triumphant shows that adorned the day of his entrance into his office, there rode several men in armour, one whereof had the head of Wat Tyler upon his spear erected. There was then also a pageant representing Walworth lying dead on his monument; and an angel, the *genius* of London, making him arise; who forthwith sat up, and standing, made a speech to the mayor passing by." The same spectacle in part was exhibited at the inauguration of Sir Thomas Abney, fishmonger, and mayor in 1700.

been in compliment to the armorial bearings of the new mayor, but more properly forming part of the Fishmongers' arms. "Arion, a famous musitian and poet, rideth on his backe."

3. The emperor of Morocco; or, as he is called, "King of the Moors," in full royal costume, crown, robes, sceptre, &c. "gallantly mounted on a golden leopard, and hurling gold and silver everywhere about him." Before, on either side, and behind him, "*rode*" (but here are walking) six Moors, looking like American Indians, and described as "tributary kings;" they carry "ingots of gold and silver, and each one a dart," allusive to the ancient union between the goldsmiths and the fishmongers; or, as in the printed pageant, "shewing thereby that the fishmongers are not unmindful of their combined brethren the goldsmiths."

Inscription.—"*Note*, That all the Moores pictured on foote, ridd on horsebacke about the kinge. *This remaneth for an ornament in Fishmongers' Hall.*"

4. A large spreading tree, laden with golden fruit, described to be a "*lemon tree*," and alluding to Sir John Lemon, the new mayor. It grows from an enclosure of earth, having, "near the stock or root," a pelican, feeding her young with her blood, which poetic legend says she did for twelve months; and by which the compiler of the pageant intended to show the cherishing love borne towards the citizens, or which ought to be borne towards them, by their chief magistrate. Beneath sit children, dressed as the *five senses*, and picturing, according to the author's conceit, the "flower, fruit, rind, pith, and juice" of the lemon. The pageant is preceded by a winged royal figure, with a sword, riding on a white horse, exquisitely caparisoned; next to whom follow eight figures in the armour of Elizabeth's time, three of them bearing the following banners: 1, The City arms; 2, The fishmongers'; 3, Blank banners, perhaps for the lord mayor's arms? 4, Two trumpeters, on horseback; and 5, Four walking figures.

Inscription over the Tree.—"This remaineth in Fishmongers' Hall for an ornament." At the bottom: "Memorandum—at the foote of the tree satt five children resembling the five senses."

5. The often-mentioned commemoration of Walworth's killing of Wat Tyler.

It consists of: 1, A man in armour, on a white horse, bearing Wat Tyler's head on a spear; followed, 2, by a man in armour with a truncheon; 3, Two men in armour, riding abreast, with truncheons; and, 4, Two ditto ditto.

6. The company's supporters: A merman and a mermaid, in full heraldic costume, with gold chains, riding on the waves of the sea.

Inscription above.—"There were two maremen and two maremaids, which were afore the pageant chariotwise, which remain in the hall for an ornament."

7. A grand triumphal car; or, as the printed pageant calls it, "FISHMONGERS' PAGEANT CHARIOT," with 13 allegorical male and female characters. It rises somewhat pyramidically: the upper part or summit consists of a throne, and on which sits the same sort of winged and crowned figure as appeared before on horseback. The canopy over the throne terminates in the fishmongers' crest. Before the throne (but lower) sits a kingly figure, crowned with the Imperial English crown, in golden armour, over which is a crimson ermined robe. He holds a naked sword, and is intended to represent Richard II. whose life Walworth preserved; the winged figure above being his guardian angel, who, on this occasion so remarkably interposed for the king's safety. N.B. The supporters and chariot both move on large pedestals, which uphold a representation of sea waves. There is the following inscription over this pageant:

"This the company had for part of their showe, which was very acceptable for the showe, having many children therein to beautify the same, so that it was not fit for any ornament for the hall afterwards. Therefore henceforth, if the house will have a pageant to beautify their hall, they must appoint fewer children therein, and more beautify and set forth the same in workmanshipp." The numerous children here alluded to appear seated on seats above each other, and are said to represent royal virtues. The whole of them are most splendidly dressed.

8. The last pageant, called the "Fishmongers' Bower," resembles a splendid arched recess, having double columns, adorned with the shields of arms of former lord mayors of this company: (those of the fishmongers surmounting or crowning the top of the bower.) A figure is rising up within

the arch, intended to represent Sir William Walworth. Above the pageant is written:

"This was a tombe or monument placed in Paules Church yard, whereon lay Sir William Walworth, who risse from the same, and made a speech to the lord maior, and so ridd on horsebacke for that day." Whether this was intended to bear any resemblance to Walworth's tomb, in St. Michael's (Crooked-lane) church, does not appear; but as this "bower," as it is called, looks much like the arched and columned monuments of Elizabeth's day, in whose reign Walworth's second monument was put up, it is not improbable. Walworth himself, who, as we see, was personated by a living character, is dressed in the erroneous costume of James I.'s reign, having a splendid purple robe furred with ermine, a hat and feather, &c.; five armed men follow, supposed to be the five eminent citizens who were knighted with Walworth in the field.

The Merchant Tailors' pageant at the inauguration of their member, Sir William Ashurst, as mayor, in 1693, consisted of five devices, according to the following entry in the company's books: "Oct. 10, 1693—Mr. Holmes, to prepare and make ready five pageants for the entertainment of the lord mayor elect, on the day of his being sworn into office, such as he had particularly described to a committee of the court, viz. the *ship*, the *Arcadian plain*, the *temple*, the *chariot*, and the *lamb;* for the making of which the court agree to pay 200*l.* If the cost should exceed 200*l.* the court will go as far as 20*l.* more." It will be seen that these pageants, like all the preceding, were strictly emblematical of the merchant tailors' trade; the last, or lamb, being that company's crest.

The well known business of the *quo warranto*, or inquiry into the validity of the City charter, the result of which rendered the king not only master of London, but of all the corporations in England, took place in 1684, and was the last public event of consequence connected with the history of the Livery Companies. Though ostensibly directed against the corporation of London, of which those bodies were only a branch, the mastership of the companies, there seems no doubt, was deemed a most important object of the measure. Charles II., like his father and grandfather, having early evinced a desire to resume the system of interference with their government and property, which we have been describ-

ing, as is to be proved by abundant entries in the different companies' books.*

Previously to the charter of the City being declared forfeited, which it most arbitrarily and illegally was, in the Trinity Term of the above year,† several of the companies, terrified by the proceedings against London, the tendency of which were too evident to be mistaken, had surrendered their charters; but after this judgment almost all the corporations did so. The "Account of the Grocers' Company" states their "wardens to have acquainted the court, on the 28th of March, 1684, 'that they had received his majesty's writ in the nature of a *quo warranto*, returnable the first day of the term;' and they stated further, that the same had been served on the other chief companies. The first step resolved upon was the election of a committee to conduct the proceedings on the part of the company; and the chief persons who composed it were the lord mayor, the earl of Berkeley, who had served the office of master the year preceding, Sir William Hooker, Sir John Cutler, and others. A deputation, attended by the clerk, waited on Mr Secretary Jenkins, on the 9th of April, 'in order to be informed what might be acceptable to his

* The Merchant Tailors' Company received, in 1678, the following polite mandate from Lord Coventry, addressed "to the master, wardens, and assistants."

"Worthy Sirs: His majesty being informed that John Milner, late clerk of your company, is (for reasons best known to yourselves) laid aside, and a new clerk ordered to be chosen, hath commanded me, in his name, to recommend unto you Mr. Richard Forster, as a person very well qualified for that employment, not only in regard of his education in the university and practice of the laws, but also of his integrity and diligence; which good qualities and endowment, as they have moved his majesty to order this recommendation, so I hope they will serve sufficient also to prevail upon you for choosing and admitting him into your service in the vacant place he now desireth. This is what I have in command from his majesty; to which I shall only add from myself, that I am, sirs, your very faithful humble servant,

"Whitehall; July 26, 1678. "H. Coventry."

† The plea upon which the above inquiry was instituted was the pretended malversations of the city of London, but the real object was the establishment of arbitrary power. This it was thought might be affected by taking away the city charter, which would give the king's ministers an opportunity of packing a Common Hall, and at the same time open a way to do the like with the House of Commons, about four fifths of whom were burgesses and barons of the Cinque ports; for who would dare to contest their charters if the city of London could not by law hold hers? The two absurd and ridiculous charges brought against the citizens were, 1st. Their raising money by way of toll in the several city markets, (though they were fully empowered by their charters to do so); and 2d. for delivering a petition to the king for redress of grievances, which was deemed libellous. These two points being set forth in the pleadings as grounds for forfeiting *a* charter, and it being adjudged on trial that the city of London had so forfeited *its* charter, the liberties of the city were seized into the king's hands.

majesty, as expected to be done by this company, in obedience to the said writ, to the end the committee might so report to the court, that the company might without delay act as became loyal subjects and prudent members, having also regard to the trusts in them reposed?' They received for answer, from the secretary, that his majesty designed not to intermeddle or take away the rights, property, or privileges of any company, nor to destroy or injure the antient usages or franchises of their corporations, 'but *only a regulation of the governing part*, so as his ma^ty^ might for the future *have in himself a moving power* of any officer therein for mismanagement, in the same way and method that they themselves now used, and claymed to have by power derivable from the crown,' or, in other words, that they should be incapable of exercising that free control over their own affairs which all their charters, even that granted by Cromwell, had so solemnly conferred upon them. Resistance was considered fruitless, and therefore, in order to derive all possible advantage from their ready submission, the clerk was ordered to prepare *an instrument of surrender* to pass the common seal, and to accompany it by a petition to his majesty, 'in order to obviate his further displeasure in prosecution of the said writ, and to obtain his grace in favor of the antient charters, rights, and privileges of this company.' In pursuance of an order of the court, the wardens "were directed to consult Mr. Holt, the counsel, respecting the same writing or instrument;" and the substance of whose opinion was, that the same did not amount to a surrender of their charter of incorporation, or extinguish any other franchise than that of *electing their own officers*, or wardens, assistants, and clerks, *which it vested in the crown.* All these circumstances, it is said, being debated, and the Grocers' court understanding that the other companies were forwarding the business of their surrenders, they resolved on compliance.

The like sort of proceedings took place in most of the companies. In that of the Merchant Tailors', the assistants, after due consultation, subscribed the following form of surrender of their offices:

"We, the assistants of the Merchant Tailors, London, whose names are hereunto subscribed, do give up and surrender our several and respective places as assistants or

counsellors of the said company, and all our several and respective titles or interests therein, either in law or equity, unto Thomas Wardell, esq., master; Mr. G. Torriano, Mr. R^d. Taylor, Mr. Benj^n. Spicer, and Mr. R^d. Cawthorne, now wardens of the Merchant Tailors of the fraternity of St. John Baptist, in the city of London, this 11^th. April, 1684, in the 36^th. year of our sovereign lord Charles, &c."

The surrender of their charters was in most of the companies preceded by a petition, stating their having been chartered and incorporated by former royal grants, which conferred on them divers immunities, privileges, and franchises. That his sacred majesty having "in his princely wisdom" thought proper to issue a *quo warranto* against them, they had reason to fear they had highly offended him, and they therefore earnestly begged his pardon for what was past, and "to accept their humble submission to his goodwill and pleasure, and that he would be graciously pleased to continue their former charters, with such regulations for their future government as he should please."

The form of the instrument of surrender of the charters, seems to have been alike in all the companies. It will be found copied, as in the merchant tailors' books, below.* The surrenders and petitions were presented to the king at Windsor, who returned a nearly similar answer to each. The grocers' records thus state their interview and its result:

"The wardens reported on the 9th of May, (1684,) that, pursuant to the order of the assembly, on the 12th of April last, they, with Sir James Edwards, Sir John Moore, and divers other members, attended his majesty at Windsor, on Sunday last. That his majesty being informed that a depu-

* "To all to whom these presents shall come: The master and wardens of the fraternity of S^t. John Baptist, in the City of London, send greeting: know ye that we, considering how much it imports the government of our company to have men of known loyalty and approved integrity, to bear offices of magistracy and places of trust, the said master and wardens, by and with the advice and consent of the majority of the assistants of the said company, have granted, surrendered, and yielded up, and by these presents do grant, surrender, and yield up unto his most gracious majesty Charles the Second, by the grace of God of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, king, &c., his heirs and successors, all and singular, the powers, franchises, liberties, privileges, and authorities, whatsoever, granted to or to be used or exercised by the said master and wardens, and assistants, by virtue of any right, title, or interest vested in them by any charters, letters patent, custom, or prescription in force of or concerning the electing, nominating, instituting, bringing, or appointing of any person or persons into or for the several offices of master, wardens, assistants, or clerk. And do hereby humbly beseech

tation of the grocers was in attendance, came forth, and with a very kind aspect received them; where Sir James Edwards, at the request of the rest of the members, presented the petition and instrument, and declared to his majesty, in the presence of the lord keeper, lord chief justice, and many of the nobility, that his loyal subjects the grocers (the company his majesty had been graciously pleased to mark with a double stroke of his favor, in condescending so low as to become a member of their fraternity,) had no sooner read the writ of *quo warranto,* but they called their assistants and consulted, and soon resolved upon their duty; and, summoning their commonalty together, they had unanimously (not one dissenting member) agreed that a short humble address, which, together with the instrument under their common seal, in the name of the whole company of grocers, they humbly presented at his majesty's feet; and so on his knee presented them, which his majesty most graciously received, declaring to them he was a member of their company, and that they might assure themselves of all kindness and favor he could, according to the laws, bestow upon them. And so his majesty went to chapel, dismissing the whole assembly without hearing other persons, and committed the company's petition to the care of Sir Lionel Jenkins, with particular command to take care of his company; and that Sir Lionel Jenkins has since got the same referred, and declared himself very zealous and affectionate to serve this company to the utmost in his power; that all care and diligence have since been used to search records and make preparation that the company may have a confirmation of their charter to the best benefit and advantage.

The Merchant Tailors' new charter was received and published on the 6th of January, 1684; and, in obedience to the directions accompanying it, the new master and wardens took their several and respective oaths, that is to say, "the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, and the oath prescribed and

his majesty to accept of this their surrender, and do, with all submission to his majesty's good pleasure, implore his grace and favor to regrant, by the said master, wardens, and assistants, a charter wherein the naming and choosing of the said officers and the said liberties and franchises, or so many of them and in such manner as his majesty in his great wisdom shall judge most conducive for the government of the said company, and with and under such reservations, restrictions, and qualifications as his majesty shall please to appoint. In witness, &c."

mentioned in an act of Parliament made for the good government and regulation of corporations in the 13th year of his now majesty's reign, together with the several oaths of master and wardens for the due execution of their offices respectively, and also subscribed to the declaration prescribed and mentioned in the act aforesaid, before Peter Paravicini, alderman of London, and Sir William Dodson, knight, as by his said majesty's letters patent were directed." And the said Peter Paravicini, alderman of London, and Sir William Dodson, knight, Daniel Baker, George Wallis, &c. (naming the rest of the Merchant Tailor's court,) took the oaths of allegiance, and of supremacy, the oath prescribed in the aforesaid act of parliament, together with the oaths of the assistants, for the due execution of their offices, as did the company's clerk, John Milner.

The above did not complete the measure of the company's servility. An entry in their books immediately afterwards states "That upon consideration of his majesty's gracious charter, it was thought fit and unanimously voted that the whole of the court should wait upon his majesty with an humble address in writing, to give his said majesty thanks for his gracious charter granted to this company; and also to wait on the illustrious Prince James, Duke of York." The communication of the king's answer is thus noticed: "This day the Right Hon. Sir George Jeffreys, knight and baronet, lord chief justice of England, did this court the great honor to declare that his most sacred majesty did with pleasure accept of this court's unanimous thanks to his sacred majesty for his most gracious charter given and granted to them, and would excuse the court's attendance and waiting on his said majesty, because it would (being the first example and precedent) be a charge upon the several and respective corporations in England to do the same, or words to that effect; and therefore his majesty would be pleased to excuse the court's attendance thereon. Whereupon, and after that the said lord chief justice had been waited upon by the whole court to the hall gate, the said court immediately sate; and, considering the great and extraordinary honor his lordship had been pleased to confer on the court that day, it was thought fit, and so ordered that a *present in plate* be forthwith presented to the said lord chief justice from this court

to the value of 100*l.*, to be raised by 50*s.* apiece of every assistant of this society, and that G. Torriano, esq., master-warden of this society, be treasurer for the same."

Charles's new charters to the companies, granted after the *quo warranto*, commence with a recital of the instrument of surrender of the wardens and assistants, and proceed to state that his majesty is graciously pleased to grant them another charter, *under such restrictions as he shall think fit*. He incorporates them by their ancient name; to have perpetual succession; and to have power, yearly, to choose wardens, with the *proviso* that they must hold communion with the church of England, that they shall have received the holy sacrament according to the form prescribed by the church within six months before, and that after their election they shall, before they act, take the several oaths, and subscribe the declaration appointed by act of parliament. The wardens' and clerks' names are, by a special clause, to be first presented to the king, and if approved, under the sign manual or privy signet, they may proceed to take the oaths; if, on the contrary, they are rejected, the courts of assistants are to elect others, and so on, from time to time, until his majesty is satisfied: any election made contrary to this clause to be null and void. The king reserves to himself the power of removing, by an order of privy council, any warden, assistant, or clerk. The said wardens and commonalty are to be subject to the lord mayor and court of aldermen, (who were themselves to be appointed by the crown,) and who were to approve of all persons admitted to the clothing or livery. Some apparent privileges are added in return for this sacrifice, but all liberty of will and action is effectually destroyed; the companies are allowed only to exist during the royal pleasure; "and, as if in bitter irony of the rest, the several instruments close with a confirmation of all charters, grants, usages, and privileges, in and by all things; so that the companies shall not be troubled or molested by the king, his heirs or successors, or any of their ministers, for or by reason of any abuse or misusage for the past."

James II.'s first act, on his succeeding his brother, February 6, 1685, was an attempt to influence the companies' selection of voters. He directed the lord mayor to issue precepts requiring them to return "such *loyal* and *worthy* mem-

bers *as might be judged worthy and fit to be*, by the lord mayor and court of aldermen, *approved* of as liverymen to elect members to serve for the city of London at the approaching parliament." What rendered this more glaringly corrupt was, that most of the independent aldermen had been previously put out of their places, and compliant tools appointed by the crown in their room. The merchant tailors, as if in approval of these measures, are stated in their books to have made application, near this very time, to the lord mayor to put up the king's statue in the Royal Exchange.*

The news of the coming of the Prince of Orange, in 1688, forced from James II. an act of restitution, or rather an hasty order in council, preparatory to the passing of such an act, by which all restrictions consequent upon the judgment on the *quo warranto* were repealed. On the 7th of October, a special court of lord mayor and aldermen was held, pursuant to the grants for restoring the City charter, (and which preceded this emancipation of the companies,) when an order was made for restoring the liverymen of the several companies of the City to the state they had been in before such judgment, and which order the masters, wardens, and assistants, of the several incorporations, were forthwith to put in execution, as were their several clerks to enter the same in their respective books.† The abdication of James confirmed this emancipation. The security of the City of London, and its immunities and privileges, being considered on this joyful event essential to the national welfare, the statute

* In the Merchant Tailors' books we find the following further particulars connected with the after stages of the *quo warranto*.

Sept. 25, 1687. A precept from the mayor states, that "by the late charters granted to the several companies of London, it was ordered that his majesty, his heirs and successors, might by order in council, from time to time, displace and remove the master, wardens, and assistants of the several companies, or any of them, and thereupon the place or places of such person or persons so removed shall be void;" and enumerates the names of persons who were then to form vacancies. And on the 3d of October a second precept, in consequence of a royal mandate from Windsor, notifies the re-admission of the same members so ordered to resign, with a renewal of the company's charter, which was issued to their court on the 11th of October, 1687. They thus announce the grant of their new charter:

"Nov. 22, 1687. This court having now received letters patent from his majesty, under the great seal of England, relating to the companies of this city, and the choice, admission, and confirmation of their masters, wardens, assistants, and liverymen, doth order that all the clerks of the several companies of this city do forthwith repair to the town clerk, and take out a copy of the said letters patent, to be communicated to and observed by their respective companies, and entered in their company's books."

† Maitland, 1, p. 485-6.

2 William and Mary passed, which not only reversed the *quo warranto* against the City, but enacted, as to associated bodies generally, "That all and every of the several companies and corporations of the said city (London,) shall henceforth stand, and be incorporated in such manner and names, and in such sort and manner, *as they respectively were at the time of the said judgment given*, and every of them are hereby restored to all and every the lands, tenements, hereditaments, rights, titles, estates, liberties, powers, privileges, precedencies and immunities, which they lawfully had and enjoyed at the time of giving of the said judgment. And that as well all surrenders, as charters, letters patent, and grants for *new* incorporating any of the said companies, or touching or concerning any of their liberties, privileges, or franchises, made or granted by the said late King James, or by the said King Charles II. since the giving of the said judgment, shall be void, and are hereby declared null and void, to all intents and purposes whatsoever."*

Tranquillity and confidence having been restored after the accession of William and Mary, and the privileges and rights of corporate bodies firmly established by parliament, the affairs of the livery companies began to improve. During the interval between that period and the present time, various minor events and changes have occurred in their separate histories and government, but nothing sufficiently affecting the whole to demand the continuation of this essay. We shall therefore here conclude with a few words relative to what are called the Companies'

IRISH ESTATES.

In the reign of Elizabeth a rebellion having broken out in the province of Ulster, in the north of Ireland, that province was in a great manner depopulated and laid waste. Upon the suppressing of this rebellion great part of the province

* This act, it should be observed, though it abrogated all charters of James's which were inimical to the companies, or confirmatory of Charles II.'s new charters, after the quo-warranto, allowed those restored by James, by his intended act of restitution, or order, in privy council, (and which, in fact, only reinstated the companies as they were before the quo-warranto,) to remain in force, and they are accordingly still acted upon, and in force. William and Mary, in a few instances, granted new charters, not altering the former constitution of the companies, but extending their jurisdiction and right of oversight, as in the case of the Grocers. See account of their company.

became vested in the crown by forfeiture; and, in order to re-settle the same, and to establish a colony of Protestants there, particularly in the county of Derry, James I., in 1609,* made proposals to the mayor and commonalty of London, of such forfeited lands, upon condition of their new planting and peopling the same.

The proceedings for the purchase commenced by the mayor's sending precepts to the companies, dated July 1, 1609, and which were accompanied by a copy of certain "MOTIVES AND REASONS," to induce the citizens of London "TO UNDERTAKE IN A PLANTATION IN THE NORTH PARTS OF IRELAND," together with a printed book, containing a collection of such orders and conditions as were to be observed by the undertakers, upon the distribution and plantation of the escheated lands in Ulster, "lately received by his lordship [the mayor,] from the lords of his majesty's most honourable privy council, and to the said precept annexed."†

The "MOTIVES and REASONS" are long, but very curious. The spots pointed out as fittest for the City of London to plant are stated to be "the late desolated cittie of the DERRIE," situated on the river of Loughfoyle, which was navigable with good vessels above the Derry, and the land "at or neare the castle of Coleraine," situate on the river of the Ban, but navigable with small vessels only, "by reason of the bar a little above Coleraine." The nature of both these places, (but particularly the Derry,) is stated to be such as, with small ex-

* This year (1609) seems to have been the age for colonizing. The merchant tailors, on the 7th of preceding month of March, received their precept for the settlement of Virginia. Vide *ante*, p. 121.

† The precept was as follows:

"*To the Master and Wardens of the Companie of* ———

"Whereas, I have latelie received from the lords of his majesties most honourable privie counsell, a project for a plantation in Ireland, the coppie whereof together with a printed booke you shall receive hereunto annexed, with intimation of his majesties most gracious favour and love to the Cittie of London, to grant unto us the first offer of soe worthie an accion, which is likelie to prove pleasinge to Almightie God, ho^ble. to the Cittie, and profitable to the undertakers. *Theis* are therefore to will and require you p,sentlie to assemble togeather a competent number of foure men of most judgment and experience, to joyne with like number of foure men of evrie other of the companies of this Cittie amongst themselves, to consider of and sett downe in writinge such reasons, orders, demands, and other circumstances as are fit to be remembered, required, or reformed, in the undertakinge of so worthie and so ho^ble. an oc'cion, and certify me in writinge, before the fiveth daye of this instant Julie, the names of such foure of yo^r. companie as you shall soe nominate and appoynt, wherein you are not to fayle in any wyse. From Guildhall, this first daye of Julie, 1609.

"SEBRIGHT."

pense and industry, might be made by land almost impregnable, and consequently afford perfect security to their inhabitants. To these towns the king, it is said, would grant corporations, and also the whole territory betwixt the holders, measuring 21 miles in length, and including the sea on the north, the Ban on the east, and the river Derry or Loughfoyle on the west; and out of which 1000 acres or more might be allotted to each of the towns for their commons, rent free, whilst the rest could be planted "with such undertakers," (or settlers,) as the City of London should think proper.

The "LAND, SEA, and RIVER COMMODITIES," of the part of Ireland so to be conveyed, are then pointed out; the *land* is described as well watered, having plenty of fuel, and store of all things necessary for food, not only for home consumption, but exportation; the soil fertile for tillage; adapted for the breed of English sheep, and growth in many places of madder, hops, and wood; and affording also abundantly fells of all sorts, red deer, foxes, sheep, lambs, rabbits, martins, squirrels, &c.; hemp and flax, it is added, grow there more naturally than elsewhere; the materials for building, both of houses and ships, are further said to be abundant, there being for the former, timber, stone, lime, slate, and shingle, with proper soil for brick and tile; and for *ships* every thing in the greatest plenty excepting tar; also other sorts of wood for different services, as pipe staves, hoopen staves, chess board staves, wainscot, soap, and dying ashes, glass and iron works, "iron and copper being there plentyfully founde." The sea and rivers are mentioned as offering equal advantages, and the document finishes by pointing out "*the profit that London shall receive by this plantation.*"

The king's proposals having been received, the mayor and citizens immediately thereon erected a company, consisting of a governor, deputy governor, and 24 assistants, (since called the *Irish Society*,) to treat with the crown concerning the new plantation. And the city having resolved to accept the king's proposal, and having raised by contribution among their principal companies 60,000*l.* for that purchase, James, by his letters patent, dated March 29, in his 11th year, incorporated such society by the name of "the Governor and Assistants of the new Plantation in Ulster, within the realm of Ireland;" and granted to them and their successors (upon condition of

their building the town, settling the lands, and doing other services,) various cities, manors, towns, villages, castles, lands, and hereditaments, in the said province of Ulster; with power to create manors, of any quantities of lands not exceeding 1000 acres, of such tenants as were in the letters patent limited; and to limit to the said several manors so many acres of land, distinct and severed for demesne lands, as should seem necessary and convenient to the society. And a new county was thereby erected, which, uniting the old name of *Derry* with its new masters, the Corporation of *London*, is now called "*London-Derry*."

The new settlement having been thus finished, the towns built, and the lands settled, the whole was mapped and divided by the Irish Society, as nearly as could be, into twelve equal parts; and the Twelve Companies, who had equally contributed to the raising of the 60,000*l.* mentioned drew lots for their several shares,* which on receiving, they each named from themselves, their armorial bearings, or other circumstances. Thus the Drapers have their "manor of Drapers;" the Ironmongers the "manor of Lizard," (lizards being that company's supporters); the salters their "manor of Sal," &c.

The Irish Society continued to act under the charter of James until the reign of Charles I., when it was revoked and declared void by a sentence of the court of Star Chamber, and the crown resumed the lands as forfeited, on pretence that the covenants of the original grants were not performed: But Charles II., in the fourteenth year of his reign, granted a new charter, confirming the previous one of James, and restoring to the City and Twelve Companies all their former privileges and estates; and it is under this charter that the Irish Society continue to act as a corporation. They are invested by the crown with the most ample authority to enforce their own regulations for the general objects of the plantation; and, notwithstanding the division of the estates amongst the Twelve chief Companies, such estates are considered to be still under the paramount jurisdiction of the Irish Society, and are liable to contributions, if necessary, in common with the indivisible estates in the society's hands, towards the

* Concise View of the Irish Society.

general fund for maintaining public works and edifices; supporting the civil government of the city of Derry and town of Coleraine; repairing Protestant churches and chapels; establishing schools throughout the plantation; and, generally, for the execution of such measures as tend to promote and improve the civil and religious interests of the tenantry."*

Most of those companies which retain their Irish estates have brought them, by cultivation and liberal treatment of their tenants, into a flourishing state. Some of them print annual reports of their state, for the use of their members of deputations, previously sent to Ireland for that purpose. The "Reports of Deputations" of the Drapers' Company, from 1817 to 1820, and again in 1827, form a very elegant and interesting work, illustrated with a *plan*, and various pleasing views of their lands and buildings. These reports afford a most gratifying account of the great improvements which have been effected, the additional happiness and comfort thereby conferred on their tenantry, and the general high state of prosperity of their property there. Other companies, it appears, tread in the same laudable steps; so that the territory of the Irish Society, and of the Livery Companies of London, promise to become, ultimately, the best built and most cultivated portion of Ireland.

* The "Concise View of the Irish Society," contains the following notices relative to the companies' portions of the Irish estate:

In 1676, the freeholds held by the following companies, and the sums they paid as original reserved rents, or acknowledgments of the seignioral right of the Irish Society, were:

The Grocers	having 32	freeholds, paid	£21	6	8
Skinners	26	..	17	6	8
Haberdashers	18	..	12	0	0
Ironmongers	17	..	11	6	8
Mercers	1	..	0	13	4

1730. The Goldsmiths' Company obtained the consent of the Irish Society to join with them in making a title to the earl of Shelburne, with whom the company had contracted to sell their manor of *Goldsmiths' Hall* for 14,100*l.*

1737. The Vintners' Company applied to the same society to assist them in making a conveyance to a purchaser of their proportion.

In 1741, the Haberdashers' Company are mentioned to have sold their proportion of Irish estates.

The merchant tailors' records state that company to have sold their Irish estates in 1727 to William Richardson, esq. for 20*l.* 6*s.* 0*d.*, reserving a rent charge of 150*l.* per annum. N.B. The Irish Society manages the whole of the estates of the twelve companies for them.

THE CHARTERS AND GRANTS

OF THE

TWELVE GREAT LIVERY COMPANIES OF LONDON.

COMPANIES.	*First Charter.*	*Second Charter.*	*Third Charter.*	*Fourth Charter.*	*Fifth Charter.*	*Sixth Charter.*	*Seventh Charter.*	*Eighth Charter.*	*Ninth Charter.*	*Tenth Charter.*	*Eleventh Charter.*	*Twelfth and other Charters.*
No. Name. 1. MERCERS.	17 Rich. II. Incorporatio com-'unitat' Merceroꝝ London' ac libertateos eis concessæ.*	20 Rich. II. Pro Custodibus Mister' Merceriæ London'.	12 Hen. IV. Pro custode et communitate Misteriæ Merceriæ London'.	3 Hen. VI. Pro Merceriis London'.	4 & 5 Ph. et Ma. Confirmation by Inspeximus.	2 Eliz. Confirmation by Inspeximus.	10 James I. Confirmation by Inspeximus.	36 Charles II. New (restrictive) Charter under the operation of the Quo Warranto.	1 James II. Confirmation by Inspeximus of the restrictive Charter of 36 Charles II.	4 James II. Revocation of the restrictive Charter of 36 Chas. II.		
2. GROCERS	27 Edw. III. Licensed to hold their gild, but no Pat' amongst the Patent Rolls.	7 Hen. VI. Incorporatio Grocerior' Lond' ac eorum Libertat'.	8 Hen. VI. Incorporatio ac libert' pro Custod' Misteriæ Groceriæ civit' London'.	26 Hen. VI. Ampl' libert' confirmat' custod' Misteriæ Groceriæ London'.	4 & 5 Phil. et Ma. Confirmation by Inspeximus.	2 Eliz. Confirmation by Inspeximus.	4 James I. New Charter (including the Apothecaries') with additional liberties.	15 Charles I. Re-incorporation with additional liberties.	36 Charles II. New (restrictive) Charter under the operation of the Quo Warranto.	1 James II. Confirmation by Inspeximus, of the restrictive Charter of 36 Chas. II.	4 James II. Revocation of the restrictive Charter of the 36 of Charles II.	2 Wm. and Ma. 9 Anne, 12 George I. Grants of additional trade control and privileges.
3. DRAPERS.	38 Edw. III. Ampl' libert' pro lez Drapiers London'.	17 Hen. VI. Incorporatio Pannariorum London'.	6 Edw. IV. Ampla confirmatio libertat' pro Pannariis London'. —Vide Pat' 17 Hen. VI.	19 Edw. IV. Separated from the Sharemen, and receive, with the Tailors, a grant of addition'l liberties.	4 & 5 Ph. et Ma. Confirmation by Inspeximus.	2 Eliz. Confirmation by Inspeximus.	4 James I. New incorporation under a new name, with assistants and additional privileges.	9 James I. Confirmation of 4 James I. (Now the Company's Acting Charter.)	36 Chas. II. Ditto.	1 James II. Ditto.	4 James II. Ditto.	
4. FISHMONGERS.	17 Edw. I. Pro Piscenariis London'.	37 Edw. III. Incorporatio Misteriæ Piscenariis London'.	38 Edward III. Amplæ libert' pro Piscenariis London'.	7 Rich. II. Revocation of their Ordinances, but granting other privileges, &c.	22 Rich. II. Libert' concess' Piscenariis London'.	6 Hen. VI. Libert' confirmat' Piscenariis London'.—Vide 22 Pat' R. 2.	2 Hen. VI. Incorporatio ac libert' pro Piscenariis London'.	24 Henry VII. Separate incorporation for the Stock Fishmongers.	26 Hen. VIII. Incorporation (as one company) of the Fishmongers and Stockfishmongers.	1 Edward VI. Confirmation by Inspeximus of 6 Henry VI. and 24 Hen. VII.	1 Mary. Confirmation by Inspeximus of preceding Charters.	1 and 2 Eliz. 36 Charles II. And 1 and 4 Jas. II. Confirmations of Charters under the Quo Warranto: 25 George II. confirmation of 2 Jas. II.
5. GOLDSMITHS.	1 Edw. III. Libert' concess' Aurifabris London'.	2 Edw. III. Ampl' libert' confirmat' Aurifabris London', &c.	3 & 4 Edw. III. Pro Aurifabris London'. Fuller incorporation with liberty to buy lands, &c.	16 Rich. II. Pro Aurifabris London' de Cantar'	3 Hen. IV. Pro custod' Misteriæ Aurifabror' London'.	5 Hen. V. Ampl' libert' confirmat' Aurifabris London'.	1 Henry VI. Ampl' libert' confirmat' Aurifabris London'.	2 Edward IV. Ampla Confirm' libert' pro Aurifabri' London'.	20 Hen. VII. Confirmation by Inspeximus.	1 Hen. VIII. Confirmation by Inspeximus.	1 Edw. VI., 1 Mary and 1 Eliz.; 2 Jas. I.—Exemplifications and confirmations.	18 Chas. II. Confirmation 36 Charles II.; 1 & 4 Jas. II. Charters (Quo Warranto.)
6. SKINNERS.	1 Edw. III. Ampl' libert' concess' Pelliparius London'.	16 Rich. II. Quamplur' concern' Pellipar' Lond' ac eorum Fraternitate.	10 Henry IV. Pro Fraternitate Corporis Christi per Pelliparios Civitatis London' erect'.	16 Hen. VI. Ampla confirm' libertat' pro Pelliparii Lond'; in qua Ordines eis sunt præscript'.	4 & 5 Ph. et Ma. Confirmation by Inspeximus.	2 Eliz. Confirmation by Inspeximus.	4 James I. A new Charter amply confirming all former privileges, and granting various new ones.	19 Chas. II. Confirmation of former Charters and Liberties, and grant of various new ones.	36 Chas. II. New (restrictive) Charter under the operation of the Quo Warranto.	1 James II. Confirmation by Inspeximus of the restrictive Charter of 36 Charles II.	4 James II. Revocation of the restrictive Charter 36 Charles II.	
7. MERCHANT TAILORS.	1 Edw. III. Libert' concess' Cissoribus et Armurariis Lond'.	15 Edw. III. Libertates concessæ Cissoribus et Armurariis London'.	14 Rich. II. Libert' confirm' Cissoribus & Armurariis Linearum Armaturaru' Civitat' London'.	6 Hen. IV. Pro Cissoribus London' custod' Fraternitatis S. Joh'nis Baptistæ.	9 Hen. IV. Ampl' lib'tes confirm' et concess' Cissoribus et Armurariis Linearum Arm', &c.	18 Henry VI. Ampl' confirmatio pro Scissoribus London'.—Vide 9 H. IV.	31 Hen. VI. Pro Fraternitate Cissoriu' London' Incorporatio ac libert' pro Armurariis London.	5 & 6 Edw. IV. Per ampla confirm' libert' pro Scissorib' et Armurariis, &c. Lond'.—Vide 18 Henry VI.	19 Hen. VII. Re-incorporation under the name of Merchant Tailors of London.	Henry VIII.; Edward VI.; Philip and Mary; Jas. I. and Elizabeth. Confirmations by Inspeximus.	36 Chas. II. New (restrictive) Charter under the operation of the Quo Warranto.	1 James II. 4 James II. Confirmations and revocation of the Charter, 36 Chas. II.
8. HABERDASHERS.	26 Hen. VI. Incorporatio Fraternitatis de Haberdashers Hall, London.	16 Hen. VII. Charter uniting the Hurrers and Hatter Merchants.	17 Hen. VII. Hurrers and Hatter Merchants united with the Haberdashers, and together named "Merchant Haberdashers."	2 Henry VIII. Confirmation by Inspeximus under a new name.	4 & 5 Phil. et Ma. Exemplification & confirmation by Inspeximus.	2 Eliz. Exemplification and confirmation by Inspeximus.	36 Chas. II. New restrictive Charter under the operation of the Quo Warranto.	1 James II. Confirmation by Inspeximus of the restrictive Charter of 36 Chas. II.	4 James II. Revocation of the restrictive Charter 36 Charles II.			
9. SALTERS.	37 Edw. III. Libert' concess' Sellarijs London,' &c.	38 Edw. III. Protectio pro Sallariis London'.	18 Richard II. Confirmation and grant of Livery, &c.	3 Hen. VI. Ampl' libert' confirm' Sellariis London'.	24 Hen. VI. Confirmatio pro Sellariis, London'.	3 Edw. IV. Ampl' libert' pro Sellariis London.	1, 2 Eliz. Re-incorporation Charter.	5 James I. Confirmation by Inspeximus.	36 Charles II. New Charter (Quo Warranto.)	1 James II. Confirmation of Charter 36 Chas. II.	4 James II. Revocation of Charter 36 Chas. II.	
10. IRONMONGERS.	3 Edw. IV. Incorporatio ac libert' pro lez Ironmongers Lond'.	4 & 5 Phil. & Mary. Confirmation by Inspeximus.	2 Eliz. Confirmation by Inspeximus.	36 Chas. II. New restrictive Charter (quo Warranto).	1 James II. Confirmation of restrictive Charter 36 Cha. II.	4 James II. Revocat' of restrictive Charter, Chas. II.						
11. VINTNERS.	38 Edw. III. Amplæ libertates pro Vinetarijs.	15 Hen. VI. Incorporatio Vinetariorum Civit' Lond'.	9 & 10 Eliz. Confirmation by Inspeximus.	9 James I. Their acting Charter.	36 Cha. II. New (restrictive) Charter. (Quo Warranto.)	1 James II. Confirmation restrictive Charter, 36 Chas. II.		3 James II. Confirmation and alteration of Charter, 36 Chas. II.	4 James II. Revocation of the restrictions in Charter 36 Chas. II.			
12. CLOTHWORKERS.	20 Edw. IV. Pro Fraternitate in Arte Fullonem.	13 Hen. VII. Incorporatio de lez Sheremen Lond.'	19 Henry VIII. Charter uniting the Fullers and Shewmen as Clothworkers.	4 & 5 Phil. & Ma. Exemplification & confirmation by Inspeximus.	2 Eliz. Exemplification & confirmation by Inspeximus.	9 Chas. I. Exemplification & confirmation by Inspeximus.	36 Chas. II. New (restrictive) Charter under the Quo Warranto.	1 James II. Confirmation of restrictive Charter, 36 Chas. II.	Ditto.			

* References to the Patent Rolls containing this, and the above Charters which follow, together with summaries of their contents, as also the Charters themselves, (originals and translations,) at length, are in the separate accounts of the Companies.

MERCERS' COMPANY.

SUMMARY FROM VARIOUS AUTHORITIES.

"*The Mercers were enabled to purchase lands to the value of 20*l.* per annum the 17th of King Richard II., anno domini 1393."†

"This company was incorporated by letters patent of the 17th of Richard II., 1393, by the name of the Wardens and Company of the Mystery of the Mercers of the City of London, with a licence to purchase in mortmain an estate of twenty pounds per annum. The fraternity is governed by a prime, and three other wardens, and forty assistants, with two hundred and thirty-two liverymen. The company pay in charitable benefactions above three thousand pounds per annum."‡

"They consist of 4 wardens, about 40 (but uncertain) assist-

* We begin the account of the Mercers' Company (as of all the rest,) with the general historical summary in our three best histories of London,—Strype's Stow, 1754, Maitland, 1772, and the New View of London, 1708, pointing out where the statements in those works are correct, and where they are erroneous, as well as supplying their deficiencies; and we shall then proceed to the regular history of each company, under its proper heads and classes.

† Strype's Stow, II, p. 258.

‡ Maitland's, II, 1232.

ants, and 283 on the livery, for which the fine is 53*s.* 4*d.* This is the first of all the 12 companies, taking place of all others, and are very numerous and rich; they take no quarterage of those made free thereof; and public feasts are at the charge of the whole society. I do not find that they are limited to any number of apprentices. Their arms are gules, a demy-virgin, with her hair dishevelled, crowned, issuing out and within an orle of clouds, all proper. This company is patronised by the blessed Virgin, and of it there have been several kings, princes, and nobility, and 98 lord mayors."* *Hall, Cheapside.*

The Mercers were only partially incorporated in 17th Richard II. like the other fraternities which have been mentioned, having neither liberty generally to purchase and hold lands. accept gifts, to plead and be impleaded, or to have a common seal. Neither were they entitled, as above, "The Wardens and Company of the Mystery of Mercers of the City of London," but "The Commonalty of Mercers of London," or rather, in the original language of their charter, "Homines de Misteriæ Merceræ Civitatis London."† In the 20th of Richard II. (there having been wardens previously appointed in pursuance of the powers given them by their incorporation charter,) the company were confirmed with additional privileges,‡ and 22 Richard II. are stated to have been possessed of "three messuages and shops in the parish of St. Martin, Outwich," towards the maintenance of their poor members, and the support of their chantry.§ The Mercers were again confirmed by inspeximus, 12 Henry IV., addressed to, and at the petition of, their three wardens, John Coventry, John Carpenter, and William Grove, who were also the executors of Sir Richard Whittington.‖ In 3 Henry VI. under the denomination of "the Mercers of London," the king confirms by inspeximus all their previous grants; and, at the request of the same John Coventry, John Carpenter, and William Grove, "grants to the Mercers to have a chaplain and a brotherhood, for the relief of such of their company as shall come to decay "from misfortunes of the sea."¶ Philip and Mary, in their 4th year, by letters patent, addressed to Roger

* New View, ii. 611.

† Secunda Pat. de anno 17 Richard II. p. 4.

‡ Tertia et ultima Pat. de anno 20° regis Richard II. (301.)

§ Strype, 1, 557.

‖ Pat. de anno 12° regis Henrici IV. 24.

¶ Primo Pat. de anno 3° regis Henrici VI. a Tergo, 18.

Martyn, alderman and master, and William Compton, Richard Carroll, Lionel Ducket, wardens; Elizabeth, in her 2d year, by other letters patent, addressed to Sir Thomas Gresham, Thomas Heton, and Antonio Hickerman, wardens;* and finally, James I. in the eleventh year of his reign, recite and confirm the whole of their predecessors' charters, but without any extension of privileges. On surrendering the above charters and confirmations, in common with the other companies, under the operation of the *quo-warranto*, 24 Charles II., the Mercers received, like them, an entire new charter, granting them a court of assistants, and subjecting them to many other new regulations, which were then imposed, and which charter was confirmed 1 James II. The history of the charters of both these monarchs has been given.

"THE LIST OF FREEMEN HOUSEHOLDERS OF THE MERCERS' COMPANY," about the year 1537, as preserved in an original document at the Chapter House, Westminster, only enumerates the following 53 persons. The names in CAPITALS were persons of particular celebrity:

George Medley.	Thomas Ffuller.	John Boys.
Thomas Burnell.	John Coke (ye elder.)	John Harte.
Robert Palmer.	Andrewe Ffuller.	Vyncent Randell.
Will'm Locke.	Will'm Coke (ye youngr)	WILL'M LAMBARD.
WILL'M GRESHAM.	George Robynson.	John Maynard.
Will'm Pomeley.	Edward Waters.	JOHN ALEYN.
John Porter.	John Cortes.	Roger Challener.
Will'm Colsell.	Will'm Woodroffe.	Robert Merydeth.
Robert Chersey.	Richard Wilson.	Will'm Hardyng.
Richard Jervis.	JOHN COLET.	Thomas Legh.
Walter Marshe.	Edward Grene.	Will'm Rede.
Robert Codnam.	George Ellyott.	Will'm Mounslowe.
ROWLAND HYLL.	John Goudge.	Cristofer Meryng.
Humphrey Packington.	Will'm Serles.	Cristofer Aleyn.
John Ffaire.	Will'm Broke.	Richard Etton.
Edward Burbage.	Roger Starkey.	John Skynner.
John Garway.	Will'm Castelyn.	John Browne.†
Bartholome Brown.	Rowland Shakerley.	

In 1701, the return sworn to before the mayor, by John Essington, the company's clerk, states the livery of the Mercers to have amounted to 285.‡ At the poll for electing members of parlia-

* Prima pars confirmacon de anno R. Re. Elizabeth' secundo.

† Communicated by John Caley, esq. of the Augmentation Office, for Allen's History of London, 1828, and is thus headed, "Touchinge the prliament. The companies of all the craftes or mysteryes of London. The severall companyes of all the mysteryes, craftes, and occupacions, wthin the Citie of London, wth the names of evry freeman, beying householders wthin the same."

‡ List of Liverymen in 1701. 4to.

ment for the City, in April, 1722, the number of the same livery who voted was sworn to amount to 202.* In the "New and Complete Survey of London," 1742, it is stated at 232.† In the "List of Liverymen of London," 1796, only 76 of the Mercers' livery voted.‡

From the above, it appears that the freemen, householders, or livery of this company, in the reign of Henry VIII. amounted to only 53 persons; that in 1701 it had almost quadrupled; and that in 1722, judging from the number who then voted, it had become reduced considerably more than one third; that in 1742 it had again arrived within 3 of its number at the beginning of the last century; and that it continued varying till its close: no criterion is to be formed from the voters in 1791. The number of the Mercers' livery this present year, (1833,) only amounts in the whole to 120, whereof there are 1 master, 3 wardens, and 31 on the court of assistants, whose names and residences are given below.§ The

* Poll of Liverymen who voted, &c. 1722, 8vo.

† 11, p. 1026.

‡ List of the Livery of London who voted. 8vo. 1796.

§ *A List of the Master, Wardens, Court of Assistants, and Generality of the Worshipful Company of Mercers, London.*

Master.

John Roberts Delafosse, esq., 22, Fenchurch street.

Wardens.

John Day, esq., 3, Water lane, Tower street.

Adolphus Pugh Johnson, esq. Lloyd's Coffee-house.

James Lester King, esq. 19, Stepney green.

Assistants.

Barnard, Robert Markland, esq. abroad.

Barnes, James, Mercers' Hall.

Bicknell, Peter, esq. 38, Bloomsbury-square.

Bicknell, George, ibid.

Bicknell, Robert, ibid.

Buxton, Charles, esq. Weymouth.

Clark, Nathaniel, esq., 72, Gracechurch street.

Collingwood, George Lewis Newnham, esq.

Green, Edmund Francis, esq., 31, Mornington crescent, Hampstead road.

Green, Charles, esq. 7, Nottingham terrace, New road.

Hill, General Lord, Horse Guards.

Holmes, William Henry, esq., Ireland.

Johnson, Charles Frederick, esq. 88, Piccadilly.

Johnson, Octavius Errington, esq. ibid.

Newnham, Nathaniel, esq. 49, Upper Guildford street.

Osborne, Thomas, esq. 36, Leicester square.

Palmer, Archdale, esq. 22, Fenchurch street.

Palmer, George, esq. Nazing, near Waltham Cross, and King's Arms yard.

Palmer, John Horseley, esq. ibid.

Parker, Joseph, esq.

Porter, Thomas Chinnall, esq. Fulham.

Pooley, Joseph Thomas, esq. 1, Church passage, Clement's lane.

Powell, Baden, esq. 18, St. Helen's place, Bishopsgate street.

Sutton, Robert, esq. 7, Castle alley, Royal Exchange.

Sutton, Robert, jun. esq. ibid.

Totton, Stevens Dinely, esq.

Ward, William Edward, esq. 131, Sloane street, Chelsea.

Watney, Daniel, esq. Wandsworth, Surry.

Watney, Thomas, esq. Wimbledon, Surry.

livery fine, which in 1708 is stated to have been 53*s.* 4*d.* is said to be still the same.

There are no names of sovereigns preserved in printed accounts, who have been members of the Mercers, except of Richard II., nor indeed of many of the nobility, though several of that rank, it will be seen, have sprung from eminent members. The catalogue in Strype's Stow, (1754,) only enumerates 52 mayors who were mercers, from 1214 to 1701, contrary to the statement of the New View of London, which reckons 98 up to 1708, only seven years later. Strype's list, however, though nearer the truth, is evidently incomplete, as he mentions several extra names, in speaking of the interments of eminent mercers, in his notices of different churches.

Wilson, Lestock Peach, esq. King's Arms yard.

Generality.

Aston, George, 7, Dorset place (North) Clapham road.
Barker, Thomas, 6, Kirby street, Hatton-garden.
Barnard, Rev. Markland, London Colney, near St. Albans.
Barnes, William, Mercers' Hall.
Barnes, Thomas, Hornsey.
Barnes, Charles, 22, Tokenhouse yard.
Barnes, Henry Eugene, Highgate road.
Barnes, Edward, 22, Tokenhouse yard.
Bishop, Matthew Thomas James, 14, High Holborn.
Bishop, Thomas, ibid.
Bishop, Francis Henry, 326, High Holborn.
Blaksley, Joseph Williams.
Booth, Charles, at Mr. Collyer's, 7, Arbour street, Arbour square, Commercial road.
Britton, James.
Chambers, Edmund, 33, Great Pulteney street, Golden square.
Collyer, Benjamin.
Collyer, Nathaniel, 13, John street, White-horse lane, Stepney.
Collyer, Joseph, 7, Arbour street, Arbour square, Commercial road.
Collyer, William, 65, St. Mary Axe.
Cowland, Joseph, Yorkshire Grey, Stratford.
Foster, William, 5, Ironmonger lane.
Foster, William Joseph, ibid.
Giles, Joseph, Bow, Middlesex.
Green, Charles, jun. 22, Tokenhouse yard.
Harding, John, 3, Long lane, Smithfield.
Helm, John Thomas, 6, Brick lane, Whitechapel.
Heslop, Thomas, 2, Brunswick place, Stoke Newington.
Holden, Edward Toomes, 19, Chapel-street, Holywell Mount.
Hodson, Edward, 1, Bishopsgate street.
Hodson, George, abroad.
Howard, Matthew, esq. 29, Throgmorton street.
Joyce, Francis, Examiner's Office, East India House.
King, Richard Rogers, 6, Ironmonger lane.
King, Henry William.
Knight, Henry.
Knight, Edward, abroad.
Lane, William Henry, Mercers' Hall, Cheapside.
Lane, Thomas, esq. abroad.
Lane, the Rev. Charlton, 2, Eltham place, Kennington.
Lane, Charles Thomas, esq. 10, Serle street, Lincoln's Inn.
Lock, Michael, Brompton, near Chatham.
Mann, Thomas, 15, Queen street, King street, Hackney road.
Marsham, William, abroad.
May, James, Bethnal green.
Newnham, Rev. Francis.
Newnham, Henry, esq. 46, Wigmore street, Cavendish square.
Newnham, William, esq. abroad.
Nicholson, Richard, Hextable Farm, near Foot's Cray, Kent.
Osborne, Frederick, esq. 2, Churchyard court, Temple.
Osborne, Charles William, esq. abroad.

Mercer, in ancient times, was the name for a dealer in *small wares*, and not, as afterwards, a vender of silks. Merceries then comprehended all things sold retail by the *little balance*, or small scales, (in contradistinction to things sold by the *beam*, or in gross,) and included not only toys, together with haberdashery, and various other articles connected with dress, but also spices and drugs; in short, what at present constitutes the stock of a general country shopkeeper. The Mercers, in these periods of simplicity, chiefly kept the fairs and markets; for we learn that, in 1290, mercers who attended the French fairs for trading, in some instances, sat on the ground to sell their wares, and only paid a halfpenny toll; whilst others, who elevated their goods on stalls, paid a penny. The laws of William King of Scotland ordered them to have weights and scales for their merceries.* Childebert, king of France, about 705-6, enumerates merceries amongst other merchandizes subject to pay custom; and the merchandizes called "merceries" are again mentioned in the *Charta Mercatoria* of Edward I. (1302,) and in various subsequent authorities, in all instances meaning nearly the same as pedlery.

* Du Cange, in *v.*

Palmer, Rev. William Jocelyn, King's-arms yard.
Palmer, George, jun. esq. King's Arms yard.
Palmer, Francis, esq. ibid.
Palmer, Edward Howley, esq. ibid.
Palmer, William, Oxford.
Palmer, William, esq. 5, Essex court, Temple.
Palmer, Sir Ralph, abroad.
Parker, Joseph, jun.
Parker, Rev. Samuel, Stockport, Cheshire.
Parker, Thomas, Bocking, Essex.
Parker, Nathaniel, Reden Hall, near Harlston, Norfolk.
Paterson, John, 68, Old Broad street.
Pharazyn, Charles Johnson, Lloyd's Coffee-house.
Plater, James, 51, Compton street, Clerkenwell.
Powell, Rev. Baden, 18, St. Helen's place, Bishopsgate street.
Powell, Charles, esq. ibid.
Powell, Henry, esq. ibid.
Rake, Thomas, Bank of England.
Robins, Joshua, Bow, Middlesex.
Robson, John Chamberlain, abroad.
Rolf, John Girdleston, 16, Annett's crescent, Lower road, Islington.
Shipway, John, 1, York street, Kingsland road.
Shuttleworth, John, 3, Chapel court, Poultry.
Smith, Rev. John, Trinity Hospital, Greenwich.
Smith, William, Trinity Hospital.
Smith, William, Blue Anchor, Barking, Essex.
Sparrick, Thomas.
Stodhart, Samuel Lake, abroad.
Sutton, James, esq. 7, Castle alley, Royal Exchange.
Sutton, Rev. John, ibid.
Sutton, George Frederick Prince, esq. 6, Basinghall street.
Totton, Rev. William Jurin, Debden Parsonage, near Saffron Walden, Essex.
Totton, Rev. William Church, Dean's yard, Westminster.
Vines, Richard Grendey, 14, Temple street, Hackney road.
Watney, John, esq. Clapham road.
Watney, James, esq. Wandsworth, Surry.
Wathen, Halbert, esq. 22, Fenchurch street.
Williams, Thomas Frederick, 12, Homer street, Lambeth.

"The chapman of such *mercerie.*"—Gower, *Conf. Am.* b. 2.*

The silk trade,† which in later ages formed the main feature of the mercers' business, is stated, in the act 33 Henry VI. c. 5, to have been carried on by "the silkwomen and throwsteres of London," and who, in petitioning for that act, pray, that the Lombards and other strangers may be hindered from importing wrought silk into the realm, contrary to custom, and to the ruin of the mystery and occupation of *silk-making*, and other virtuous female occupations. Other acts to prevent the importation of the foreign silk manufacture were passed, at the like petition of "the men and women of the mystery and workmanship of silk," in anno 1 and 22 of Edward IV., 1 Richard III., and 1 and 19 of Henry VII. That there was a considerable silk trade during all the above reigns, however, is not to be doubted, though it was for ages so confined that it by no means formed a leading article of the mercer's trade. Cotton's Remains, instances silk as one of the "luxurious articles, the immeasurable use whereof grew here about 1573;" its consumption subsequently was abundantly increased, notwithstanding the sumptuary statutes of Elizabeth; for Camden, in his history of that princess, published soon afterwards, says, "the people, or richer sort, wear silks glittering with gold and silver, either embroidered or laced." In the reign of James I., Sir Baptist Hicks, and others, raised themselves to high rank and affluence as retail silk-mercers.

The antiquity of the Mercers as a metropolitan gild may be traced as far back at least as to 1172, the society being a few

* The petition of the Commons, as to merchant-strangers, 2 Rich. II., both mentions mercers attending fairs, and the sort of articles they dealt in. It prays, "That all the merchant-strangers, at whatsoever city, burgh, sea-port, *fair, market,* &c. they may stay with their merceries (*bona et mercimonia,*) may be under the king's protection; and that as well such merchants alien, as denizen, and who dealt in corn, fish, and other victuals, as well as in all manner of spices, fruits, and furs, or *little merceries,* may, at London, and at *all fairs and markets,* buy and sell in gross, or in parcels, of whom they please, and when they please." The same petition, in another part, specifies "napery, linen, canvass, and other gross *merceries,* together with all manner of gross merchandizes not expressed. Rot. Parl. iii. 47. Guiccardini, in his account of the Netherlands, speaking under the year 1560, similarly explains merceries at that late period. He says, "To Naples and Antwerp they sent Netherland and English cloths and stuffs in abundance, tapestry, linen, in vast quantities, *and several sorts of merceries,* as well of metals as of other materials." This description of merceries, Anderson observes, as well as another, where he says, '*merceries,* as well of *silk* as of other materials," "seems to include toys, as well as what we now call haberdashery ware."

† "Silk was used for many ages without its origin and nature being known. Two monks first imported the eggs of the silk-worm in the reign of Justinian, and thus developed the secret. It was of rare use among the Anglo-Saxons; but got into more general use after the Conquest."—*Encyclop. of Antiq.* in *v.*

years afterwards named as patrons of one of the great London charities. Its remote origin is also to be inferred from Robert Searle, mercer, being mayor as early as 1214. The first positive mention of them, however, as such, is not till 1296, when the company of Merchant Adventurers are stated to have arisen out of "the *Guild of Mercers* of the City of London," being a sort of English merchants, who first began to attempt the establishment of a woollen manufacture in England towards the close of king Edward the First's reign, when they obtained privileges from John Duke of Brabant, and stapled themselves at Antwerp, joining in society with them all the other English merchants resorting thither. "This is the account," says Anderson, "which the Merchant Adventurers give of their origin, in 1638, to the grand Committee for trade of the House of Commons, on their defence against the accusations of the separate traders, then called by that company 'interlopers.'"* The calendars of the Inquisitions ad quod Damnum, 14 Edward II. (1321,) again mention the "*Fraternity of Mercers* as possessing a rent-charge in St. Mary Colechurch parish, which will be presently noticed. In 1406, the branch of this trade styled Merchant Adventurers in their charter, granted by Henry IV., are called the "Brothers of St. Thomas à Becket;" a prelate, it will be seen, whose family was particularly connected with the early history of the Mercers, and which circumstance carries their origin, as one of the trading gilds, nearly as far back as the Conquest.

The Mercers' first station, in the reign of Henry II., was in that part of the *Warda Fori*, or Chepe, where Mercers' Hall now stands, and in the above Colechurch parish; but they removed soon afterwards higher up on the south side of Cheapside, between Bow church and Friday street, to which they gave the name of the Mercery. On this spot, adjoined by a large meadow on their south, called "Crownsild," with the old Cheapside cross in the midst of the high street, or market, and surrounded by the goldsmiths, bakers, butchers, pepperers, and other trades, the spot must have exactly resembled the country fairs they had been originally accustomed to frequent: here, at the beginning of their settlement, they sold the merceries, or mixed wares, which have been described, at little stalls or standings. "For I read," says Stow, speaking about the year 1296, "of no houses otherwise on that side of the street, but of divers *sheds*, from Sopars lane to the

* History of Commerce, i. p. 231, 6 vols. 8vo. Dublin, 1790; and see also Journals of the Commons, A.D. 1638.

Standard. Among others, I read of three shops or sheds by Sopars lane, pertaining to the priory of the Holy Trinity, without Aldgate; one was let for 28*s.*, another for 20*s.*, and the third for 11*s.* a year. Moreover, that Richard Goodchepe, mercer, and Margery his wife, (which Richard was son of Jordan Goodchepe,) did let to John Darlings the younger, mercer, their shed or chambers in Westcheap, in the parish of St. Mary de Arches, for 3*s.* 4*d.*"

The mercers may be presumed to have most importantly extended their commerce before the reign of Edward III. from the contention which had then grown up between them and the Lombard merchants. An instance of this animosity occurred in 1351, when a violent assault was committed on Francicso Bochel and other Lombards by the mercers of the Old Jury. The king issued his warrant on this occasion to the mayor (John Lovekym), commanding him to hold an inquest, and in the mean time to seize and imprison the offenders in the Tower. In the return the jurors state the outrage to have happened on the Midsummer-day of that year, when they found that "one Henry Forester, mercer, Thomas de Waldon, mercer, and Thomas Meleward, mercers, had, in the Old Jury, in the ward of Coleman strate, with force and arms, and of their malice aforethought," violently assaulted Francisco Bochel and Reynard Flanny, Lombards, against the king's peace; and that one Richard Phelip, mercer, was abetting and assisting: and conclude that they had been unable to find any just cause for such outrage.*

The Sumptuary Act, 37 Edward III., proves the Mercers to have sold in that reign woollen cloth, but no silks. It ordains that clothiers shall make suitable quantities of cloth of the various prices which are specified; and that *mercers* and shopkeepers in towns and cities "shall keep due sortment thereof, so that the laws be duly observed."

In the reign of Henry VI. the Mercers had become extensive dealers in silks and velvets, and had resigned their trade in the smaller articles of dress to the haberdashers, who appear, from the description in London Lickpenny, to have kept market in the adjoining stalls or standings:

"Then to the *Chepe* I began me drawne,
into *gan*
Where mutch people I sawe for to stand;
I sawe *stand* *moche people*
One ofred me velvett, sylke, and lawne,
bad *come nere and by fine cloth of*

* City Records, lib. viii. 79.

An other he taketh me by the haunde.
Paris thred, cotton, and umple;
Here is Parys thread, the fynest in the launde."
I seyd there upon I could no skyle.

It is difficult to say whether the Mercers had at this time become themselves importers of the silks they sold, whether they were brought over by the Lombard merchants, or whether they were fabricated by the London silkwomen; but it is certain that, for a considerable time before, the Mercers' Company, in consequence of the adoption of a distinct line of traffic by those called Merchant Adventurers, had become a mixed body of merchants and shopkeepers. This is alluded to in their incorporation charter, which states, "the impoverishment of several men of the mystery often by misfortunes of the sea," and the wish of the fraternity to make some provision for such, to be the reason of the king's grant; and the fact further appears in their many eminent members before and after that period, who, though called *mercers*, are well known to have been *merchants*.* First in rank of these, if not priority of date, was WHITTINGTON, whose romantic legend, notwithstanding what has been said of him in our Historical Essay, will always continue to delight and stimulate the youthful fancies of every rising generation, and whose *cat*, (whether, according to the facetious Foote, the name of the coal craft, with which he traded, or an actual animal of that species,) added to his own enterprising mind, raised him, according to his epitaph, to be the "*Flos mercatorum*," or flower of his brother merchants. Nor was the illustrious GRESHAM behind him, except in order of time. Indeed, it is evident, from various circumstances, that the gilds of both Mercers and Grocers were in very early times gilds of merchants, which, though having an admixture of shopkeepers amongst them, always kept up the consequence of the former character, as they both do

* Lady Camden, widow of Sir Baptist Hicks, in her bequest to the Mercers, in 1642, not only makes a direct distinction between the *commercial* and *trading* parts of the company, or the merchants and shopkeepers, but apparently between those amongst the latter, who still sold silks in the Mercery, or were dealers in them elsewhere. Her intent was to assist young *freemen*, beginning business as shopkeepers, with the gratuitous loan of 1000*l.*, exclusively of the *livery*, which we are left to infer consisted only of the merchants and greater sort not needing such assistance; and she therefore provides, that "shopkeepers of the *Mercery* shall be preferred, and next *silkmen*; all being of the *company* of Mercers, and not of the *livery* of the same company." As both freemen and liverymen must have been equally "of the company," the meaning here was evidently to separate the mercer or silkman, from the merchant, both of which, we shall see, were sometimes combined in the same member, and sometimes distinct.—*Vide* note at p. 240; and see also, under this Company, Art. "*Money Legacies.*"

in a considerable degree at present; and it might have been owing to this circumstance that those two companies first took precedence of the rest.

The importance of the Mercers at the death of Whittington was evenced by their being left trustees, in 1421, of the college and almshouses founded by him on College-hill. The original ordinances of this chariry, with a curious illustration of Whittington dying, constitute part of the company's remaining documents, and contain portraits of the first three wardens, Coventry, Grove, and Carpenter.

In 1411, the three succeeding wardens, Spileman, Marchford, and Whatile, had a grant from Henry IV. of premises in Cheapside, described as "one new soldam, shed, or building, with shop, cellars, and edifices appertaining; and the building called 'Crownsild,' situate in the Mercery in Westcheap, London." They were to be holden in burgage, as all the city of London is, and were worth 7*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* annually, as was found by inquisition before Knowles, the mayor. This soldam was a large stone gallery, or royal standing, next Bow Church, which was built by Edward III. for viewing tournaments and other spectacles, for which Cheapside was so famous anciently, and which is amply noticed by Stow. The same wardens subsequently assigned the above premises to Sir William Waldron, mercer, mayor in 1412, and in 1423.

Lib. K. p. 206,* amongst the City records, has, about this time, a petition from the Mercers to the corporation of London, to be exempt from serving on juries.

In 1513 the Mercers were licensed to receive lands to the value of 20*l.* a year from dame *Joan Bradbury*, widow of Thomas Bradbury, mercer, and late lord mayor of London, for the maintenance of certain superstitious uses specified, and the performance of works of charity, as will be found under its proper head. The remarkable circumstance which justifies a particular mention of the occurrence here, is, that the land purchased on this occasion was no other than that now immensely valuable tract which is covered by New Bond street and its neighbourhood, and then called "CONDUIT MEAD;" a property, which had this company retained, it would more than quadrupled the value of all their present estates.

In pursuance of the king's grant on this occasion, and of other letters patent of his 6th year, the bishop of Norwich and others,

* Pa. 231a—233a Jor. 6, fol. 106.

by deed dated in 1517, granted to the Mercers' Company "29 acres of land, with the appurtenances, in the parish of St. Marylebone; and 20 acres of land, 40 acres of meadow, and 60 acres of pasture, in the town of Westminster, and in the parishes of St. Giles's and St. Martin in the Fields, to the annual value of 13*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*, in part satisfaction of the said 20*l.* a year." "In what manner," say the Reports on the Public Charities, "this property was dealt with, after the suppression of the superstitious uses charged upon it, is involved in much obscurity, and does not seem material on the present occasion to be ascertained. There remain of it at present in the company's possession about eight acres and a half, forming the north side of Long Acre, and the adjacent streets.*

What follows will explain the obscurity complained of:

In 1522 the Mercers borrowed 400*l.* of the Charter-house monastery, Smithfield, for which they agreed to pay an annuity of 13*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* to that convent. The Mercers were to pay this fee-farm rent by equal quarterly portions in St. Thomas of Acon's church. The agreement, with an after transfer of the above-mentioned land, are preserved in the act 28 Henry VIII. c. 44. The agreement states that—

"Where afore tyme John Kyme, citezen and alderman of the citie of London, Symon Ryse, John Clyfford, and John Yellyn, wardens of the mystery or crafte of m^r^cers, in the said citie, and the co'ialty of the same mystery by their deede sealed wyth theyre co'en seale, beryng date the tenthe daye of Apryll, in the xiij^th^ yere of our most dread sov^r^ayn lord kyng Henry the viij^th^. with theyre co'en assent and wyll, for the some of iiij^cli^ st^r^lyng, to them by Will'm Tymbygh, pryour of the howse of the Salutricon of the mother of God, of th' order of Charter-house, nygh London, to them aforehande payd, gave and granted to the said prioire and to the cov'ent of the same house, a certeyn annuyte or yerly rent of xiij. vi^s^ viij^d^. To be payd at the aulter of Seynt Thomas the martyr, in the northe parte of the body of the chyrche of Seynt Thomas the martyr, in London, called Seynt Thomas of Acon." And that it had been "enacted by aucthoryte of this present

* *Mercer* street, one of these, still commemorates the Mercers' property on this spot. This, with other adjoining places, anciently parcel of Elm Clover, Long Acre, are described in the Parliamentary Survey, (1650,) at the Augmentation office, as having constituted "part of the possessions of Charles Stuart, late king of England," and for which the warden and company then paid to the crown 13*s.* 4*d.* per annum. "Mercer street" itself is said, in the same Survey, to have then had on its west side ten tenements, worth 250*l.* per annum, and large gardens reaching down to Cock and Pye ditch, which formerly encircled the site of the Seven Dials.

Parlyment, that the kyng owr sou'reyn lorde, his heires and successours, shulde have, holde, and enjoye one meadowe, called Conduyte Mede, and lvj acres of lande in the paryshe of Seynt Martyn, nyghe Charyng Crosse, whyche the seyde wardeyns and co'raltye of the said mystery or crafte of mercers now beying, late had to them and theyr successors."

In exchange, or "recompence," as it is termed, for this most valuable estate, a country manor, named *Hasyllyngfeld*, was assured by the act of parliament to the company, and by them again conveyed and assured to the Charterhouse, as a security for the fee-farm rent mentioned.

In 1561 we find the Mercers to have been an actual trading company, and, conformably to what is at present understood by the name, *dealers in silk*. A notice from the Grocers' minutes, under this year, informs us, that the wardens of the Mercers' were summoned before the Queen's council "for uttering and selling *velvetts*, *sattens*, and *damaskes*," at the great prices they did, "considering that her Majesty had brought her base coin to as fine a coin as ever was in England; which baseness of coin had thentofore been theirs, and others' excuse, for the high prices of all manner of wares; and that the nobility perceived no amendment of the prices of the said sorts of silks, to the great offence of her grace." The Mercers' Company properly answered, that they had no authority over those who sold silks, unless they were members of their own company, and that retail dealers of other companies were much more faulty; in proof thereof, they requested their honours to send for the Grocers, and take them to task, promising for themselves "to make such reform as would give satisfaction."

Stow writes of them, after this time, as consisting "much of such as sold rich silks brought from Italy, who lived chiefly in Cheapside, St. Lawrence Jewry, and the Old Jewry;" adding, in another part of his survey, "these mercers are generally merchants."

In 1698, the Mercers' Company engaged in a scheme which nearly annihilated the whole of their funds. It was that of granting annuities at 30*l.* per cent. to widows of clergymen, according to sums paid by their husbands. This plan was suggested to the company by Dr. Asheton,* as a means which would enable them

* Rector of Beckingham, Kent. According to this scheme, married men of the age of thirty, or under, were allowed to subscribe 100*l.*; married men, under forty, any sum not exceeding 500*l.*; under sixty, any sum not exceeding

to pay a load of debt with which they were then encumbered. Considerable sums were subscribed on these terms, but the annuity was found too large; it was afterwards gradually lowered to 18*l.* per cent., but still without the company being able to sustain the charge. In 1745 they were obliged to stop, and after several ineffectual struggles, to apply for the aid of Parliament. On the 16th of February, 1747, a petition from "the Wardens and Commonalty of the Mystery of Mercers," was read in the House of Commons,* which stated—

"That the company had lent to King Charles the First, and to the Parliament and City of London, in the troublesome times of that reign, several sums amounting to 10,000*l.* and upwards; that they were the devisees, under Sir Thomas Gresham's will, jointly with the City of London, of several estates for maintaining the Gresham lectures, and performing several charities. That on the destruction of the Royal Exchange by the fire of London, King Charles II. being desirous that it should be rebuilt in a more magnificent manner, they had contributed, jointly with the City of London, in purchasing ground for its greater commodiousness, and the rebuilding thereof; whereby, and by the money so as aforesaid lent, they had expended several sums which had been left them for charitable purposes, and had also incurred a large debt."

They then give an account of Dr. Asheton's annuity scheme, and state as the result, "that Michaelmas, 1745, they found themselves indebted to the said charities, and to their other creditors, in 100,000*l.* and upwards. That the annuities they were then liable to pay amounted to 7,620*l.* per annum; and that the subscribers for annuities in expectancy amounted to 10,000*l.* a year more; while, to answer these claims, the whole of their then income only amounted to 4,100*l.* per annum.

This petition having being referred to a committee, their report thereon was brought up to the House on the 8th of the following March: it stated, amongst other curious particulars of the Mercers' history, that—

"Having examined the matter, according to proofs produced to them, (the Committee,)† they had found the 10,000*l.* in question

300*l.*; their widows, as above, to receive 30*s.* per cent., unless the person subscribing should have committed suicide, have been killed in a duel, or executed; in which cases the subscription money was returned. Seafaring persons were not allowed to subscribe.

* Journals of the House of Commons, vol. 25.

† The vouchers mentioned to have been shown to the Committee on this occasion were, "The Second Warden's Fair Book, for the year ending 1641; the like, for the years 1666, 1667,

to have been lent at five different sums, at five different times, viz. 3030*l.* lent to King Charles I. in the year 1640; 6,500*l.* lent to the Parliament in 1642; 88*l.* on account of arms delivered from the company's armoury to the Parliament in the same year; 71*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* on account of a similar delivery of arms to the City; and the further sum of 3,200*l.* lent to the City in the same year.

The above sums, it appears, were lent compulsorily, on letters from the lord mayor, backed, in the one instance, by the king and a majority of his peers; and, in the other, enforced by Parliament through the means of the City; and which latter had been obliged itself, by precept, to become also a borrower of the companies, in order to satisfy the rapacity of the parties who alternately swayed the government.

In consequence of these proceedings, the company was enabled, by Act of Parliament, 4 George III., to issue new bonds, and to pay them off by a lottery, drawn in their own hall; and by this means its affairs have been long retrieved; and it is at present one of the most flourishing in London.*

About the beginning of the eighteenth century, the alterations in the Mercery, and the part removal of the mercers from it, which took place soon after the fire of London, are thus noticed by Strype.

"Beyond the Great Conduit, on the south side of Chepe, are now fine and large houses, for the most part inhabited by mercers, up to the corner of Cordwainer street, which, however, in former times, were but sheds or shops, with terraces over them, as of late some remained at Sopar lane end, where a woman sold roots and herbs. But these sheds or shops, by encroachments on the high street, are now largely built on both sides, outwards, and also upwards towards heaven, four or five stories high."†

1684, and 1713-14." "An Inventory of such Arms of the Company for the service of the City, 5th May, 1643." "The Gresham Repertory." "An ancient Book, called Evidences of Dean Colet's Lands," supposed in his own handwriting; "Dean Colet's Will, 1511." "The Will Book," an ancient book of copies of instruments, about the reign of Henry VIII. "Antient tenures of the Colet Estates," mostly dated in 1575 and 1577, with a plan of the Stepney property, made 1615.

* The Act mentioned (4 George III.) states that the Mercers had therefore paid 548*l.* 1*s.* on account of their trust charities, and that 3000*l.* a year had been granted them towards liquidating their own embarrassments, for a term of thirty-five years, from the duties on coals, by two Acts of Parliament of the 21st of Geo. II.

† Strype's Stow, 1, p. 556. How thickly the mercers must have congregated in ancient times in and about the Mercery, will be seen below, from the notices of their residence and burial in St. Mary-le-Bow, and the adjoining parishes:

In *Bow church* was buried, 1425, Sir

Taubman, in his pageant of "LONDON'S JUBILEE," 1686, attempts, ingeniously enough, in his address to the Mercers, to account for their ranking as the *first* company, and that they adopted, as such, the *virgin* for their conuzance.

"As London has the precedency of all other cities in England, so have you the priority of all the companies of London, being the *first* that was founded a society in the reign of KING RICHARD THE SECOND. 'Twas then as an emblem of antiquity, having obtained the *maidenhead* of all charters and corporations, you were endowed with that honourable *hieroglyphic* of primitive innocence, the VIRGIN, for your coat; to whose magnificent state, in your *Triumphal Chariot*, you have this year so highly contributed."

Unfortunately the poet's compliment, like most similar ebullitions of fancy, wants authority. The Mercers, we have seen, were not the first incorporated company, though they are at present first in rank; for the goldsmiths, merchant tailors, and skinners, were as fully incorporated long before them. Elkanah Settle, on the inauguration as mayor of Sir William Gore, in 1701, more authentically comments on the company's ancient union of *mercer* and *merchant*.

"As you precede the whole city in honour, so you lead in magnificence, the expense and glory of one single *virgin chariot*, of the Honourable Company of MERCERS, far exceeding the whole

John Coventry, just named; Nicholas Alwine, mercer, and mayor, 1499; John Dunne, mercer, and a parishioner, who left two houses in Bow lane for the maintaining of Bow bell; John Howe, mercer, 1478, and John Baldry, mercer, who each gave money towards the erection of Bow steeple; also Andrew Fuller, mercer, who is mentioned as being one of the churchwardens of Bow church, on its being finished, in 1516. Of later distinguished residents here, notices will be found under the head "EMINENT MEMBERS." In ST. PANCRAS church, Sopar lane, (now Bow lane,) were buried the following mercers, viz. John Barnes, mayor, 1370; John Stockton, mayor, 1470; John Dunne, (see above,) and Robert Pakenton, mercer, whom Stow mentions to have been maliciously *shot*, "as he was going from his house in Cheap, to hear morrow-mass in St. Thomas church of Acons, anno 1536.

Further off, but still connected with this neighbourhood, we meet with the residences or burials of these ancient mercers of eminence, viz.: In *St. Antholin's* church, Watling street, Alderman Dauntsey, mercer, and alderman of the staple, 1542. (This last entry singularly corroborates the connexion between the mercers and the merchant adventurers, already noticed, as does the next, their union of mercer and merchant.) "Sir Roger Martin, mercer and merchant," 1573; William Essex, mercer, is mentioned as holding tenements in Goose lane, adjoining St. Antholin's church, as early as 26th of Edward III.; Sir Harry Colet, mercer, and mayor, and father of the celebrated Dean Colet, although buried at Stepney, resided here, and had the effigies of himself and family in St. Antholin's church. Finally, in *St. Sythes*, or Benet Sherhog, (anciently situated in St. Sythes lane, adjacent,) there were monuments for *John Frirgh*, mercer, 1394; Henry Frowick, mercer, mayor, 1435; and Sir Ralph Warren, mercer, mayor in 1553, (who was a remote progenitor of Oliver Cromwell.)

charge and grandeur of any common entertainment from other foundations, on the like public occasion. But this costly piece of state, so peculiarly your own, is in a high manner owing to the *generous veins* that chiefly compose your society; a society that more prides itself in *desert* than *crowds*, whilst, with a particular caution, rarely practised in any city roofs but your own, you carefully avoid the miscellaneous conflux of all manner of professions that generally form the other companies, and more honourably keep up the quality of your members to their title; whilst the MERCER and MERCHANT, those most eminent figures in commerce and trade, make up the chief body of your constitution." He adds, "The short triumph of a day is, however, the least of your honour. You have raised yourselves more lasting monuments to aggrandize the renown of the Mercers; witness not only your several foundations of charity, but of literature too. The famous school of *St. Paul's* is a pile that sufficiently records your praise. Nor does that magnificent nursery of infant students alone resound your fame. A MERCER'S CHAPEL is a generous *Alma Mater*, even to that riper race of learned heads, viz. in those numerous *Ecclesiastical Donations*, all in your own disposal; that even piety and religion come suppliants to your gates; whilst no less than the CHURCH itself stands a debtor to your bounty and patronage."

It has been noticed, as a curious singularity, that in the Mercers' Company there is scarcely a single mercer at the present day. Their mercantile character they still keep up, many of them being eminent merchants, as they were anciently; and perhaps this may account for the fact of there having been so many lord mayors of this company. Strype, as an instance, speaks of "that renowned merchant, Sir Thomas Gresham, who built the Royal Exchange, and founded the lecture at Gresham College," and was at the same time a member of the Mercers; adding, "and none, successively for many years, have been masters of the company but knights, aldermen, or sheriffs, (or such as have fined for the latter offices,) or having some other honourable qualification."

Campbell, (London Tradesman, 1757,) speaking of the modern silkmercer, says, "He is the twin brother of the draper, only the woollendraper deals chiefly with the men, and is the graver animal of the two; and the mercer traffics most with the ladies: the latter dealing in silks, velvets, brocades, and an innumerable train of expensive articles for the ornament of the fair sex. Their business requires a great capital to make a figure."

Taylor, the water-poet, quotes the following list of stuffs in which mercers dealt a century earlier:

> "Alass! what would our silk mercers be,
> What would they do, sweet Hempseed! but for thee?
> Rash, Trifeled, Puropæ, and Novato,
> Shagge, Filzetta, Damaske, and Mochado."

The CONSTITUTION of the Mercers' Company, as granted by their early charters, was the same as that of the other ancient gilds already noticed, viz. perpetuity as a corporate body, with the oversight and government thereof, (implying the right of trade search and making of ordinances,) and annual election of their principals and officers, agreeably to the original fundamental principle of all the fraternities, "by and from the assembled community," or in the words of their incorporation charter:—

That they from thenceforth might have a perpetual community of themselves, and that the same community every year might have power to elect and make four wardens from the men of the same community, "(et q[uo]d eadem co[mmun]itas sing[u]lis annis elig[e]re possent et fac[e]re Quatuor Custodes de Ho[m]i[ni]b[u]z d'car co[mmun]itatis et mistere,)" to oversee, regulate, and govern the community and mystery aforesaid, and all the men, state, and affairs thereof for ever.

To these were added, by the above, and the subsequent charters we have enumerated, liberty to possess estates to a limited amount for charitable purposes; to establish a chaplain and a chantry; to have a common seal, "for the sealing and use of the business of the said community; that they might be persons able in law to implead and be impleaded, and various minor privileges.

The charter 33 Charles II., and which we shall abridge merely as a specimen of this, and the other companies' grants on this occasion, the same (as has been fully explained,) having now no validity, states the surrendering up by the company of all their powers, franchises, liberties, privileges, and authorities to the king, together with their power of appointment and election to the separate offices of master, wardens, assistants, and clerk of the said incorporation, and the acceptance by the crown of the same; and, in consideration of such surrender, grants "That all and every the freemen of the mystery of Mercers of London" shall thenceforward for ever be a body corporate and politic, by the name of 'MASTER, WARDENS, AND COMMONALTY OF THE MYSTERY OF MERCERS OF THE CITY OF LONDON,' with perpetual succession,

and shall under such name be capable of possessing estates of whatsoever kind, in fee, perpetuity, term of years, or otherwise, as well as goods, chattels, and credits of every species, and shall be empowered to alienate and assign the same away, and to do all necessary acts for the purpose; and that by their said corporate name they may sue and be sued, answer and be answered, defend and be defended, in all courts and before any the king's judges or other persons whatsoever in all actions, &c."

It grants them permission to have a common seal, and to remake and alter the same at their pleasure; and further grants, that thenceforth there may and shall be yearly, FOUR of the company elected and nominated in manner thereafter mentioned, one of whom shall be, and shall be called *master* of the company, and the other three *wardens*, and likewise that there shall be *thirty* or more of the company, in form thenafter mentioned, constituted and appointed, and who shall be and be called *assistants*, to aid and assist the master and wardens in all things touching the mystery; and that for the better management of such matters, concerning the mystery, the company may have and hold a certain hall or council-house, in the city or liberties; and that the said master and wardens, or any two of them for the time being, may as often as to them shall seem fit, call together and hold within such hall or house, a court or convocation of the said master, wardens, and assistants to the number of twelve or more, of whom the master and wardens, or a separate deputation of them shall be four, who shall be able to make statutes and ordinances to the best of their judgments, for the good government and rule of the rest of the company; and it further

Grants that the master, wardens, and assistants, to the number of twelve, of which the master and wardens as aforesaid shall be four, on public summons by them made of the company, shall have full power from time to time to make such *statutes and ordinances* in writing as to them, twelve or more of them, whereof the master, &c. to be four, shall to the best of their judgment seem fit, for the good government, direction, and correction of the company, and of all persons free thereof, and using and exercising the mystery, and also for directing in what manner the master, wardens, and fellowship, and of every freeman using and exercising the mystery, shall in their offices and mysteries, behave themselves for the public good and benefit of the same, and of all things thereunto appertaining; and that such court of twelve, &c. may as often as need shall be make such laws, &c. as aforesaid.

For the due observation of the same laws, it empowers the said court of twelve to inflict such punishments, pains, and penalties, by fines and amerciaments on delinquents, as such court shall think fit, and also to recover the same by action, distress, or in any other way, for the use of the company, in any of the king's courts, and without composition to him or his successors.

It ordains that every clerk of the company aforesaid to be named and elected, shall before his admission to office be presented to the king for his approbation, and that on approval by him, he shall, on taking the oaths, as then fixed upon, be admitted; but that on the king's refusal of him such election shall be void, and in such case the master, wardens, and assistants for the time being, or the major part of them, shall proceed to a new election, and the person who shall be chosen shall in like manner be presented and approved of before he shall be admitted. And it also

Provides that all elections of any other master, wardens, assistants, and clerk of the company, which shall be made contrary to the aforesaid directions and restrictions, shall be void; and moreover, that the king by an order in council shall have power to displace any master, wardens, or court, when such place or offices shall be considered vacant, and new persons elected, who shall take the oaths provided as before mentioned; and

Wills that the company shall be obedient to the lord mayor and court of aldermen; that no person frequenting conventicles or not a member of the Church of England, be admitted to the livery; and that all persons admitted on the livery shall be approved by the lord mayor, and take and subscribe the oaths of supremacy and allegiance; and that no assistant then on the court shall remain without a new election. And *lastly*, confirms all former grants and privileges, and permits them to hold land to the clear yearly value of 200*l.* per annum.

The Government of the Mercers' Company is administered by the usual description of principals, assisted by similar officers, as are common to most of the other trading societies, but the number and nature of such principals, as well as the style of the company itself, have differed from time to time. In their incorporation charter we find the fraternity addressed as "the Men of the Mystery of Mercery of the City of London." In the subsequent will of Whittington, (1421,) the principals are designated "Keepers of the Commonalty of the Craft of Mercerie in the City of London;" Henry the VI.'ths confirmatory charter is simply addressed "to the Mercers of London;" Dean Colet's will, in 1511, to "the

Wardens and Commonalty of the Mystery of Mercerie of the City of London." In the year 1522, Conduit-mead is conveyed to the Charter-house by "the Wardens of the Mystery and Crafte of Mercers in the Citie of London and com'alty of the same Mystery," with "theyr co'en assent and wyll." In 1537, we find the list of livery given at the beginning of this article, (as similarly in the other companies,) styled "the Freemen Householders" of the Company. Alderman Dauntsey's will, 1242, bequeaths "to the Wardens and Fellowship of the Mercers of the City of London;" and Gresham's, in 1575, to "the Wardens and Commonalty of the Mystery of Mercers of London." Banks, in his charity, given 1619, directs the profits of certain premises to be assigned to the renter-warden of the company of Mercers for the time being, and that the wardens and commonalty should perform the trusts therein mentioned; and similarly, Fishborne's will, in 1625, but which mentions "the husband warden;" the charter of Charles II., just quoted, is directed to the "Master, Wardens, and Generality of the Company." Their first charter we have seen was addressed to them by the Latin designation of "*Homines Misteræ Merceræ, London.*" The present list of the company designates those not on the court as "the Generality of the Mercers."

Four wardens, as govenors, are allowed by their incorporation charter. Three only, petition for the confirmation of Henry IV. Four wardens, the first being an alderman of London, are again mentioned in 1522. The charter of Charles II. allows the court to elect four wardens, one of whom shall be called master; and allows thirty or more assistants. In the New View, 1708, the company is stated to be governed by four wardens, and about forty (but uncertain) assistants; Maitland, 1777, by "a prime, and three other wardens, and forty assistants." The present government, as we have seen, is vested in a master, three wardens, and a court of assistants. The duties, mode of election, and other regulations connected with the principals and officers of the Mercers' Company, assimilate so nearly to those which have been already described in our prefatory essay, and which will be found repeated, in substance, in the instance of other companies, that we forbear to enlarge on them here. Their principal meetings are, in fact, to inspect the various matters connected with their estates, and the distribution of their numerous charities;—taking apprentices, admission of freemen, and other routine business, usual with the rest of the companies, only applies in a very minor degree to the mercers, which continues, in all respects, what it has been just described, *a select Company*.

LORD MAYORS OF THE MERCERS' COMPANY.

The masters, wardens, and other principals of the Mercers' Company, who arrived at the dignity of lord mayor, according to Strype's list, were as follows:

Date.	*Name.*	*Residence.*	*Buried.*
1214 1217 1218 1219 1220 1221 1222	Robert Searle.	Bishopsgate street.	Unknown.
1343 1356	Simon Francis.[1]	Old Jewry.	
1353 1354	Adam Francis.		St. Helen's, Bishopsgate street.
1371 1372	John Barnes.		St. Pancras, Sopar lane.
1373	John Piel.		
1377	Adam Staple.		
1394	Henry Frowicke.		St. Benet Sherhog.
1395	Sir John Frowicke.		
1398 1407 1420	Sir Rich. Whittington.	Tower Royal.	College-hill.
1402	Sir John Chadworth.[2]		St. Mildred's, Bread street.
1406	Sir John Woodcock.[3]		St. Alban's, Wood street.
1413 1423	Sir William Waldron.[4]		
1415	Sir Thomas Falconer.		
1425	Sir John Coventrie.	Mercery, West Cheap.	St. Mary-le-bow.

[1] Simon Francis must have possessed great wealth; for, by inquisition 32 Edward III., he was found to have died seized (among other estates) of, in London and Middlesex, the manor of Northal, Northal, Blenchappleton manor, (by Mincing lane, now called Blind Chapel court,) Hertford court, the manor of Dorne, Acton, Fulham manor, Harwe (Harrow), Harwe manor, Fychislye (Finchley), Stanmore manor, and Risseley.

[2] The conduit upon Cornhill was during his mayoralty made into the prison called the TUN.

[3] This mayor caused all the wears in the Thames, from Staines to the Medway, to be destroyed, and the trinks to be burnt.

[4] Son of Geoffery Walderne, of Walderne, in Sussex.

Date.	*Name.*	*Residence.*	*Buried.*
1430 } 1438 }	Sir Wm. Estfeold, K.B.[1]	Aldermanbury.	St. Mary, Aldermanbury.
1436 } 1445 }	Sir Henry Frowicke.[2]		St. Sithe's by Bucklersbury.
1437	Sir John Tresbut.		St. Thomas's Acon.
1446	Sir Robert Large.[3]		
1447	Sir John Olney.[4]		
1450	Sir Thomas Charlton.[5]		
1453	Sir Geoffry Fielding.[6]	Unknown.	Unknown.
1453	Sir Geoffry Bullen.[7]		
1455	Sir William Marrowe.[8]		
1462	Sir Henry Wyche.[9]		
1466	Sir Ralphe Varney.[10]		
1471	Sir John Stockton.[11]		
1474	Sir John Tate.		
1479	Sir Richard Gardiner.[12]		St. Pancras, Sopar lane.
1481	Sir John Browne.[13]		St. Ma. Magd. Milk st. (1497.)
1489 } 1496 }	Sir Henry Colet.[14]		Stepney.
1489	Sir Robert Tate.[15]		Allhallows, Barking.
1491	Sir John Matthewe.[16]		St. Martin Ongars.
1491	Sir Hugh Clopton.[17]	Lothbury.	St. Marg. Lothbury.
1497	Sir William Purchase.[18]	Lawrence lane.	St. Lawrence Jewry.
	John Tate the younger.[19]		
1500	Sir Nicholas Alwyn.[20]	Mercery.	St. Mary-le-bow.

[1] Son of William Eastfield, of Tickel, in Yorkshire.

[2] Son to Henry Frowicke, of Middlesex.

[3] Son of Sir Thomas Large, mercer, born in London.

[4] Son of John Olney, of Coventry.

[5] Son to Thomas Charlton, of Dunstable, Bedfordshire.

[6] Son to William Fielding, of Lutterworth, Leicestershire.

[7] Son to Geoffry Bullen, of Salle, in Norfolk.

[8] Sir William Marrowe, though said here to have been a mercer, was indisputably a grocer, as will be hereafter seen.

[9] Son of Richard Wyche, of Wic Mulban, Cheshire.

[10] Son of Ralph Verney, born in London.

[11] Son to Richard Stockton, of Bratoft, Lincolnshire. He was one of the twelve aldermen who were knighted for opposing the bastard Falconbridge.

[12] Son of John Gardiner, of Essing, in Suffolk.

[13] Otherwise called John de Werks, son to John Browne, of Okeham, in Rutlandshire.

[14] Son to Robert Colet, of Wendover, Bucks, and father to Dean Colet. The new cross in West Cheap was beautifully rebuilt by him.

[15] Son to Thomas Tate, of Coventry, and brother of Robert, mayor, 1489.

[16] First a linen draper, but translated to the mercers. He was son to Thomas Matthewe, of Sherrington, Bucks.

[17] He built the bridge at Stratford, as see p. 252.

[18] Son to John Purchase, of Gamelingley, Cambridgeshire. In his mayoralty all the gardens in Moorfields were made plain.

[19] Son of John Tate, born in London. In his mayoralty, the appointment of serjeants, yeomen, clerks, and secondary to the sheriffs of London, took place.

[20] Son to Rich. Alwin, of Spalding, in Lincolnshire. He gave twelve pence a piece to 3000 poor people in London, and the like to the poor of Spalding.

Date.	*Name.*	*Residence.*	*Buried.*
1507 } 1513 }	Sir Richard Haddon.[1]		St. Olave, Hart street.
1508	Sir William Browne.[2]		St. Ma. Aldermanbury (1508.)
1509	Thomas Bradbury (in part.)[3]		St. Stephen, Coleman street (1509.)
1513	Sir William Browne, (in part.)[4]		Unknown.
	Sir John Tate, (served out the year.)[5]		
1520	Sir James Yarford.[6]		St. Mich. Bassishaw (1527.)
1523	Sir Thomas Baldry.[7]		St. Thomas of Acon.
1526 } 1536 }	Sir John Allen.[8]		Mercers' Chapel.
1527	Sir Thomas Seimour.[9]		St. Leon., Shoreditch (1535.)
1530	Sir Ralph Dodmer.[10]		St. Stephen, Walbrook.
1537 } 1544 }	Sir Ralph Warren.[11]		St. Sythe's, Watling street.
1538	Sir Richard Gresham.[12]		St. Lawrence, Jewry.
1540	Sir William Hollis.[13]		St. Helen, Bishopsgate street.
1542	Sir Michael Dormer.[14]		St. Lawrence Jewry (1542.)
1548	Sir John Gresham.[15]		Basinghall Chapel (1556.)
1550	Sir Rowland Hill.[16]		St. Stephen, Walbrook (1561.)
1559	Sir Thomas Leigh.[17]		Mercers' Chapel.
1565	Sir Richard Mallery.[18]	Golden Key, Mercery.	Ditto.
1568	Sir Roger Martin.[19]	Sopar lane.	St. Antholin's, Wat. st. (1573.)
1572	Sir William Allen.[20]	Bishops. Ch. then St. Paul's.	St. Botolph, Bishopsgate street.

[1] Son to William Haddon, citizen and mercer, of London.

[2] Son to John Browne, citizen and mercer, of London.

[3] Son to William Bradbury, of Broughton, Herts.

[4] Son to John Browne, described above.

[5] See account of him, p. 252.

[6] Son to William Yarford, of Kidwelly, in Wales.

[7] Son to Richard Baldry, of Stone market, Suffolk.

[8] Son to Richard Allen, of Thachstead, Essex.

[9] Son to John Seimour, of London, fishmonger, and grandson of Robert Seymour.

[10] Son to Henry Dodmer, of Pickering Leigh, Yorkshire: was translated from the brewers to the mercers.

[11] Son to Thomas Warren Fuller, and grandson of William Warren, of Tevring, Essex.

[12] Son to John Gresham, of Holt, in Norfolk.

[13] Son to Matthew Hollis, citizen and baker, of London.

[14] Son to Geoffery Dormer, of Tame, in Oxfordshire.

[15] Son to John Gresham, of Holt, Norfolk, and brother of Sir Richard Gresham.

[16] Son to Thomas Hill, of Hodnet, in Shropshire.

[17] Son to Roger Leigh, of Wellington, in Shropshire.

[18] Son to Anthony Mallery, of Papworth, Cambridgeshire.

[19] Son to Lawrence Martin, of Milford, Suffolk.

[20] Son to William Allen, citizen and poulterer, of London, and grandson to Richard Allen, of Hendon, Herts.

Date.	*Name.*	*Residence.*	*Buried.*
1573	Sir Lionel Ducket.	St. Peter, Wood street.	
1604	Sir Thomas Benet.[1]	Unknown.	Unknown.
1607	Sir Henry Roe.[2]		
1645	Sir Thomas Atkins.[3]		
1656	Sir John Dethicke.[4]		
1671	Sir Richard Ford.[5]		
1687	Sir John Peake.[6]		
1688	Sir John Chapman.[7]		
1694	Sir Thomas Lane.[8]		
1697	Sir Edward Clarke.[9]		
1701	Sir William Gore.[10]		

EMINENT HONORARY MEMBERS.

King Richard the Second, a Free Brother.
Queen Elizabeth, a Free Sister.

Accounts state that there have been several "kings and princes members of this society," but they do not particularize more than the above two sovereigns; nor have the company themselves knowledge of any other.

NOBILITY SPRUNG FROM MERCERS.

1. Sir Adam Fraucis, (1354:) his daughter and heiress married John Lord Montacue, earl of Salisbury, mother to Thomas Montacue, the last earl of that name.

2. Sir John Coventry, (1425,) son of William Coventry, of the city of Coventry; ancestor of the present earl of Coventry.

3. Sir Geoffery Bullen was grandfather of Thomas earl of Wiltshire, father to Anne Bullen, and grandfather to Queen Elizabeth. The highest genealogical honour the city ever possessed.

[1] Son to Thomas Benet, of Wallingford, Berks.

[2] Son to Sir Thomas Roe, citizen and merchant tailor, of London.

[3] Son of John Atkins, of King's Lynn, Norfolk.

[4] Son of John Dethicke, of West Newton, and grandson of Edward Dethicke, of Middleton, Norfolk.

[5] Of the West Country. He was sometime of Exeter.

[6] Son and heir of Sir William Peake.

[7] Son of John Chapman, grocer, of Milk street, and grandson to Chapman, of Bridgnorth, Salop.

[8] Said in the catalogue of mayors to have been a clothworker, and was so, from the account of his pageant, as see Nichols' Pageants, p. 118.

[9] Son of — Clarke, of Lincoln, apprentice to his uncle, George Clarke, Esq., mercer, in Cheapside.

[10] Son of William Gore, of Sandy Chapel, Surrey, attorney-at-law.

4. Sir William Hollis was ancestor of the earls of Clare, afterwards the ducal family of Newcastle.

5. Sir Michael Dormer, (1542,) produced the future lords Dormer.

6. Sir Thomas Baldry, (1523:) his daughter married the lord Rich, who was ancestor of the lords Kensington, and whose progenitor was Richard Rich, mercer.

7. Sir Thomas Seimour, (1527:) from him sprung the Seymours, dukes of Somerset.

8. Sir Baptist Hicks. He was ancestor of the viscounts Camden.

9. Sir Rowland Hill gave origin to the respectable family of baronets of the same name, which was raised to the peerage in the person of the present lord Hill.

N.B. Lord Hill is at present a brother of the Mercers' Company. See list of the Livery.

10. James Butler, ancestor of the earls of Ormond. (reg. Hen. VI.)

11. Sir Geoffery Fielding, (1452,) was privy counsellor to Henry VI. and Edward IV., and ancestor of the earls of Denbigh.

The following biographical notices are chiefly from Strype's Stow:

CHARITABLE AND HONOURABLE ACTS OF MERCERS.

William Elsinge, Mercer, was the founder, in 1332, of Elsinge spital within Cripplegate, for one hundred poor blind men, and became the first prior of his own foundation. "Richard Whittington, (1421,) began the library of the Grey Friars, in London, to the charge of 400*l.* His executors, with his goods, built and founded Whittington College, for the poor, with almshouses for thirteen poor men, and divinity lectures to be read there for ever. They repaired St. Bartholomew's Hospital in Smithfield; they partly bore the charges of the paving and glazing of the Guildhall; they also bore half the charges of building the library there; and they built the west gate of London, of old time called Newgate."

John Stockton, (1471,) mayor, and eleven of the aldermen of London, with the recorder, were all made knights in the field by Edward IV. for their good service done to him in resisting the bastard Falconbridge.

Dame Joan Bradbury's gift of Conduit mead has been mentioned; and her bequests to support other charities will be found in the Report of the commissioners on public charities: they extend to several parishes.

William Elkin, mercer and alderman, (1593,) gave to Christ's Hospital in London, and for charitable uses, the sum of 800*l.*,

besides leaving sums for relieving prisoners; and 60*l.* to the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge.

William Walthall, mercer and alderman, gave to the hospitals of London 200*l.* To poor scholars in Cambridge 9*l.* yearly. To relieve prisoners in and about London 135*l.* And 10*l.* yearly to Christ's Hospital. Besides his charities to his own Company, and for which, see under that head.

Simon de Frauncis, (1343,) lent the sum of 800*l.* to King Edward III. towards the carrying on of his French wars.

1544, (36 Henry VIII.) amongst the eminent citizens of the twelve companies who lent that King money upon lands mortgaged to them, we find the following names (and sums) of the Mercers'.

Sir Ralph Warren, mayor	£500		
Sir Rowland Hill	300		
And the three Greshams between them . .	1,673	6	8. viz.
Sir Richard Gresham	500		
Sir John Gresham	800		
William Gresham, mercer	40		

Strype mentions, amongst the eminent mercers living in the Mercery, Cheapside, about the time of Hen. VIII. one John Hare, who, he says, dwelt at the sign of the *Crown*, adding, "perhaps the same *Crown* of which we have that pretty odd story in our chronicles. He was of an ancient family in Suffolk, who left a fair estate behind him to his children, that were divers, besides his charitable legacies." He died anno 1561. "His 4th. son, to whom he left great wealth, continued his father's trade at this same sign of the Crown. Here his father owned a great mansion place, as his will describes it, with gardens, orchards, lawns, lands and tenements, in the parish of St. Giles, Cripplegate; another tenement in More-lane, in the same parish, with a yard, tenter yards," &c. And, amongst other liberalities, he left to the Mercers 12*l.* a year 'for a banquet.' He is also said to have bequeathed 35 rings of fine gold, weighing near $\frac{3}{4}$ of an ounce each, to various friends, amongst whom was Sir Thomas Gresham and wife, Alderman Leigh, Alderman Jackman, Alderman Martin, &c. "All this I have extracted from Mr. Hare's last will," says the writer quoted, "to shew the wealth accruing to the citizens in former times by their trades and diligence therein; and likewise their charities and generosities."—Strype i. p. 555.

Sir Baptist Hicks, just mentioned, was a great mercer in Cheap-

side at the accession of James I., and made a vast fortune by supplying the court with silks and rich mercery wares, "when that monarch and his bare Scotch nobility and gentry came in." "He was first knighted, afterwards created Viscount Camden. It is said he left his daughters a hundred thousand pounds a piece. He built a large house in St. John's street, for the Justices of Middlesex to hold their sessions, which, till its demolition, on the erection of the new sessions house, on Clerkenwell Green, retained the name of *Hicks's Hall.*" Strype says that "he was one of the first citizens that after knighthood kept their shops, and being charged with it by some of the aldermen, he gave this answer, first, "that his servants kept the shop, though he had a regard to the special credit thereof, and that he did not live altogether upon the interest, as most of the aldermen did, laying aside their trade after knighthood."

John Barnes, mayor, (1371,) gave a chest with 3 locks, and 1000 marks therein, to be lent to young men upon sufficient pawn; and for the use thereof to say De Profundis, or Pater Noster, and no more. He was also a great builder of St. Thomas the Apostle parish church.

Thomas Falconer, mayor, (1414,) lent Henry V., towards his French wars, 10,000 marks on jewels. Moreover, he made the postern called Moorgate, and did many other things for the good of the City.

1438, William Eastfield conveyed water to the conduit in Fleet-street, to Aldermanbury, and to Cripplegate; conveyed by will sweet water from Tyburn, with a fair conduit at Aldermanbury to receive it; he made also the standard in Fleet-street, by Shoe-lane end; and further conveyed water to Cripplegate.

Robert Large, mayor, (1440,) left to his parish church of St. Olave, Southwark, 200*l.*; to St. Margaret, Lothbury, 25*l.*; to the poor 20*l.*; to London bridge, 100 marks; towards arching over the water course at Walbrook, 200 marks; to poor maids' marriages 100 marks; to poor householders 100*l.*

Edward Rich, sheriff, (1442,) founded almshouses at Hoddesdon, in Herts.

Geoffry Bullen, mayor, (1458,) by will left liberally to the prisons, hospitals, and lazar houses; besides 1000*l.* to poor householders in London, and 200*l.* to poor householders in Norfolk.

Hugh Clopton, mayor, (1492,) built the great stone arched bridge at Stratford-upon-Avon, Warwickshire, and did many other things of great charity. See Stow's Summary.

John Tate, brewer, then a mercer, (1514,) caused his brewery of the Swan, next St. Anthony, Threadneedle-street, to be demolished, in order to enlarge that church, then new built, and in great part at his charge. This was a goodly foundation, with almshouses and a free school.

Sir John Allen, privy-counsellor to Henry VIII., buried at Mercers' chapel, and the founder thereof, left a rich collar to the City, to be worn by the mayor, and which was first worn by Sir William Laxton. He gave 500 marks to be a stock for sea coal, his rents from lands purchased by the king to the poor of the city wards in perpetuity, besides numerous legacies to different public charities.

Sir Rowland Hill, mayor, 1550, made several causeways for horse and foot. He built four different bridges, two of which were stone bridges of eighteen arches. He founded a free school at Drayton, in Shropshire, and gave 500*l.* to Christ's Hospital.

Sir John Gresham founded a free school at Holt, in Norfolk; gave 10*l.* each to the 26 wards of London; gowns to 120 poor men and women, each containing three yards of broad cloth, of 8*d.* or 9*d.* a yard; and to maids married, and London hospitals, above 200*l.*

The celebrated Sir Thomas Gresham, his son, is well known for his magnificent foundation of the Royal Exchange and Gresham College, of which latter the lectures are still kept up, besides almshouses for the poor, and numerous other charities.

Alderman John Haydon, (1583,) left great sums for charities, of which an enumeration will be found in Strype.

The Dress, or Livery of the Mercers (which, it has been stated, had, in common with that of other companies, become fixed about the reign of Charles I.) varied in some slight particulars from the rest: it seems to show their connexion with the silk trade. In the printed pageants of all the companies, except the Mercers, the masters and wardens are described as leading their several processions in gowns "fac'd with *foins*, with their hoods;" and were succeeded by the livery, in gowns "fac'd with *budge*, with their hoods." In the procession of the Mercers, however, we find the livery, instead of budge, wearing their gowns "fac'd with *satin*." Taubman's "London Yearly Jubilee," at the inauguration as mayor of Sir John Peake, mercer, 1686, thus gives the order of their "morning procession," which is said to have "usually set out from Mercers' Hall about eight o'clock."

MERCERS' MAYORALTY PROCESSION.

I. The master, wardens, and assistants, in their gowns fac'd with foins, in their hoods.

II. The livery, in their gowns fac'd with *satin*, in their hoods.

III. Threescore poor men, (the company's almsmen,) in gowns and caps, march in the front, each of them employed in bearing a banner.

IV. Fifty gentlemen ushers, in velvet coats, follow next, each of them a chain of gold about his shoulders, and in his right hand a white staff.

V. A splendid train of bachelors, invested in gowns and scarlet *satin* hoods, (who in this company are observed to be most numerous and rich.)

VI. The rest of the bachelors.

VII. Twelve more gentlemen, for bearing banners and colours, some in plush coats, and some in buff, with scarfs about their shoulders of the company's colours.

VIII. Thirty-six trumpets. The sergeant-trumpet with a scarf of his lordship's colours about his waist, and a leading-staff in his hand.

IX. Fourteen drums. The drum-major with a crimson scarf about his waist, his leading-staff in his hand, and three fifes, with banners.

X. Divers drums and fifes, with scarfs of the colours of the company.

XI. The two city marshals on horseback, and six scarfs to attend them, with scarfs and colours of the company.

XII. The six foot marshals.

XIII. The master of defence, with scarf and colours, having six persons of the same noble science to attend him.

XIV. Divers of the company's pensioners, invested with red gowns, white staves, and flat white caps; each of them carrying a javelin in one hand, and a target in the other, whereon is painted the arms of the first founder, and the benefactors of the company.

XV. As an addition to this solemnity, a considerable number of the gentlemen of the Artillery Company do put themselves in the habit of granadiers, in buff, with crimson velvet caps lined with rich furs, to march before the Artillery Company, which was that day led by Sir John Moore.

The whole procession being placed in order, marched, and waited at Grocers' Hall* till the old lord mayor and sheriffs, with the aldermen, mounted their steeds; they then marched to Guildhall, where the lord mayor elect and his retinue swelled the procession;

* Grocers' Hall, either on account of its size or convenient situation, was long the usual place of rendezvous on Lord Mayor's Day, as described by Jordan in these lines, which occur in all his pageants:

"Selected citizens i' the morning all
At seven o'clock do meet at *Grocers' Hall.*

Grocers' Hall was used annually for the feast from 1682 till 1695, with a

and thence taking their way to Three-cranes wharf, the whole body, together with the other companies, took barge. Having gone through the ceremonies at Westminster, they landed on their way back at Black Friars, where they were welcomed on shore with three vollies "from the famous Artillery Company, all adorned in their martial ornaments, in buff and shining headpieces, whereof many were massy silver."

The *Pageants* met them in St. Paul's Church-yard on this occasion. The first was evidently allusive to the company in their character of *merchants*. It was a rock of coral with sea-weeds, with Neptune, mounted on a dolphin at the summit, on a throne of mother of pearl, and properly accompanied by tritons, mermaids, and other marine attendants.

The principal object was the triumphal chariot, already noticed, which is said to have been of extraordinary splendor and magnificence, and was usually called "The Maiden Chariot." This seems to have been long before adopted by the Mercers as the distinguishing emblem of this company and its arms. Strype thus mentions the custom:

"When any one of this company is chosen mayor, or makes one of the triumph of the day wherein he goes to Westminster to be sworn, a most beautiful virgin is carried through the streets in a chariot, with all the glory and majesty possible, with her hair all dishevelled about her shoulders, to represent the *maidenhead* which the company give for their arms. And this lady is plentifully gratified for her pains, besides the gift of all the rich attire she wears."

In the above show of 1686, and again at the inauguration of Sir William Gore, in 1701, there was such a chariot. In 1686 it is thus described:

"The third and last pageant, which, for magnificence of the structure, the elegance of the contrivance, and costliness of the work, has hardly ever yet been paralleled, is an imperial triumphal chariot of Roman form, elegantly adorned with variety of paintings commixed with richest metals, beautified and embellished with several embellishments of gold and silver, illustrated with divers inestimable and various-coloured jewels of dazzling splendor, adorned and replenished with several lively figures bearing the

few exceptions, when the king came or was expected. In 1695, and two following years, Skinners' Hall was employed. Then Guildhall till 1703; in which, and two following years, and perhaps more, Drapers' Hall was adopted."—Note to Nichols' List of Lord Mayors' Pageants, p. 144.

banners of the kings, the lord mayors, and companies, with the arms of the memorable *King Richard the Second*, the first and principal founder of this most antient society. On a lofty ascent of which, exalted upon an imperial throne, sits a majestic person in great state, representing a VIRGIN, which is the arms of the right worshipful the Company of MERCERS, hieroglifically attired in a robe or vestment of white satin, richly adorned with precious stones, fringed and embroidered with gold, signifying the graceful blushes of virginity; on her head, a long dishevell'd hair of flaxen colour, deck'd with pearles and precious gems, on which is a coronet of gold beset with emeralds, diamonds, saphires, and other precious jewells of inestimable value. Her buskins gold, laced with scarlet ribons, adorned with pearles and other costly jewels. In one hand she holdeth a sceptre; in the other, a shield, with the arms of the right honourable the Company of Mercers."

Fame, perched on a golden canopy above, and blowing her trumpet; with Vigilance, Wisdom, Chastity, Prudence, Justice, Fortitude, Temperance, Faith, Hope, Charity, Loyalty, the Nine Muses, all richly and appropriately dressed, and with their proper emblems, completed the attendants of the Virgin, in her chariot; whilst "8 pages of honour, in cloth of silver, trunk breeches, silk hose, and roses in their shoes, with crimson velvet caps and white feathers," walked on foot. *Triumph*, as the charioteer, wore a scarlet robe trimmed with silver, a mantle of gold, and a gold laurel crown and helmet, bearing a sword and royal banner, and on whose side were placed trumpets and kettle-drums.

The above immense and splendid machine and retinue, it has been stated, were drawn by "*nine white Flanders horses*, three abreast, in rich trappings of silver and white feathers;" each horse being mounted "by a person of different name and country, properly apparelled, alluding to the support of the Virgin or Mystery of the company;" as Victory, Fame, and Loyalty, on the first three; Europe between Peace and Plenty, on the second; and Africa, Asia, and America, (emblematical of the company's merchandize and dealings with all parts of the world,) on the third. The foot attendants on the chariot were, "8 grooms, and 40 Roman lictors in crimson habits, with masked fasces of silver, on each shoulder a lion's head, and equipt with swords, targets, and banners; and before the whole marched 20 servants, with the company's trophies, clearing the way;" who *were preceded by twenty savages, or "green men,"* throwing squibs and fireworks to keep off the crowd; together with an infinite number of workmen, wheelwrights and carpenters,

whose business it was to be ready to repair any part of the machinery that might break or get out of order.

The "Maiden Chariot," in 1704, (Sir William Gore, mercer, mayor,) we have described from Elkanah Settle's account of the pageant to have been "22 foot high; the whole chariot and also the wheels entirely of embossed work, all of silver; the canopy being most sumptuously enriched with angels, cherubim, &c." The female representing the Virgin is said to have been "a young beautiful gentlewoman of good parentage, religious education, and unblemisht reputation, selected and chosen by a committee for the occasion. Her habit is made of rich white satin adorned with fringes of gold, and enriched with lockets of diamonds, and all manner of jewels. On her head (her hair dishevelled) she wears a spiral coronet of gold richly set with jewels, and from her shoulders hangs a long robe of the richest crimson velvet lined with white satin." In all other respects the attendants on this occasion were similar, and indeed seem to have been copied from the above.*

An intermediate pageant of an allegorical nature, equally splendid, but too long to be described, was introduced on both the above occasions; representing in the first instance an elaborate architectural scene of the Doric, Ionic, and Corinthian orders, with Monarchy, Principality, Nobility, Honour, Obedience, Mars, Minerva, and other characters, all richly and appropriately dressed;

* Four of the Mercers' pageants only have been printed. The titles, &c. are below:

1655-6.—John Dethicke, mayor.	"Charity Triumphant, or the Virgin Shew; exhibited on the 29th of October, 1655, being the Lord Mayor's Day." (TWO WOOD ORNAMENTS.) "*London, printed for Nathaniel Brooks, at the Angel in Cornhill.* 1655, 4to. pp. 8."	In the British Museum.

"This is not, however, a description of the shew, as the title may infer, but a letter to the lord mayor, and a poem on the pageants, this year again produced. It is probable that the author was ambitious of the post of City poet, (to which he did not succeed.) In his preface he very rationally says, 'I cannot here set forth the reason of the late extinguishing these civic sights, and supressing the genius of our metropolis, which for these planetary pageants and prætorian pomps was as famous and renowned in foreign nations as for their [its] faith, wealth, and valour; the ingenie, artifices, mysteries, shews, festivals, ceremonies, and habits of the state, being amongst the decora, and inseparable ornaments of it. Take away the fasces, and the consuls are no more feared, but scorned; let fall the noble sword of the city in any place, and you are sure the mayor has there no privilege, no distinguishing of societies and fraternities; no caps (as in daies of old), no prentices; no truncks, no citizens; no robes, no judges; no maces, no magistrates; and as for aniversary shews, and harmlesse and merry recreations, without a moderate permission of them, very little content to the multitude. Right Honourable—I therefore, being the son of a citizen, congratulate this

and at Gore's inauguration displaying the inside of the Temple of Mercury, with hieroglyphics of the Four Elements, &c. The address of Mercury to the mayor, in the last pageant, has some interesting lines, as they corroborate the fact which has been advanced of mercer and merchant being anciently synonymous terms:

> "I the wing'd *Mercury*, renown'd so high,
> Of wit and arts the long fam'd Deity,
> Call'd to your lordship my just rights to pay,
> Must bear a part in this triumphant day,
> The *Mercer* and the *Merchant*, each a name
> That justly fills my loudest trump of fame!

"The stately barges echoing with flutes and trumpets, adorned with streamers, flags, and banners of the respective Companies," it is added, in the account of Peake's pageant, "is not the least addition to the lustre of this day; besides being saluted by their *Majesties* from Whitehall, both going and coming, with several shots and salutations from the pleasure-boats and barges, who for that purpose are plying all along the Thames."

return of the city gallantry and manifestation of their several splendours in your mayority to your honoured self; it being most proper that the lost beauty and magnificence of the place should be restored by one, if I mistake not, a brother of *prime company*, and therefore most fit to lead, &c."

1687.—Sir John Peake, mayor.	"London's Yearly Jubilee; performed on Friday, October xxix. 1686, for the entertainment of the Right Honourable Sir John Peake, Knight, Lord Mayor of the City of London: with a description of the several Pageants, Speeches, and Songs, made proper for the occasion; all set forthe at the proper costs and charges of the Right Worshipful the Company of Mercers, composed by M. Taubman. '*Londinium Regni formata Columna.*' Printed and published by authority. London, printed for H. Playford, near the Temple Church, 1686, 4to."	In the City Library.
1688.—Sir John Chapman, mayor.	"London's Anniversary Festival; performed on Monday, Oct. 29, 1688, for the entertainment of the Right Hon. Sir John Chapman, Knight, Lord Mayor of the City of London, being their great Year of Jubilee: with a Panegeric upon the restoring of their Charter, and a Sonnet provided for the entertainment of the King. By. M. Taubman. 4to."	In the Bodleian Library, Oxford.
1702. William Gore.	"The Triumphs of London; for the Inauguration of the Right Honourable Sir William Gore, Knight, Lord Mayor of the City of London: containing a description of the Pageant, together with the Public Speeches, and the whole Solemnity of the Day. Performed on Wednesday, the 29th of October, 1701; all set forth at the proper costs and charges of the Honourable Company of the Mercers. Published by authority. London, printed for John Nutt, near Stationers' Hall, 1701."	City Library.

* "Notwithstanding the sonnet for the King's entertainment, mentioned in the above title, it does not appear that he was actually expected at the City table. He stood, as the royal family were accustomed, on the leads of Whitehall, to see the civic barges pass."—London Gazette, Nov. 1. See "Nichols' Pageants."

The "COMPANY'S SONG," as it is entitled, addressed to the lord mayor after the dinner, (which was at Grocers' Hall,) has again several allusions to the company's history and armorial bearings:

Advance the *Virgin*, lead the van,
Of all that are in London free
The *Mercer* is the foremost man
That founded a society.

CHO.—Of all the trades that London grace
We are the first in time and place.

When Nature in perfection was,
And virgin beauty in her prime,
The Mercer gave the nymph a gloss,
And made e'en beauty more sublime.

CHO.—In this above our brethren blest,
The VIRGIN'S since our *Coat* and *Crest*.

Let others boast of *Lions* bold,
The *Camel*, *Leopard*, and the *Bear*,
That Tygers fierce their arms uphold,
And ravenous wolves their scutcheons rear,

CHO.—To us our Virgin Innocence
Is both *supporter* and defence.

Then let a loyal peal go round,
There's none dare claim priority;
To Cæsar's health each glass be crown'd,
Whose predecessors made us free.

CHO.—Of all the trades that London grace,
Ours first in dignity and place."

To conclude the account of the entertainment, besides the lord mayor having his own table, there was, we are told, "a separate table prepared for the VIRGIN, who dined with all the grandeur of the royal character she represented, attended by her ladies, pages, and all the rest of her retinue, who wait at her table."

Strype, speaking of the election dinner, says, "a very splendid feast" accompanied the election of master of the company, at which persons of the court and of the best quality were present; and, after the feast was over, the new master was conducted in state by the company to his own house, where they were treated again. In the year 1577, in the month of July, on a Monday, was the Mercers' feast, when Sir Lionel Ducket, who had been lord mayor in 1572, was chosen master. There were then present, among others, the master of the rolls, Sir Thomas Gresham.

Sir William Dansel, Mr. Sackford, (of the privy chamber,) and the Recorder Fleetwood. Dinner being done, as the order was, they brought the master home to his house." Strype adds, that the Recorder Fleetwood wrote a full account of the ceremonies, on this occasion, in a letter to the lord treasurer.

The customary devotions of the new lord mayor, at St. Thomas of Acon church, in the Catholic times, identify themselves, in point of locality, with the Mercers' Company, and are to be ranked amongst that company's observances. Strype has described these from an ancient MS. he met with on the subject. The new lord mayor, it states, "*after dinner*" on his inauguration day, (the ceremony would have suited much better *before* dinner in modern days,) "was wont to go from his house to the church of St. Thomas of Acon, those of his livery going before him; and the aldermen in like manner being there met together, they came to the church of St. Paul; whither, when they were come, namely, in the middle place between the body of the church, between two little doors, they were wont to pray for the soul of the bishop of London, William Norman, who was a great benefactor to the City in obtaining the confirmation of their liberties from William the Conqueror;* a priest saying the office De Profundis, (called a Dirge,) and from thence they passed to the churchyard, where Thomas à Becket's parents were buried, and there, near their tomb, they said also, for all the faithful deceased, *De Profundis* again. The City procession thence returned through Cheapside market, sometimes with wax candles burning, (if it was late,) 'to the said church Sanctæ Thomæ,' and there the mayor and aldermen offered single pence; which being done every one went to his house."

On All Saints days, and various other festivals, the mayor, with his family, attended at this same church of St. Thomas, and the aldermen also; and those that were of "the livery of the mayor, with the honest men of the mysteries," in their several habits or

* The services of Bishop William were commemorated in an inscription, and some Latin lines on a tablet, fixed near the prelate's tomb, in the old St. Paul's, and to which the lord mayor, Edward Barkham, (1623,) added the following, allusive to the ancient custom described:

"Walkers whosoere you be,
If it prove you chance to see
Upon a solemne '*Scarlet day*,'
The City Senate pass this way,
Their grateful memory for to shew
Which they the reverend ashes owe
Of Bishop Norman here intum'd,
By whom this city hath assum'd
Large privileges. Those obtained
By him when Conquerour William reign'd.
This being by Barkham's thankfull minde renew'd,
Call it the monument of Gratitude."
Dugdale's St. Paul's, (1653,) p. 51.

suits, from which they went to Paul's, to hear vespers. On the feast of Innocents they heard vespers at St. Thomas's, and on the morrow mass and vespers.

Mercers' Hall and Buildings occupy the site of the ancient hospital of St. Thomas of Acon, thought to have been the place of the Mercers' first settlement in London. Here, about the present entrance to the hall from Cheapside, stood the house of Gilbert Becket, citizen, mercer, and portreve of London, father to Becket, archbishop of Canterbury, whose wife Matilda, "the fair Saracen," according to legend, had released Gilbert Becket when made a captive in the crusades, and being herself taken captive by Love, followed him to London. He rewarded her affection and constancy by making her his wife, and she afterwards became the mother of the haughty prelate, who, from the supposed birth-place of his mother, was sometimes called St. Thomas of Acon or Acres, (the ancient Ptolemais.) Twenty years after the archbishop's murder, Agnes, his sister, who was married to Thomas Fitz Theobald de Helles, in conjunction with her husband, built a chapel and an hospital "in the rule of Saynt Austyn," on the spot where her brother was born; and such was the respect of his sanctity, that, without waiting for his canonization, the foundation was dedicated "to the worshippe of God Almighty and the blessed Virgin Mary, and of the said glorious marter." De Helles and his wife gave to the master and brethren "alle the lande with the appurtenances, that sometime was Gilbert Bekkettes, father of the said Thomas the marter, and where he was born; which landes be yn the parishe of St. Mary of Colechurche, yn London, yn free, pure, and perpetuall almes for evermore," and constituted the mercers' fraternity patrons. Henry III., in his 52d year, made a further grant to the master and brethren, who appear to have been twelve in number, of the "messes (messuages) and the place with the appurtenants yn the cite aforesaid, being bitweane the chirche of St. Olave and the place where St. Thomas was born, for ynlarging of their said ground."* The subsequent fate of this establishment connects its history more nearly with that of the Mercers' Company. In

* This ground appears to have been seized by the king from an unfortunate Jew named Benomye Mittam, and is described as "fifteen iron ells and a half in the front of Ironmonger-lane, in the parish of St. Martin, which were the said Benomye's of the fee of the hospital of St. Giles, and which Adam the smith held, with two store-houses, which belonged to Moses, the Jew of Canterbury, in the parish of St. Olave, and which were of the fee of Arnold le Rom, and was of the king's escheats." Strype, 1, p. 510. See also Parton's Account of St. Giles's Hospital.

1444, having through various causes become greatly impoverished, the master, John Niel or Neel, and his brethren, on their petition, (from which we have just quoted,) were made a body corporate by parliament, with power to receive gifts, &c. and were also released from pensions and corrodies. "The brotherhood again prospered, and, unlike too many institutions of the same kind, did good to the community, with the numerous bounties of which they became the stewards." In 1456, we find this same John Niel was one of four benevolent clergymen of the city of London who petitioned parliament for power for each to found a grammar-school, "to teach all that will come." The petitioners complain of teaching being a monopoly; and add a shrewd remark, of very general application, "For where there is a great number of learners and few teachers," say they, "and all the learners are compelled to go to the few teachers, and to none others, the masters wax rich in money, and the learners poor in learning, as experience openly sheweth, against all virtue and order of public weal." The prayer of the petition having been regularly granted, the grammar school was founded accordingly, and is the same now continued under the name of MERCERS' SCHOOL.*

In 1472, James earl of Wiltshire and Ormond, in consequence of a licence from the Commons,—"for that in reverence of Christ and of his blessed mother, and in worship of St. Thomas à Becket, from whose blood the said earl was descended, and for the veneration that his father had of the place where that saint was born, and that his mother was buried within the church of St. Thomas of Acon," did grant to the master of the hospital and his successors "the manor and advowson of Hakkoite, and a croft called Little Mill Mam, in the county of Bucks," on condition of their providing and maintaining for ever two priests, to pray daily for the king, queen, and himself, and after their death for their souls, and for those of the earl's father, mother, lady dame Johan Beauchamp, late lady of Bergavenny, his grandmother, all his ancestors, and all Christian people.†

On the general suppression of monastic institutions, 33 Henry VIII. the king granted to the Mercers' Company, in consideration of 969*l.* 17*s.* 6*d.* the church of the college of Acon, the parsonages

* In the Parliament Rolls, 1, p. 289, a second petition to parliament of the masters, &c. of St. Thomas of Acon, respecting a disputed claim to the custody of this same hospital by the convent of Atherug. The brothers of Acon produced their evidences of foundation, &c. on this occasion, and in which will be found several other particulars of their early history.

† Strype's Stow.

of St. Mary Colechurch, and sundry premises there, as well as in the parishes of St. Olave, in the Old Jewry; St. Stephen, Walbroke; St. Martin, Ironmonger-lane; and St. Stephen, Coleman-street, late parcel of the college of St. Thomas of Acon. The Valor Ecclesiasticus (previously taken) states "the site of the said house of St. Thomas, the court yards, gardens, and divers houses within the precinct of the said house, to be then reserved in the prior's hands."* The precinct here mentioned comprehended all the space now enclosed by Ironmonger-lane and the Old Jewry, west and east; and by Cheapside and St. Olave's alley, south and north; having at the south-east point, or corner of the Old Jewry, the fabric of St. Mary Colechurch, and in the centre more westward, the great gate-house of the hospital and Mercers' Hall; immediately behind which buildings was the hospital church of St. Thomas, and again at the back of that the hospital, court yard, cloisters, and gardens, just mentioned. Frederick-place is built on a piece of ground, part of the glebe of St. Olave's, and which was devised to Sir John Frederick by Dr. Hibbert, the rector, in 1671.

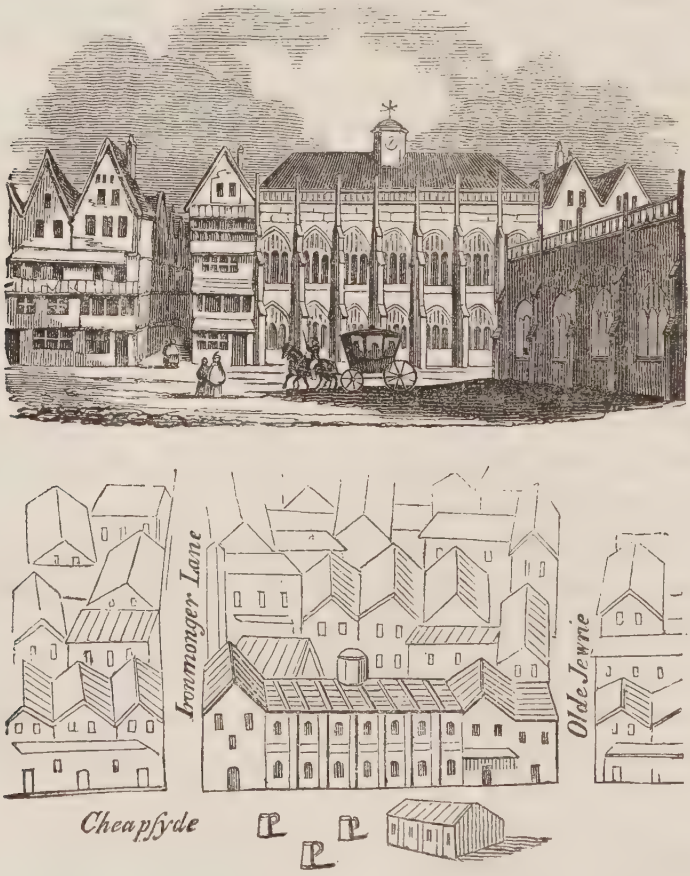
St. Thomas's church, the principal feature in this pile, was a large structure, which, from the entries of burials and other authorities, we learn, had a nave, choir, and side aisles. The "aulter of Seynt Thomas the martyr, in the north parte of the body of the chyrche," is mentioned in the preceding grant to the Charter house; and, from the number of eminent persons interred in the church itself, it must anciently have been rich in monuments. The description of the other buildings mentioned is contained in the accounts given of the appropriation of the site, subsequently to the Suppression.

After the Mercers had bought the hospital and its church, which they effected chiefly by means of Sir Richard Gresham, "the latter was again set open," Stow tells us, "on the eve of St. Michael." He adds, "It is now called Mercers' Chappell, and therein is kept a free grammar schoole, as of old time had been accustomed, and had been commanded by parliament." This

* The company's charters expressly state, under the head 'Mercers' School,' that wardens, by letters patent, dated 21 April, an. regni 33, (1542,) "do grant to the Mercers' Company, in consideration of 969*l.* 17*s.* 6*d.*, certain premises in the city of London, which had belonged to the dissolved house or hospital of St. Thomas of Acon, upon part of which stand the *present hall, chapel, and other buildings of the said company aforesaid*," and in an indenture of the same date they covenant with the king to find and perpetually maintain Mercers' school, &c.

name of Mercers' Chapel, which was applied after the above opening to the whole hospital, properly applied before that event to the building only next described by Weaver, and which was erected by Sir John Allen, mercer, and mayor, 1521.

"Before the hospital, towards the street, was a fayre and beautiful *chappell* arched over with stone, which stood *before the great olde chappell*, (St. Thomas's church,) and over which was the Mercers' Hall, a most curious piece of work." Aggas's Plan of London (circa 1560) has a rude sketch of this "most curious piece of work," together with the great conduit in Cheapside, which stood slantwise in the street immediately below it. These objects are copied in the lower part of the succeeding plate. The upper view, is an attempt to give a more perfect representation of these objects, by combining Aggas with other authorities, so as to afford a more correct idea of what must have been the appearance of this particular spot at the date mentioned.



Sir John Allen was first interred in this his own chapel; but his tomb, after the mercers' purchase, was removed into the hospital church, which latter *they did not destroy;* and the other funeral memorials, in Allen's chapel, (of which Weaver has preserved some

inscriptions,) being defaced, it was divided into shops,* "and letten out for rent by his successors the Mercers."

It appears, from the above notices, that the mercers, before the Suppression, only occupied a depth from Cheapside equal to the present houses; or, what will more precisely mark the space, they only had from the street to the back of the present ambulatory, the modern Mercers' Chapel standing exactly on the site of part of the hospital church. The other buildings they possessed in the hospital times ran in a line with their hall and chapel, and could only have been trifling, as the hospital gate house, and St. Mary Colechurch, filled up much of the length.† On making their purchase, they converted "the courtyards, gardens, and divers houses within the precinct," into the different offices and apartments required to be attached to their elevated hall, letting out the crypt or chapel, and retaining the latter for use; and which so continued till destroyed by the fire of London.

The hospital gate, where the present Cheapside entrance is, had the image of St. Thomas à Becket standing over it, as late as Elizabeth's reign; when, Stow says, "somebody threw it down and broke it, and set a writing on the church door, reflecting on those that placed it there."

St. Mary Colechurch, "of one *Cole* that built it," stood "on a vault aboveground, so that men were forced to ascend up thereunto by certain steps." It is particularly described in a petition of the mercers, printed in the Journals of the House of Commons, who had designed to have removed and built their grammar school over it. The document, which has been before quoted by Malcolm, merits repetition, from the information it conveys as to this and other particulars connected with the company.

"Whereas, the wardens and commonalty of the mystery of Mercers of the City of London, at the time of the late fire (of London) were seized in fee of the rectory and parish church, impropriate of St. Mary Colechurch, the said church being an upper room, about 10 feet higher than the street, and lying over

* Guy, founder of the hospital bearing his name, was apprenticed to a bookseller who occupied one of these shops; and himself, several years after the fire of London, rented the shop which was built on its site, where he carried on the same trade.

† These are probably the same as are hinted at in the *Valor Ecclesiasticus*, which mentions "a rent of 13*s.* 4*d.* from St. Thomas's hospital, payable to the Chamber of London, for tenements then held and occupied by the mercers." The Inquis. ad quod Damnum, 14 Edward II., as before stated, also mentions the "*Fraternitas Mercer*' to have had a rent of 4*s.* 8*d.* issuing from the White Harte, in Colechurch parish."

certain rooms and arched vaults and cellars of the said wardens and commonalty, upon the site of which church they have designed to build a free school and other buildings, conformable to the rules of the former act, and to remove the dead bodies and bones of such as have been buried upon the arches, and to cause them to be decently reposed within the body of their chapel called Mercers' Chapel, &c." This St. Mary Colechurch was united to St. Mildred, Poultry, after the above fire, and the mercers still present alternately with the crown. St. Mary Colechurch is mentioned in the "Valor," to have had also its altar of *St. Thomas*.

Many persons of repute and eminence were buried in St. Thomas's church, of whom several of the monuments remained when Stow wrote; though more, he observes, had been defaced. Among them were the following ten *mercers:* Sir John Trusbut, 1437; William Brown, mayor, 1513; Sir Thomas Baldry, mayor, 1523; Sir William Locke, sheriff, 1548; Sir John Allen, mayor, 1525; Sir Humphry Baskerville, sheriff, 1561; Sir John Locke, 1519; John Hare, 1564; Richard Bacon, 1598. To which we may add, from Strype's catalogue, as buried at St. Thomas's, but not here termed *mercers*,* Sir Henry Frowick, mayor, 1436, and again, 1443; Sir Rowland Hill, mayor, 1550; and Sir William Allen, mayor, 1572. Of the rest ten were grocers, whose neighbourhood of Bucklersbury seems to have rendered them very partial to interment here. Of other companies, eight were goldsmiths, five drapers, and two merchants. From these may be distinguished, as persons mentioned in history, Sir Edward Shaw, goldsmith to Richard III., and mayor, 1482; Henry Frowick, whose ancestors, in the reign of Edward I., were proprietors of the City ward, then called "*Wardo Henr. de Frowick;*" Sir John Allen, the founder of Mercers' Hall Company, (removed here as before stated); John Butler, earl of Ormond, and his countess, reg. Hen. VI.; John Butler, earl of Ormond, 1518; Stephen

* The evidence of the mercers' residence in later times hereabouts is found in their interment at different neighbouring churches. In St. Lawrence, Jewry, occur entries of Richard Rich, mercer; Geoffry Bulloin, mercer, mayor, 1457; Roger Thorney, mercer; Sir Richard Gresham, mayor, 1548, and his family; John Marshal, *civis et mercerus*, 1498; Dame Alice Hitchen, daughter of Thomas Hitchen, citizen and mercer of London, who left a weekly gift of bread in the company's trust. At St. Olave's, Jewry, John Organ, mercer, sheriff, 1385; William Kirkbie, mercer, 1465; Robert Large, mercer, mayor, 1440; Edmund Burley, mercer, 1583; Edward Bonas, of London, mercer, and his wife, daughter of Henry Isham, mercer. In St. Margaret, Lothbury, besides several mercers, Anselm *Becket* had a chantry, probably a descendant of the saint's family.

Cavendish, draper, mayor, 1362; and several of his descendants, ancestor of the ducal families of Cavendish and Devonshire.

Stow informs us that Henry VIII., previously to the Suppression, had granted to St. Thomas of Acon, on account of their wanting room in the hospital, permission to make a gallery "of convenient height and breadth, from their house across the Old Jewry, into a garden and buildings which the master had then lately purchased, and which Sir Robert Clayton afterwards built his house on, adjoining Grocers' Hall. They were to make this gallery of such height from the ground as "not to annoy man, horse, nor cart; and to make a window on each side of the said gallery, and therein, yearly, in the winter, to have a sufficient light for the comfort of those that passed by." 1536, Henry VIII. and his queen, Jane Seymour, stood in the Mercers' Hall, "then new built, and saw the marching watch of the city most bravely set out, by its founder, Sir John Allen, at that time mayor, and one of his privy council."

In the time of James I., Mercers' Chapel became a popular place of resort, from the attractive preaching of the learned Italian archbishop of Spalatro, who had become a convert to Protestantism, and who, in 1617, had for his auditors the archbishop of Canter-

bury, the lord chancellor, earl of Arundel and Pembroke, the Lords Zouch and Compton, and other noble and distinguished persons. And the chapel continued for many years afterwards to be used for Italian sermons, which were preached to English merchants who had resided abroad, and who partly defrayed the expense of the establishment.

Mercers' Hall, or Chapel, with the company's adjoining houses, as they appeared when first built, after the fire of London, are copied in the preceding page, from a contemporary print.

The chapel front now only remains unaltered; the whole interior is the same. The chapel has a large ambulatory before it, supported by columns; and from which is the ascent by a large stone staircase to the hall and court rooms. The ambulatory contains a full length recumbent figure of Richard Fishborne, mercer, dressed in a furred gown and ruff; he died, 1623, and, being a great benefactor to the place, received the honor of this monument. The street doorway, or chief entrance, only exhibits at present the central part of the front erected after the fire, which had correspondent houses on each side, giving it much greater breadth and effect. Old views represent the lower part of them as shops unsashed, which was a general custom at this time, and display the trades of a goldsmith, a mercer, and a bookseller. Carter (Gent. Mag.) extravagantly praises the ornaments of this front, while by others they are censured, as absurd and trifling. It has a large doorcase, enriched with two genii above, in the act of mantling the virgin's head, the company's cognomen displayed upon the keystone of the arch. Above is a cornice with brackets sustaining a small gallery, from which on each side arise Doric pilasters, supporting an entablature of the same order; between the intercolumns and the central window are the figures of Faith and Hope, in niches, between whom, in a third niche of the entablature, is Charity sitting with her three children. The upper story has circular windows, and other enrichments.

The entrance most used is in Ironmonger lane, where is a small court with offices, apparently the site of the ancient cloister, and which leads to the principal building. The hall itself is elevated as anciently, and supported by Doric columns, the space below being open on one side, and forming an extensive piazza, at the extremity whereof is the chapel, which is neatly pewed and wainscotted, and paved with black and white marble. A high flight of stairs leads from the piazza to the *hall*, which is a very lofty apartment, handsomely wainscotted and ornamented with Ionic pilasters, and

various carvings in compartments. The paintings in it have been often described.*

In the hall, besides the transaction of the company's business, the Gresham committees are held, which consist of four aldermen, including the lord mayor *pro tempore*, and eight of the City corporation; with whom are associated a select number of the assistants of the Mercers. In it also the British Fishery Society, and other corporate bodies, were formerly accustomed to hold their meetings.†

* They consist of Sir Thomas Gresham, (an original); a fanciful portrait of Sir Richard Whittington; Count Tekeli; Count Pennington; Dean Colet; G. Forster, esq.; Dr. Sleath, late of St. Paul's School: the latter five are originals. Ducarel, in his MS., also notices the following portraits here:

Thomas Papillion, esq., (see Anecdotes of Bowyer, p. 101,) son of David Papillion, of Lubnam, county of Leicester. According to the company's books, he was apprenticed November 2, 1638; admitted to the freedom, September 4, 1644; and was master of the company, September 5, 1698. He left 1000*l.* to the company, to relieve any of his family that might in future come to want.

Rowland Wynne, esq. He was son of Edward Wynne, and, according to the same book, was apprenticed, December 24, 1624; admitted to the freedom, February 15, 1632; elected master of the company, September 7, 1675. He gave 400*l.* towards wainscotting the hall after the fire of London.

† There were in the ancient hall arms of the following members of this company, viz.

Mayors.

"Adam Francis; Simon Francis; John Barnes; John Piel; Adam Staple; Sir John French; Sir Richard Whittington; Sir John Chadworth; Sir John Woodcoke, 1405; Sir William Waldron, 1412; Sir Thomas Falconer, 1414; Sir John Coventry, 1425; Sir William Eastfield, 1429; Sir John Swinnerton; Sir Henry Frowick, 1435; Sir Robert Large, 1439; Sir John Olney, 1446; Sir Thomas Chalton, 1449; Sir Godfry Fildinge, 1452; Sir Geoffry Bolergne, 1457; Sir Hugh Witche, 1461; Sir Ralph Varney; Sir John Stockton, 1470; Sir John Tate, 1473; Sir Richard Gardner, 1478; Sir John Burom, 1480; Sir Henry Colet, 1486; Sir Robert Tate, 1488; Sir John Matthew Hatherly, 1490; Sir Hugh Clopton, 1491; *John Tate, jun.*, 1496; Sir William Purchass, 1497; Sir Nicholas Alwin, 1499; Sir Richard Haddon, 1506; Sir William Brown, 1507; Thomas Bradbury, 1509; Sir William Browne, 1513; Sir John Yarford, 1519; Sir Thomas Baldrey, 1523; Sir John Allen, 1525; Sir Thomas Seimour Seamer, 1536; Sir Ralph Dodmer, 1529; Sir Ralph Warren, 1586; Sir Richard Gresham, 1547; Sir William Hollis, 1539; Sir Michael Dormer, 1542; Sir John Gresham, 1547; Sir Rowland Hill, 1549; Sir Thomas Leighe, 1553; Sir Richard Mallery, 1564; Sir Roger Martin, 1567; Sir William Allen, 1571; Sir Lionel Ducket, 1572; Sir Thomas Bennet, 1604; Sir Henry Roe, 1608.

Sheriffs.

John Organ, 1336, buried at St. Olave's, Old Jewry; Stephen Spelman, chamberlain and sheriff, 1405, at St. Michael-le-Querm; Robert Marshall, 1440, at St. Lawrence Jewry; Rich Rich Selis, at St. Lawrence Jewry; William Cantelow, 1449, at St. Maudlin's, in Milk street; John Middleton, 1451, at Aldermanbury church; Richard Lawson, 1477, at St. Maudlin's, Milk street; William Daney, 1531, at St. Antholin's; Richard Renoldes, 1535; Thomas Kitson, 1534; Nicholas Levason, 1535; Sir Andrew Undershaft. And in Mercers' Chapel, and different churches: Sir William Locke, and Humphry Bushewill, 1562; Thomas Elking, 1587; William Walthall, 1607-1608; Christopher Havers, 1504; John Haydon, 1582; and "Magister Thomas Atkins, Senator in Amplissima Mercerorʼ Societate Custos primarius, 1638."—*Harl. MSS.* 4 M. Ca.

TRUST-ESTATES AND CHARITIES.

LIVINGS, SCHOLASTIC APPOINTMENTS, SCHOOLS AND ALMSHOUSES, WITHIN THE PATRONAGE OR SUPERINTENDANCE, AND OF THE PENSIONS, GIFTS, &C., (OTHERWISE CALLED MONEY-LEGACY CHARITIES,) THROUGH VARIOUS BENEFACTORS, AT THE DISPOSAL OF THE COMPANY OF MERCERS, WITH THE COMMISSIONERS' ACCOUNT OF CHARITIES FOR THEIR ENDOWMENT AND SUPPORT.

LIVINGS.

WHITTINGTON.—The Master, or "Tutor," of Whittington College, at Highgate.

COLET.—The High Master of St. Paul's School.
The Sur Master of do.
The Under Master, or "Antient Chaplain," of do.
The Assistant Master of do.

MERCERS.—The Classical Master of Mercers' School on College Hill.
The Assistant do.
The Writing Master of do.
The Assistant do.
The Lent Preacher at Mercers' Chapel, Cheapside.
The Preacher of various occasional Sermons and Lectures.

GRESHAM.—The Seven Lecturers (jointly with the city) at the Gresham Lectures, Royal Exchange.

NORTHAMPTON.—The Warden, 22 Almsmen, Officers and Servants, of Trinity Hospital, at Greenwich.

BENET.—The Rectory of Kirton, Lincolnshire, and the Advowson and Patronage of the Vicarage.

FISHBOURNE.—A Lectureship at St. Bartholomew, Threadneedle Street.
Lectureship at Hexham, in Northumberland.
Rectory of Canwich, Lincolnshire, and Appointment of the Vicar.
Rectory of Repham, do.
Lectureship at Berwick-upon-Tweed.

VISCOUNTESS CAMPDEN.—The Lectureship of Grantham, Lincolnshire.
Do. of Wakefield, Yorkshire.

The following account of the Mercers' Trust Estates and Charities is given in Strype's Stow, vol. ii. p. 173, (ed. 1754,) from the account furnished by the Company's Clerk for that work, in 1720. It will be observed that it contains several names not in the Commissioners' Report.

"SOME ACCOUNT OF THE CHARITABLE DONATIONS BELONGING TO THE COMPANY OF MERCERS OF THE CITY OF LONDON, WITH THE NAMES OF THEIR BENEFACTORS.

Their Schools, Hospitals, Lectures, and Exhibitions.	*By whom founded or maintained.*	*Benefactors' Names.*	
SCHOOLS.			
The School by St. Paul's, London.	Dr. I. Colet, some time dean of St. Paul's, London.	Sir Ralph Warren.	Mr. John Ducket.
		Dame Eliz. Martin.	Alderman Perry.
		† The Lady North.	Mr. Sam. Goldsmith.
		Mrs. Catharine Clark.	Mr. Edward Cropley.
		† Sir Henry Rowe.	† Dame Elizabeth, Viscountess Dowager Campden: this lady gave 3000*l.* towards buying-in Impropriations, besides other gifts.
		† Mrs. M. Robinson.	
		† Ald. Dauntesey.	
		Mr. Nich. Stratham.	
		Sir Mich. Dormer.	
		Mr. John Marsh.	
		Alderm. Baskerfield.	
		Mr. David Ap Powel.	Alderman Sleigh.
		Mrs. Alice Blundel.	† Mrs. Ann Ducket.
		Sir Thomas Leigh.	† Mr. Samuel Mico.
		Mr. Peter Symonds.	† Mr. Thomas Rich.
		Sir Roger Martin.	† Dame Marg. Hungerford.
		Sir Thomas Rivet.	
		† Alderman Heydon.	† Mrs. Jane Savage.
		Mr. Robert Hilson.	Mr. Pet. Birkenhead.
		Mr. Culverwell.	† Tho. Langham, esq.
		Sir Lionel Ducket.	† Sir Edw. D. Boveries.
		Sir Will. Damsel.	† Mr. Richard Collier.
		Alderman Elkin.	† Sir Rich. Whittington, founder of Whittington College.
		Mrs. Martha Barrett.	
		† Mr. Edw. Barkley.	† Sir John Allen.
		Mr. Geo. Birkbeck.	Lady Bradbury.
		Mr. Richard Barnes.	† Dame Isr. Gresham.
		Mr. Sharles.	† Alder. Chertesey.
		Mr. Barthol. Barnes.	† Mr. Brown.
		† Alderm. Walthal.	† Sir Thom. Bennet.
		Mrs. Frances Clark.	† Mr. Francis Flyer.
		Mr. Will. Quarles.	Mr. Bird.
		Alderman Holliday.	† Lord Campden.
		† Mr. R. Fishbourn: this man gave to the value of 10,000*l.*, and very largely towards the buying-in Impropriations.	† Lady Jane Mico.
			† Dr. John Colet.
			† Hen. E. of Northampton.
		Mr. John Banks.	† Sir Tho. Gresham.
		Mr. William Ferrar.	† Tho. Papillion, esq. who gave 1000*l.*
		Alderman Pool.	Mr. Richard Laken.
		Mr. Ralph Stint.	Mr. John Abbot.
		Mr. Giles Martin.	Mr. Robert Weston.
		Mr. Robert Gibson.	Mr. John Millet.
Mercers' Chapel School.	Immemorial.		
At Horsham, in Sussex.	Mr. Richard Collier.		
At Lavington, in Wilts.	Alderm. Dauntesey.		
HOSPITALS.			
Whittington College.	Trustees of Sir R. Whittington.		
Lavington, in Wilts.	Alderm. Dauntesey.		
At Stepney, in Middlesex.	Lady Mico.		
Trinity Hospital, in Greenwich.	Henry E. of Northampton.		
LECTURES.			
In Crooked Lane, one.	A contribution towards the Lecture there, by Mr. Hilson.		
At St. Antholin's, two.	Alderm. Perry and Lady Martin.		
At St. Bartholomew's, behind the Exchange, two.	Mr. Fishbourn and Alderman Perry.		
At Grantham, Lincolnshire.	Lady Campden.		
At Wakefield, Yorkshire.	Mr. Ric. Fishbourn.		
At Huntingdon.			
At Mercers'Chapel, Sundays Afternoon, from Advent to Easter.			
At Gresham College.	Sir Thom. Gresham.		
At St. Michael Royal.	Alderm. Heydon toward the Lecture there.		
At the Chapel, two Anniversary Sermons, on the 30 of Jan. and 29 of May.	Mr. Birkenhead.		

Their Schools, Hospitals, Lectures, and Exhibitions.	*By whom founded or maintained.*	*Benefactors' Names.*
EXHIBITIONS.		Mrs. Margaret Raynold. Mr. John Taylor.
Four Exhibitions of 6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* per annum, for Scholars of any University or College.	Lady Northampton.	Sir Richard Haddon. Mr. John Fuller. Mr. Will. Widdowson. Mrs. Mary Sharles. Mr. Richard Fielding. Mr. John Newman. Sir James Yarford. Mrs. M. Williams. Mr. Rowland Hill. Mr. Nath. Bishop. Mr. John Royson. Mr. Richard Bridges. Mr. Will. Bottery. Mr. John Green.
Four of 6*l.* 5*s.* each per annum, for Scholars of Trinity College, Cambridge.	Mrs. Robinson.	
Four more, of 10*l.* each per annum, for Scholars of Trinity College, Cambridge.	Lord Campden.	N. B. Those that have this mark (†) before their names were the greatest benefactors.
Ten or more Exhibitions besides, of 10*l.* per annum each, for Scholars of any Colleges in Cambridge or Oxford.	Company of Mercers.	

The yearly disbursements of this Company in Charities amount to 3,000*l. or thereabout.*

From ——— ESSINGTON, Esq., *Clerk of this Company.*"

"Since this scheme, Mr. Crump, belonging to the said Secretary, communicated to me the account following, viz. of two later benefactions entrusted with this company.

"Poor men and women to be discharged out of the prisons of Ludgate, Wood-street Compter, and the Poultry Compter, by Mr. John Rand's gift, of the moiety of three freehold messuages or tenements in Tower street, not exceeding 40*s.* to each prisoner, so far as the nett profits of the said houses shall extend; deducting 4*l.* per annum for the master and three wardens, for their trouble in attending to see the charity honestly distributed ——— as per his will, dated 27 Aug. 1706.

"Mr. John Kellesby's will, dated 4 Aug. 1709, wherein he gives to the worshipful Company of Mercers 120*l.*, to be paid them after his wife's death; devising that the interest or profits thereof may be annexed to, and go towards the augmentation of the salary belonging to the Master of Mercers' Chapel school for ever."—*Strype.*

SCHOOLS.

COLET'S.—In St. Paul's Church-yard, London. For 153 boys,* "of every nation, country, and class." The admission in the Company, and obtainable through the surveyor accomptant, (always the master of the Mercers,) who is the officer delegated by the court of assistants to nominate during his year of office. Scholars are admitted at *fifteen*, but eligible at any age. The time of superannuation nineteen years of age. If not entered before ten, ineligible to the exhibitions attached to the school. The education is entirely classical.

* Alluding to the number of fishes taken by St. Peter: *John* xxi. 2.

FOUNDATION AND ENDOWMENT.

This school was founded by Dr. John Colet, (son of Sir Henry Colet, mercer, and lord mayor,) dean of St. Paul's, in the beginning of the reign of Henry VIII.

From an ancient writing of the founder's, in the company's possession, it appears that the original school and school-house, at the east end of St. Paul's church-yard, was begun in 1508, and finished in 1512. In 1511, the dean, by virtue of letters patent, granted to the Mercers' Company certain estates in Buckinghamshire, to the annual value of 53*l.*, in trust, to continue the said school for ever, "for the instructing of boys in good manners and literature, and for the sustentation of one master and one usher, or of two ushers of the same, and of the necessary things to be done, according to the ordinance of him the said John Colet, his heirs or executors thereafter to be made."

The lands conveyed by this grant, as therein set forth, consisted of 1965 acres of arable, pasture, and meadow land, and 30 acres of woodland, the annual value whereof (according to the Mercers' books,) was then 55*l.* 14*s.* 10½*d.* This may be considered as the original endowment of the school, and constituted for several years its only revenue. A rent-charge of 8*l.* added by the dean, and some other benefactions which will be enumerated, were not received till some years after his death.

The old book of evidences contains a surrender of Dean Colet, and Christiana Colet, widow, his mother, to the lord of Stebonheth or Stepney manor, of tenements and pieces of land therein particularly described, (comprising amongst the rest "six messuages or cottages, with their gardens, situate in the south part of Aldegate-street,") and amounting in the whole to 17 cottages or tenements, and 75 acres of land, to the use of the Company for continuing of the said school, &c., (pursuing the same form as a grant of lands in Bucks.) To this the wardens were admitted, and the copyhold afterwards enfranchised by the conveyance of the fee simple by the lord of the manor to trustees, and by them to the Company.

Subsequently, viz. in 1517, the dean granted estates in Cambridgeshire, and in and near Colchester, Essex, for maintaining a chantry of one chaplain, in a certain chapel at the south end of his school; and by his will, dated January, 1514, he further gave the Company: 1. A messuage, with shops, cellars, and appurtenances, in Sopar-lane; and two tenements appertaining to the parish churches of St. Mary Colechurch and St. Mary-le-Bow. 2. Two messuages in the parish of St. Magnus, London-bridge. 3. His grammar-school and chapel founded with the same, and the master's house in St. Paul's church-yard. 4. His grammar-house, lately called "*Paules School*," and four shops under it. 5. Two messuages in the Old Change, London. 6. And six tenements in the parish of St. George, Pudding-lane, Billingsgate: all for continuing the same school.

The Appendix to Knight's Life of Dean Colet, (8vo. 1724,) has, following a copy of the school statutes, an account "of the landes of the Scole," containing a summary of the above grants, and which states the yearly value of the whole to be 122*l.* 4*s.* 7½*d.* This appears as the last title of the statutes; and he there declares the "sett patrones and defenders, go-

vernours and rulers of that same schoole," to be "*the most honest and faithful fellowshipe of the* MERCERS OF LONDON." To the whole is added the signature of the dean, "Johannes Colet, fundator novæ scole manu mea propria;" and which account is, in a note, said to have been delivered by the dean to "Mr. William Lilie, (who was the first schoolmaster,) on the 18th of June, 1518." The Company did not come into possession of the whole of the dean's endowment till 1524, (five years after his death,) at which time it produced altogether a revenue of 122*l.* 0*s.* 11*d.*, an amount agreeing within a few shillings with the above estimate in Knight's Life.

PRESENT STATE OF THE PROPERTY.

The Commissioners state themselves to have encountered much difficulty in identifying the present school estates with the descriptions in Dean Colet's grants; and which they account for, in part, from the great change which time has produced in the names of several of the places, and the alterations arising from Enclosure Acts, and other causes; which, they say, in some cases makes the total number of acres specified fall *short*, and in others *exceed* the original amount. From terriers of the whole property, in the years (1575 and 1576,) and in which the contents of the different parcels of land vary so greatly from the specifications in the original grants as to warrant the conclusion, that the quantities enumerated must have been considered as "covering quantities;"—great differences were found as to these contents of the estates, and their present actual extent. Instancing this in some of the Buckinghamshire estates, (and for which they endeavour to account in the manner just noticed,) they observe: "Still it seems somewhat difficult to account, from these causes only, for such large defalcations as have taken place, in some instances; for example, in Aston Clinton," an estate they have before described, "where it amounts to one third of the whole number of acres." The whole rent of the Buckingham estates they state at 1,746*l.* 13*s.* 5*d.* per annum.

The Cambridgeshire estates consist of a farm at Barton, let for 135*l.* per annum; and in Essex, of another farm at Colchester, let for 46*l.*

The estate at Stepney the Commissioners state as one "which has undergone such great alterations by the numerous streets and buildings which have been erected on it, that it seemed hopeless to endeavour to identify the parcels with the original grant, or the early terriers. "The Company, however, (they add,) produced to us an ancient plan of the property, dated 1615; and also a modern one, taken in 1803, which, on comparison, were found to coincide, with some small variations, occasioned chiefly by the Commercial road having been carried through the property, and for which the Company received 4,551*l.* 2*s.* 6*d.*, (with some interest due:) 3,390*l.* 8*s.* 8*d.* part of this sum was applied for redeeming the land-tax of one of the Buckinghamshire estates, and the remainder for that of Stepney. The whole rental of the Stepney property is (1820) 1,494*l.* 1*s.* 11*d.* per annum, and is expected, when the leases fall in, to realize a greatly increased income.

There are six houses in Whitechapel belonging to the school, which

are described, in the terrier of 1577, as "five houses in Whitechapel," seeming to answer to the "certain lands without Aldgate," mentioned in the company's account of the school estates in 1521, and enumerated in Knight's Life, as "holdes without Aldgate," contained in the surrender of the copyhold property at Stepney; if so, they may be considered as forming part of the Stepney estate, making its present amount 1,874*l.* 1*s.* 11*d.* There is also a house at Stepney, thus mentioned in the founder's statutes: "The hyghe maister shall have the tenement in Stebunheth now in the hands of Christopher Myddleton, to resort unto, which tenement the Mercers shall mayntain and repayre." This house is described as being now divided into two tenements, and under let; one at 25*l.* and the other at 20*l.* rent. The lessees have laid out considerable sums on the premises, which are supposed now to be worth 100*l.* a year. No allowance is made to the master during the continuance of the term, and the rent reserved being payable to him, it does not appear in the Mercers' rental.

THE PROPERTY IN LONDON.

The whole of the tenements given by Colet's will having been burnt down in the fire of London, no means, it is stated, exist of identifying the property; but the Mercers' Company are in possession of premises, as part of the school estate, which answer in locality:

1. There are five houses in Queen-street, and one in Well-court, which are considered to include the original property in Sopar-lane. 2. A piece of land, the corner of St. Paul's Church-yard and Watling-street, let to the corporation of London on a building lease, and another piece of land adjoining, on which stands a charity-school, supposed to be the site of the grammar-house, called "Paules Scole," with four shops under it, and two tenements in Old Change. 3. Three houses, one in Pudding-lane. 4. A piece of ground on Fish-street Hill, let to the Fishmongers' Company on a building lease, answering to the tenements in the parish of St. Magnus, London Bridge. 5. The present school premises, consisting of a school-room, and residences for the high master, sur-master, and usher, stand at that part of the Church-yard which is described as the site of the old school-house and chapel. The chapel has not been rebuilt.

Considerable purchases were made under an Act of Parliament of 58 Geo. III., of the corporation of London and of the bishop of London, for enlarging the school premises; and the school house, &c. has since been elegantly rebuilt of stone, forming, with the masters' houses, the present grand pile of building. The total rental of the London estates (the above new purchases, and three houses in the Old Change, excepted,) is 429*l.*

PROPERTY IN HERTS.

6. A rent-charge of 8*l.* per annum on lands in Hertfordshire.

The above comprehends the whole real property of the school under Dean Colet's foundation; but the Company possess besides, funded property in trust for the school as follows, viz. 2,244*l.* 3*s.* 4*d.*, 3 per cent. consols, purchased with 1,728*l.* compensation from the Regent's Canal Company for land at Limehouse; and 23,467*l.* 19*s.* 10*d.*, 3 per

cent. reduced annuities, the produce of the parliamentary grant of 3000*l.* per annum for 35 years out of the coal duty, during their embarrassments in 1745, as already mentioned.

The present annual income of the school, derived from the several sources mentioned, under Dean Colet's foundation, is as follows:

	£	*s.*	*d.*
Rents in Buckinghamshire, (including the annuity of 122*l.* 2*s.* 8*d.* and the redeemed land-tax) .	1,858	16	10½
Rents in Cambridgeshire	135	0	0
Ditto in Essex	146	0	0
Ditto at Stepney, (including the redeemed land-tax, and the houses in Whitechapel) . . .	1,874	1	11
Rents in London	429	0	0
Rent charge in Hertfordshire	8	0	0
Dividend on 2,244*l.* 3*s.* 1*d.*, 3 per cent. consols .	67	6	6
Do. on 23,487*l.* 19*s.* 10*d.*, 3 per cent. reduced .	704	12	0
	5,222	17	3½
To this should be added the periodical fines of 300*l.* and 315*l.* paid every 21 years by the Marquis of Buckingham, under the act for exchanging the lands in Wotton and Ham, which, if spread over the whole period, would produce annually	29	5	8
Making the whole income	5,252	2	11½

The addition of the improved rents, already reserved on the property at Stepney, amounting to 418*l.* 10*s.* and which will shortly become payable, will raise this income to 5,670*l.* 15*s.* 6*d.* On the other hand, some deduction should perhaps be made, on account of a farm at Luggershall, which seems to be somewhat overlet, and from the rent of which an abatement was made last year of 48*l.*

In addition to the munificent endowment of Dean Colet, the school enjoys a valuable benefaction for the establishment of exhibitions at the university of Cambridge. (See "EXHIBITIONS.")

APPLICATION.

By the founder's statutes, the children at their admission are to be able to say the Catechism, and to read and write "competently." They were to be taught good literature, both Latin and Greek, "and good autors, such as have the verry Romayne eloquence joyned with wisdom, specially Cristen autors, that wrote theire wisdom with clean and chaste Laten, either in verse or in prose;" the founder's intent being "by this scole specially to encrease knowledge and worshippinge of God and our Lord Christ Jesu, and good Cristen life and manners in the children." The education given agreeably to these instructions has been noticed. The present teachers consist, according to the founder's will, of a high master, whose salary is 618*l.* per annum, together with a spacious house; a sur-master with 307*l.* per annum; an under-master or ancient chaplain, whose salary is 227*l.* per annum, and an assistant master with a salary of 257*l.* The last master only has no house.

Remarking on the description of children to be admitted, agreeably to the founder's instructions, the commissioners are of opinion that it was his intention by no means to confine its benefits to the rich, but rather that it should be open to rich and poor.

They add, after stating the particulars as to the salaries and duties of the teachers as above, and the general management and regulation of the school and its property, a table of the year's expenditure preceding their Report, which amounted altogether to 6078*l.* 3*s.* 0½*d.*, a sum, it will be seen, considerably exceeding the income, but which is said to be principally owing to items marked as extra charges in the margin of the account; and they add—

"The large amounts which at different intervals have been expended in repairs, seems to preclude the possibility of ascertaining any constant averages of income and expenditure. In 1782, 1783, and 1784, the sum paid for repairs (and which applied generally to a repair of the school and masters' houses,) amounted in the whole to 10,646*l.* 9*s.*

A few of the articles in the annual account alluded to are said to require some especial notice. They instance, in particular, an annuity of 1000*l.* given to the then late high master, Dr. Roberts, (a greater stipend than was paid him whilst employed as teacher,) but they account for it by reason partly of his losing his residence, his great age of 80, and the Company's gratitude for his services of nearly half a century.

Another item they remark on is, "Courts and Committees, 287*l.* 14*s.*" and which they explain by stating, that when the Company's courts of assistants or committees, appointed by them, are summoned, it is customary to compliment each member who attends with a gratuity of one guinea, and which custom also prevails with courts and committees held for the ordinary business of the Company. As an excuse, many of the members are said to come from the country, and others to quit their business, whose loss of time is not compensated by the pay they receive. Though, as the commissioners remark, "this payment certainly appears, at least with respect to the latter class of persons, to militate against the rule that a trustee is not entitled to charge for his time and labour; and it is obvious, that if it amounts to more than a mere indemnity, it must have a tendency to produce an unnecessary multiplication of courts and committees." A similar notice is taken of the sum of 229*l.* 9*s.* expended at what is called the "Apposition dinner," and which is contrasted with the economical provision on this occasion by the founder, viz. of "an assembly and a litell dinner, ordayned by the surveyor, not exceedynge the pryce of fower nobles." A charge of 222*l.* 8*s.* for gold medals, (each of which is of 20*l.* value,) they remark, is annually expended for gifts to the accountant-surveyor on quitting office, though "it is one which it would be difficult to justify on any ground of expediency."

Complimenting the general management of the school funds, as the commissioners do in conclusion, notwithstanding these exceptions, they add, that it is obvious "that the present large and improving revenue, under a somewhat more economical system, would be adequate to the production of a far *more* extensive benefit than the mere instruction in classical learning of

153 scholars." The remedy they recommend to the anxious attention of the Company.*

MERCERS'.—On College hill, London. For seventy scholars, without restriction of age or place. Patrons, the Company, who commit the superintendence and right of nomination to the master and wardens for the time being, who assign it in turn. They are admitted at any age, and receive a classical education, together with English, writing, arithmetic, merchants' accounts, and the useful appendages of geography and history.

The Mercers' School, though but little known or celebrated, is one of the very oldest seminaries of education in London, as has been partly shewn, in giving an account of the Companies' Hall. That it was coeval with the foundation of St. Thomas of Acon, and only revived on the petition of Peele, in 1447, there exists little doubt. The mention then made of it is, however, the first on record. It was at this time probably kept at the hospital, but had been afterwards removed; for Stow, speaking of the *Crownsild* next the Mercery in Cheapside, says, that the Mercers' school adjoined *that* building, "being kept in a house for that purpose, *prepared* in the churchyard; and which, being decayed, was sold for rent in the reign of Henry VIII." The continuation of the school, on the suppression of St. Thomas of Acon, (with whose fate it seems to have been all along connected,) was owing to Henry VIII. By copies of instruments shewn to the commissioners by the Company's clerk; that monarch, in his thirty-third year, granted to the Mercers' Company the site of their hall, as already described; and, by an indenture of the same date, between the king and the company, which recited the said grant, the company, amongst other things, covenanted, at their own proper costs and charges, "to find and keep a free grammar school within the said city of London perpetually, and to find a sufficient master to teach twenty-five children and scholars in the same school, freely for ever." From this time the school assumed the rank of a free school; and, under the care of the company, who permitted the master to receive private scholars, it vied with the greatest schools in London, as also in the disputations of its scholars on festival-days.

It was kept at this time, and until the fire of London, at St. Mary, Colechurch, next the Mercers' chapel; the company allowing the parson of that

* Numerous additional particulars respecting St. Paul's school, and of all the free grammar schools under the control of this and the other London Companies, will be found in Carlisle's "Endowed Grammar Schools." The list of eminent scholars of St. Paul's school, there enumerated, includes the distinguished names of Sir Anthony Denny, privy counsellor to Henry VIII.; Sir William Paget, holding the same office to that monarch, and also to the three succeeding sovereigns; Sir Edward North, afterwards lord North; John Leland, the antiquary; John Milton, Sir Charles Scarborough the physician, Samuel Pepys, secretary of the admiralty to Charles II.; Benjamin Calamy, D.D., the great duke of Marlborough, in Queen Anne's reign, several bishops, Spencer Compton, speaker of the House of Commons, &c.

church, who was the master, an annual salary, and a house, with the school and play-ground. Subsequently to that event, as we have seen, there was some discussion with Parliament on rebuilding the Mercers' school on the former site of St. Mary, Colechurch. That site, however, was ultimately rejected, and by the Rebuilding Act, 22 Charles II., (1670,) it was expressly provided, that there should be a plot of ground, on the western side of the Old Jewry, "set apart and assigned for the site upon which MERCERS' CHAPEL GRAMMAR SCHOOL should be built." Persons who remember the building, describe it whilst here, as an old-fashioned house for the master's residence, with projecting upper stories, a low spacious building by the side of it for the school-room, and an area behind it for a play-ground; the whole being situate on the west side of the Old Jewry, about forty yards from Cheapside.

The great value of ground on the above spot, and a desire to widen, as at present, the entrance to the Old Jewry, occasioned the temporary removal of the Mercers' school, in 1787, to No. 13, Budge row, about thirty yards from Dowgate hill, (a house of the Company's, which was afterwards burnt down.) In 1804 it was again temporarily removed to No. 20, Red Lion court, Watling street; and from thence, in 1808, to its present situation, on College hill. The latter premises were hired by the company, at the rent of 120*l.*, and the average expense of the school was 677*l.* 1*s.* 1*d.* The salary of the master is 200*l.*, and 50*l.* gratuity, with a house to live in, rent and tax free. Writing, arithmetic, and merchants' accounts, were added to the Greek and Latin classics, in 1804; and a writing master was engaged, who has a salary of 120*l.*, and a gratuity of 20*l.*, but no house. There are two exhibitions belonging to the school: for which, see "Exhibitions."

The present Mercers' school, which is but lately finished, is a very elegant stone structure, adjoining St. Michael, College hill church, on the site of Whittington's alms-houses, which had been removed to Highgate to make room for it.

COLLYER'S.—At Horsham, in Sussex. For sixty boys of the parish of Horsham. "The poorest to be chosen, but none of Horsham to be refused likely to learn." Elected by the vicar, the churchwardens, and two school-wardens. The Mercers' Company trustees and payees. They remain at school from eight to fourteen, and are taught Latin, reading, writing, and English grammar.

The free school at Horsham was founded in 1532, by Richard Collyer, citizen and mercer, of London, who, for establishing it, bequeathed premises at Horsham, and in Queen street, Cheapside, London, to the wardens and commonalty of the mystery of Mercers of the city of London, as trustees of the same. The objects of this foundation were, that there should be sixty free scholars, with a master at 10*l.* a year salary, and an usher at ten marks. These yearly salaries were to be paid by the wardens of the Mercers' Company, who, together with the "fellowship of

the mystery of Mercers, were to have for the performance of the same a house, called the 'Key,' with the appurtenances, part of the Queen street estate, to be made sure to the said fellowship, and their successors, for evermore, "they paying that aforesaid is recited." And the wardens were "to have out of the same, 20*s.* yearly for their pains, and more to be taken out of the same when it should be needful, to see to such reparations as should be meet to be done for the maintenance of the same school-house." The present rental of the endowment is upwards of 400*l.* per annum, exclusively of two yearly payments of 10*l.* and 10 marks, charged upon three several messuages, (formerly the one house, called "*The Key*,") with the appurtenances, in Cheapside. There are no statutes nor ordinances but what are expressed in the will of the founder.

When the present master succeeded, in 1806, "*there was not a boy upon this foundation*," and the master's salary was only 30*l.* per annum, and the usher's 20*l.* *Ever since his accession the original intention of the* FOUNDER *has been carried* into FULL EFFECT. He has, at this time, and always has had since, SIXTY boys, in regular attendance, and *not one private boy in the school.*"

The Eton Latin grammar is used, and the Eton plan of education is pursued; besides which, the children are taught writing, &c., as has been noticed; and they are all strictly brought up to the Established church. The Greek language is not taught to the free boys.

The present head-master's salary is 110*l.* per annum, but no other emoluments of any kind. This gentleman takes pupils, but never more than two at once, whom he fits for the Universities. The usher's salary is 73*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*, being the original proportion of two thirds. There are no church preferments.

DAUNTSEY'S.—At West Lavington, Wilts. For all boys of West Lavington, (at present amounting to, from sixty to one hundred,) who are admitted on application to the master, without any special appointment. They are taught the Church catechism, reading, writing, arithmetic, grammar, and the classics, when required. There are no boarders.

This school was founded in 1542, by Alderman William Dauntsey, together with a set of almshouses, (which will be presently described,) who appointed a schoolmaster to teach grammar, at a salary of 10*l.*, as sole master thereof, and bequeathed to the company all his estates in the city of London, (except the house himself inhabited,) to perform the trusts of his will, as contained in indentures to be made between them and his brother, Ambrose Dauntsey, and in which it was conditioned, amongst other things, that they should pay the said schoolmaster's salary of 10*l.* and the allowances of the almspeople. The school and other buildings were erected previously to 1553, and were taken possession of by the Mercers, together with the estates in London, the company having duly executed the indentures alluded to. The London property, on first coming into the company's

possession, as appears from their books, consisted of the following premises, producing the annexed rents:

	£	s.	d.
Houses in Gracechurch street	18	0	8
Ditto in St. Peter's Yard, Church Alley	2	16	4
Ditto in Offele Alley	9	17	4
Ditto in St. Antholin's parish	10	3	4
Ditto in St. Thomas Apostle	6	10	8
	47	8	4

The premises now possessed by the company under this devise, and for support of the almshouses, are as follows, viz. four houses, being Nos. 3, 4, 5, and 6, Gracechurch-street, and five houses in Corbet Court, (supposed to be those formerly described as being in Offele Alley,) being Nos. 1, 3, 4, and 5, and another, not numbered, in the occupation of William Rawson; a house, the sign of the *Wheatsheaf*, in St. Peter's Alley, Cornhill; part of a house in Queen street, Cheapside, the corner of Watling street, in the occupation of George Miller, the remainder of which belongs to Christ's Hospital; two houses, being Nos. 42, and 43, in Watling-street, (which two houses, with that in Queen street, are supposed to be those described as being in St. Antholin's parish,) and three houses, being Nos. 19, 20, and 21, and five others, not numbered, on lease to John Walters, in Maidenhead-court, in the parish of Little St. Thomas, Apostle. The rent received from the whole of these houses amounts now to 1,060*l.* per annum.

The original allowance of 10*l.* a year to the schoolmaster was continued till 1598, when it was raised to 15*l.* In 1611, and from that till 1635, the whole sum paid to the charity was 38*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*; a decree in chancery being then obtained by the heirs of the founder, the company was enjoined to pay thenceforth for school and almshouses 60*l.* yearly, together with 100*l.* for repairing the school, &c. In 1801 the income of the charity was raised (including the 60*l.*) to 135*l.*; and in 1803, when the rental had increased to 600*l.* per annum, the master's stipend was augmented to 110*l.*, and the almsfolks' yearly allowances to 110*l.* 19*s.* 9*d.*;—the master has also a school-room and apartments. No scholars have applied for, or received classical education, except the children of the master, (who is a clergyman.) The ducal family of Marlborough appoint the schoolmaster as owners of West Lavington manor, but the commissioners think under a questionable right. The present expenditure of West Lavington Charity is as follows:

	£	s.	d.
Master's salary	110	0	0
Seven almspeople, at 5*s.* per week each Ditto 13*s.* 4*d.* per quarter	109	13	4
Balance	1	6	8
	221	0	0

Exclusive of repairs of master's house, almshouses, parochial charges, and other expenses.

EXHIBITIONS; OR, TEMPORARY PENSIONS TO POOR SCHOLARS AT THE UNIVERSITIES OF OXFORD AND CAMBRIDGE.

CAMDEN'S.—Five of 100*l.* and five of 70*l.* per annum each, to scholars of St. Paul's School; appointed by the court of wardens and trustees of St. Paul's School, to Trinity College, Cambridge.

MERCERS'.—At present about twenty of 50*l.* a year each, to ditto; appointed at a general court to any college of either University. They are never given to the same boys who have the Camden exhibitions.

PERRY AND SYKES'.—An indefinite number of scholarships or exhibitions for *Paulines*, (scholars of St. Paul's School, usually so denominated,) at Trinity and St. John's College, Cambridge.

MERCERS'.—Two of 50*l.* each, (unlimited as to college or university,) for any scholars of Mercers' School whom the schoolmaster reports to be duly qualified; appointed by the court.

ROBINSON'S.—Four of 24*l.* each per annum, to collegians entered in either of the colleges at Cambridge; appointed by the general court.

NORTH'S.—Four of 20*l.* each per annum, to four students of either University who shall be entered in one of the colleges; appointed by the court of assistants.

N.B. The above exhibitions are for seven years, and the stipends are paid at Mercers' Hall.

ALMSHOUSES.

WHITTINGTON'S.—At Upper Holloway, Middlesex, for the maintenance of 29 poor single freemen of the company, or with their wives, not to be less than fifty-five years of age; together with 30 out-pensioners, not under 30, who receive 30*l.* per annum; and for the maintenance and education of sons of freemen or liverymen, who are taught writing, arithmetic, merchants' accounts, grammar, geography, and the elements of practical mathematics.

Founded by will of Sir Richard Whittington, knight, citizen, and alderman, in 1421, who left for their support his dwelling-house in St. Michael, Paternoster parish, and all his lands and tenements in London, subject to debts and other charities mentioned. In the ancient body of ordinances remaining with the company, and made by the executors, amongst other particular directions for conducting this charity, is one, ordaining that the mayor of London that then was, and all his successors, should be *overseers*, and the keepers of the commonalty of the craft of Mercerie of London, and their successors, shall be *conservators* of the aforesaid almshouses. They vest the power of appointing a tutor of the almsmen to the conservators, with a reversion of the appointment to the mayor as overseer, if the office should not be filled up in 20 days, and to him all appeals from the almspeople were to be made, "and to none other person." The commissioners state this charity to possess considerable property under the management of the Mercers, but add, "considering that by foregoing ordinances the lord mayor of London for the time being was appointed by the founder special visitor, (although it does not appear that such visitorial power has in fact ever been exercised,) we conceive ourselves precluded from any further examination into the concerns of this charity." They decline, on the same ground, entering into the consideration of separate bequests to it.

DAUNTSEY'S.—At West Lavington, Wilts.; for five poor aged men and women, aged inhabitants there, or from the adjoining parishes, (and for the education of 34 boys, as just mentioned.) They are appointed by the ducal family of Marlborough.

These almshouses (which have been already noticed in the account of West Lavington school,) are directed in Alderman Dauntsey's will (1542) to consist of "seven chambers, for the habitation of five aged and impotent men, and two honest aged poor women, to be called the beadmen and beadwomen of West Lavington;" who were every quarter to receive 10*s.* 10*d.* each. In 1801, the company added a gratuity of 45*l.* to the almspeople; and in 1803, on the rental of the estates having increased, as just observed, to 600*l.*, increased the yearly allowance to 110*l.* 19*s.* 9*d.* The sum paid by the schoolmaster of the school, in payments of 5*s.* a week each, and 13*s.* 4*d.* quarterly, making together 109*l.* 13*s.* 1*d.*, as just mentioned; the yearly balance of 1*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* is laid by for the purchase of great coats and cloaks. The almshouses were rebuilt in 1810, and the buildings now appropriated to the charity are the almshouse, consisting of a sitting room, bedchamber, and buttery, for each of the seven inhabitants; and one common apartment for brewing, baking, and washing; together with a schoolroom and apartments for the master, separate from the almshouse. The almspeople are old persons selected from among the poor of West Lavington, which parish is always able to furnish a sufficient number.

Mico's; including Mrs. Fermour's Charity.—At Stepney, Middlesex; for 10 poor widows of freemen of London, fifty years of age and upwards; who have 30*l.* per annum each. Also a School for 20 children, at Fairford, Gloucester, which is *discontinued*. The almspeople are elected by the company at a general court.

These almshouses were founded pursuant to the will of Dame Jane Mico, widow of Sir Samuel Mico, knight, 1670, who left 1500*l.* for that purpose, with directions, after erecting the same, to purchase land with the remainder of the sum for endowing them.

On proceedings had in Chancery respecting this legacy, after Lady Mico's death, an order was made (October 14, 1680) that the executors should assign their interest and trust to the Mercers, (the property then amounting to 2220*l.*) together with the patronage, subject to the trusts of the will, and which company accordingly became possessed thereof in 1682.

The almshouses, built in 1691, cost 780*l.* 5*s.* 9*d.*, which was deducted from 2980*l.* 5*s* 9*d.*, the amount the original legacy had been then increased to by new interest on it, when 2200*l.* was allowed to remain in the company's hands, at 4 per cent. by their order in Chancery. The interest, amounting to 88*l.*, was to be applied as follows:

	£	*s.*	*d.*
To ten poor widows 8*l.* per annum each, by monthly payments	80	0	0
Rent of the ground on which the almshouses stand	1	5	0
Clerk of the company	2	0	0
Repairs and other charges	4	15	0
	88	0	0

A sum of 1548*l.* had become in arrear to this charity during the company's embarrassments, from their having made certain deductions for rent and repairs of the almshouses; the remainder was invested, and, with various accumulations of interest, the whole income was then found to amount to 144*l.* 7*s.* 5*d.* To this was added certain proceeds from an additional legacy of 1000*l.*, left, in 1704, by the Hon. Elizabeth Fermour, which makes the present annual income of the almshouse people 210*l.* 2*s.* 2*d.*

The almshouses (which are opposite Stepney church-yard,) consist of ten dwellings, each having a kitchen, and bedroom over it, and a small garden, and are kept in repair by the Company.

Besides the yearly annuities of 30*l.* each, the widows are attended in sickness by an apothecary, who has a regular salary for the purpose; and six guineas is allowed towards the funerals of those who die.

Owing to repairs and various expenses, the commissioners state the annual expenditure of this charity to exceed the present income; and the same being paid out of the company's funds, they forbear to go into the accounts of former occasional excess of income.

NORTHAMPTON'S.—Called Trinity Hospital, at Greenwich, Kent; for the support of a warden and 20 poor men, to be inhabitants of Greenwich, and Rutesham, in Norfolk, with certain officers. The whole establishment appointable and removable by the Mercers. The elections are in the wardens and company, or a committee of twelve, (whereof the two senior wardens and six of the assistants constitute *eight*.)

Trinity Hospital was founded in 1615 by Henry Howard earl of Northampton, who began the erection of it in his lifetime, three years earlier. The king's letters patent, which were obtained shortly after his death, constitute it an hospital for ever, to be called "the Hospital of the holy and undivided Trinity in East-Greenwich." The nomination of the poor and officers, and their removal for reasonable causes, were vested in the wardens and commonalty of the Mercers, or any twelve or more of them, eight of which twelve should consist of the two senior wardens and six of the assistants. And the warden and poor men were at the same time incorporated, with power to take lands, have a common seal, and to make ordinances for their government and the management of their revenues. The two senior wardens and six of the assistants of the Mercers are perpetual visitors of Trinity College, and hold yearly a court on the Monday after Trinity Monday, for examining the hospital minutes, enforcing the observance of the statutes, auditing the warden's accounts, surveying the state of the revenues, and other necessary business of the charity. The minor government, including the purveyorship and stewardship, are vested by the company in the warden of the hospital.

The Mercers superintend the management of the hospital property, and regulate the allowances to be made to the almspeople and officers, but no part of the income ever passes through their hands; all transactions respecting it are in the corporate name of the hospital; the leases and other instruments are prepared by the company's clerk, under an express direction contained in the ordinances, and are sealed by the warden of the hospital with the common seal, of which he has the custody; and the rents are received and the disbursements made by him; he also retains all balances, and keeps the accounts, only depositing a copy with the company.

The above circumstances of the Mercers being special visitors, &c., the commissioners considered precluded them from further investigation into the concerns of this noble charity.

PENSIONS, GIFTS, LOANS, &c.; OTHERWISE CALLED "MONEY LEGACY CHARITIES."*

Date of Bequest.	*Donor's name.*	*Sum given.* £	s.	d.	*Paid.* £	s.	d.	*Commissioners' Remarks on Application.*
1542, Mar. 10.	Alderman *Dauntsey* . .	200	0	0				To be lent to four poor freemen. The interest to be four loads of coals, yearly, to the poor of the parishes named.
	For coals to St. Lawrence parish . . .				2	10	0	
	St. Antholin's . .				2	10	0	
1538, Oct. 2.	Nicholas *Statham* . .	333	6	8				For pensions to any hospital the king would license. Has been always paid as mentioned.
	To pay to St. Bartholomew's Hospital .				6	13	4	
1557, July 7.	John *Marsh* . . .	200	0	0				The sum of 15*s.* is yearly laid out in coals for the poor, as originally directed by the donor. The remaining interest (which, by investments of stock, is now much increased,) is distributed as follows.
	To pay to Uxbridge .				5	6	8	
	Marshalsea prison .				1	0	0	
	King's bench prison .				1	0	0	
	Ludgate . . .				0	5	0	
	Newgate . . .				0	10	0	
	Wood street compter .				0	5	0	
	Poultry compter . .				0	5	0	
	St. Lawrence parish .				0	15	0	To Uxbridge . £8 12 5
	The wardens of the company 2*s.* 6*d.* each; beadle 3*s.* 4*d.* . .				0	10	0	Gifts to the prisons named, (combined with benefactions of Sir Roger Martin and Frances Clarke, mentioned below,) viz. To Ludgate £1 7 1; Newgate . 1 10 2; Giltspur street or Wood street . 1 7 1; Poultry compter 7 8 9; King's bench . 0 12 5; Marshalsea . . 0 13 1. N.B. Ludgate, Newgate, and the two compters, now paid at Whitecross street.
1563, Sep. 1.	Alderman *Baskerfield* . .	200	0	0				To be lent to four freemen for seven years. Interest: each borrower two cartloads of charcoal, the eight loads containing 110 sacks, to be distributed to the poor mentioned. The company now allow 1*l.* 5*s.* for a load of coals, amounting to 5*l.* per cent.
	For coals to Whittington's almspeople . .				2	10	0	
	St. Lawrence, Jewry .				2	10	0	
	Milk street parish .				1	5	0	
	St. Michael, Bassishaw . . .				2	10	0	
	St. Peter, Cheap . .				1	5	0	
	Carried forward	933	6	8	31	10	0	

* Money legacies were bequests in money, not chargeable on any species of property, but left in cash, or in the funds. They were given for various purposes;—as to provide coals, bread, for loans, pensions, to support ermons and lectures, and exhibitions for cholars at the Universities, (as already menioned,) and to apprentice young freemen, &c. The money legacies of the Mercers, (including those left for every purpose,) were returned by the company, in their Report to the House of Commons, in 1745, to amount to 21,099*l.* 5*s.* 9*d.*, out of which the company paid annually 573*l.* 17*s.* 4*d.*—Journals of the House of Commons, vol. xxv. (George II.) 1745-50, pp. 455 to 579.

Date of Bequest.	*Donor's name.*	*Sum given.* £	s.	d.	*Paid.* £	s.	d.	*Commissioners' Remarks on Application.*
	Brought forward	933	6	8	31	10	0	
1508, Sep. 3.	David *Appowell* . .	100	0	0				To be lent to two freemen. Interest: "four sufficient cartloads of great coal."*
	For coals to St. Lawrence parish . . .				5	0	0	
1570, Sep. 29.	Alice *Blundell* . . .	100	0	0				To be lent to two freemen, who were each to pay 13*d.* weekly in bread.
	For bread to St. Lawrence parish . . .				2	12	0	
Eliz.	Sir *Thomas Leigh* . . To pay towards repairs of Mercers' Chapel .				4	0	0	
1586, April 24.	Peter *Symonds* . . .	400	0	0				No bread has been distributed in Mercers' Chapel for many years, and the accumulation, from 1763 to 1818 having been invested in stock, now produces a yearly dividend of 3*l.* 10*s.* The commissioners recommend its readoption. The annuity of 4*l.* 10*s.* to Winchester, they also state to have been long discontinued, but that the company are ready to pay it on proper authority.
	To pay to Allhallows, Lombard street .				3	2	8	
	Winchester poor . .				4	2	0	
	For bread to be distributed at Mercers' Hall, and several prisons .				2	10	0	
	To the clerk of the company . . .				3	4	0	
24 Eliz. Oct. 1.	Sir *Thomas Rivett* . .	200	0	0				To be lent in equal sums to four freemen, who were to pay the interest in bread, as named. This is now found by the parishes, who receive 6*l.* 13*s.* 7*d.* for that purpose.
	For bread to St. Margaret's, Lothbury .				2	12	0	
	Chippenham, Cambridgeshire . .				2	12	0	
	Carried forward	1733	6	8	61	4	8	

* The interest of Appowell's bequest forms part of a fund, composed of this, and other gifts vested in the company, for distributing *coals* to St. Lawrence, Jewry, (now united with St. Mary Magdalen,) given by the above Alderman Dauntsey, Sir John Allen, 1521, (not mentioned here,) John Marsh, and Alderman Baskerfield; to which are added the dividends of 267*l.* 3*s.* old South Sea annuities of the combined arrears; and also on those of Alice Blundell, and Lionell Ducket, (afterwards named,) making the following total:

	£	s.	d.
Appowell's benefaction . .	5	0	0
Alderman Dauntsey . . .	2	10	0
Sir John Allen	0	9	0
Marsh's	0	15	0
Baskerfield's	3	15	0
Dividend on arrears . . .	8	0	3
	20	9	3

This fund is annually applied in a distribution of coals among the poor of the above parishes. A list is made out by the churchwardens of the persons who are to receive them, and who are supplied accordingly; and the coals provided for the purpose are paid for by the company.

The reports of the commissioners on the Public charities, in noticing these, and the other money legacies of the Mercers, add the following preliminary observations: "It will be seen that many of the charities consist of sums of money given to the company in trust, to lend them in different proportions, to young men of the company, on good security, for limited periods, and at certain specified rates of interest; and to apply the interest so paid to various charitable uses. It appears that of late years these loans have been very rarely made, from want of applications for such assistance. The company are, however, ready to advance the loans on proper application being made for them, and, in the mean time, they pay the interest, directed to be reserved, to the purposes specified by the respective donors. This statement may be considered as applicable to all cases of this description which occur with the other companies."

Date of Bequest.	*Donor's name.*	*Sum given.* £	s.	d.	*Paid.* £	s.	d.	*Commissioners' Remarks on Application.*
	Brought forward	1733	6	8	61	4	8	
1573, Sep. 8.	Sir *Roger Martin* . .	200	0	0				To be lent to two freemen, at 4*l.* per cent, and the interest paid as stated. Martin's benefaction is now combined with a similar one of Frances Clerke, mentioned afterwards, and arrears of John Marsh's benefaction, above mentioned. (See "Frances Clerke.")
	To pay to Ludgate .				2	0	0	
	Newgate . . .				2	0	0	
	Wood street compter .				2	0	0	
	Poultry compter . .				2	0	0	
1579, March 11.	Alderman *Heydon* . .	300	0	0				To be lent to six freemen, at 3*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* per cent. and the interest to be distributed partly in coals, bread, and money, to the poor mentioned. Now paid wholly in money.
	For coals, &c. to St. Michael, Paternoster Royal . .				2	12	0	
	Whittington's almspeople . . .				3	6	8	
	Woodbury, Devonshire.				3	6	8	
1579, March 11.	Alderman *Heydon* . .	300	0	0				To be lent to six young freemen, at the above rate of interest, and the annual amount of 10*l.* to be paid as stated.
	To pay to St. Martin, Vintry . . .				3	0	0	
	St. Michael, Paternoster Royal . . .				3	0	0	
	St. James's, Garlick-hill.				2	0	0	
	St. Thomas Apostle .				2	0	0	
1582, March 15.	*Robert Hilson* . . .	266	13	4				The interest left in part to buy the boys of Christ's Hospital black caps, and the remainder to St. Michael's, for bread.
	To pay to St. Michael, Crooked lane . .				2	12	0	
	Christ's Hospital . .				10	14	8	
1585, March 21.	Sir *Lionel Duckett* . .	200	0	0				To be lent to four freemen, at four per cent. 4*l.* 9*s.* is now paid to St. Lawrence, Jewry; and the remainder as accounted for under Appowell's gift.
	To pay to Milk street parish . . .				2	4	4	
	St. Lawrence parish .				2	4	8	
	St. Peter's, Cheap .				2	4	4	
1582, June 1.	Sir *William Damsell* . .	240	0	0				Left to distribute 5*l.* yearly to the poor, the remaining interest to the company. 5*l.* yearly is now divided between two poor widows of the company, if they conduct themselves properly.
	To pay to poor widows of the company, each 2*l.* 10*s.* . . .				5	0	0	
1592, Aug. 22.	Alderman *Elkin* . .	200	0	0				(See account of Whittington College.)
	To pay to Whittington's almspeople . .				5	4	0	
1584, Sep. 25.	*Martha Barrett* . . .	200	0	0				3*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* is paid as directed. The commissioners state that only two appointments were made of exhibitioners to Magdalen College subsequently to 1763, viz. one between 1765 and 1771, and the other in 1818, which still continues, but the accumulations during the vacancy have been invested, and 17*l.* per annum is at present paid to the exhibitioner.
	To pay to St. Michael Royal . . .				0	16	8	
					0	16	8	
	St. Martin Vintry .				1	13	4	
	St. Sepulchre's . .							
	To a student in Magdalen College, Oxford .				5	0	0	
	Carried forward	3640	0	0	127	0	8	

Date of Bequest.	*Donor's Name.*	*Sum given.* £ *s.* *d.*	*Paid.* £ *s.* *d.*	*Commissioners' Remarks on Application.*
1601, Dec. 2.	*Edward Berkley* . .	666 13 4		(See "Journals House of Commons.")
	To pay to Whittington's almspeople . .		10 8 0	
1600, Oct. 26.	*George Berkbeck* . .	50 0 0	0 10 0	(See "Cropley's Gift.")
	To be distributed to the poor of the company in coals . . .		2 10 0	
7 Feb., 39 Eliz.	*Richard Barnes* . .	133 6 8		33*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* was added to this gift in 1607, by the donor's son and executor, to make up the legacy 200 marks. And there is now added a yearly sum of 1*l.* 18*s.* 9*d.* arising from an investment of arrears, which is also paid in augmentation of the charity.
	To pay to St. Giles, Cripplegate . . .		2 19 8	
	Whittington's almspeople		2 12 0	
	Renter-warden of the company . . .		0 5 0	
	Clerk of the company .		0 3 4	
1579, March 11.	Alderman *Heydon* . .	400 0 0		To be lent to eight freemen "of the company trading over the seas," at 3*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* per cent. and the interest to be paid as stated.
	To pay to St. Michael Royal Lecturer . .		13 6 8	
1602, March 1.	*Bartholomew Barnes* . .	300 0 0		To be lent to six freemen, at 3*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* per cent. The 10*l.* interest to be paid to Christ's Hospital on Good Friday.
	To pay to Christ's Hospital . . .		10 0 0	
1608, July 16.	Alderman *Walthall* . .	500 0 0		To be lent to ten freemen, "*Traders to London*," at 4 per cent. The 10*l.* interest is yearly paid to Christ's Hospital. The exhibition money will be seen accounted for under that head.
	To pay to Christ's Hospital . . .		10 0 0	
	Poor scholars . .		9 0 0	
	Master and wardens of the company . .		1 0 0	
Date unknown.	*Frances Clerk* . . .	200 0 0		To be applied, according to the donor's directions, "towards liberating prisoners from '*the hole*' in the Poultry compter." (See "Sir Roger Martin's gift, and John Marsh.")
	To pay to the Poultry compter . . .		10 0 0	
1630, May 20.	*John Banks* . . .	100 0 0		
	To pay to St. Michael Bassishaw parish .		2 13 4	
Ditto.	*John Banks* . . .	200 0 0		To be lent to freemen at 3 per cent. The interest to be carried to the account of his rents at Holloway. The interest of this 200*l.* has not been accounted for by the company to this charity.
	For maintenance of sermons . . .		6 0 0	
Undated.	*William Ferrers* . .	200 0 0		To be lent to three young freemen of the company, in sums of 100 marks each, at 3*l.* 8*s.* 6*d.* per cent. and the interest paid as is stated.
	To pay to Christ's Hospital . . .		6 0 0	
	To the house and renter-wardens . .		0 10 0	
	The clerk . . .		4 3 4	

Date of Bequest.	*Donor's Name.*	*Sum given.* £ s. d.	*Paid.* £ s. d.	*Commissioners' Remarks on Application.*
1630, August 1.	*Giles Martin* . . .	375 0 0		To buy land worth 5*l.* a year; the interest to this parish to bind out apprentices, relief of the poor, &c. No land was purchased, but the parish receives 8*l.* 1*s.* 7*d.* yearly; the additional 3*l.* 1*s.* 7*d.* being a dividend on an investment of arrears.
	To pay to Yarcomb, Devon . . .		10 0 0	
	Mamhead, do. . .		5 0 0	
1637, May 1.	*Robert Gibson* . . .	50 0 0		To be lent at 5*l.* per cent. the interest to buy coals for the poor of those parishes. From an investment of arrears 1*l.* 12*s.*, making together 4*l.* 12*s.*, which the minister of those parishes now draws for annually.
	To pay to Kirkheaton and Huddersfield, Yorkshire . . .		2 10 0	
1630, April 20.	Alderman *Perry* . .	270 0 0		To buy lands, &c., to the value of 13*l.* per annum, to maintain a lecture or sermon, as stated. No lands were bought, but the interest is paid for supporting a sermon, &c., which is preached monthly.
	To pay to St. Bartholomew Lecturer . .		12 0 0	
	Do. clerk and sexton .		1 0 0	
Ditto.	Alderman *Perry* . .	200 0 0		To be lent to two freemen at 3 per cent. the interest to the six lecturers of the morning lectures there.
	To pay to St. Antholin's lecturers . .		6 0 0	
1647, Feb. 4.	*Samuel Goldsmith* . .	100 0 0		(See "Journals House of Commons.")
	To pay Whittington's almspeople . .		1 0 0	
1647, March 6.	*Edward Cropley* . . .	200 0 0		To be lent to 4 freemen at 2 per cent. the 4*l.* int. to be paid as stated. (See "Bouverie.")
	To the poor of the company . . .		4 0 0	
Undated.	Lady Viscountess *Campden*,	3100 0 0		This legacy was received in 1650, and in 1652 the mercers founded the two lectureships stated at 75*l.* per ann. each. No impropriations for their endowment have been bought (on account, it is said, of nothing eligible offering,) but in 1804, 931*l.* 5*s.* savings were added as an arrear to the bequest; and 100*l.* is now paid to each lecturer. The company state themselves ready to make the purchases directed whenever they can be effected with advantage.
	For the purchase of impropriations . .			
	Paid Grantham lecturer .		75 0 0	
	Wakefield lecturer .		75 0 0	

Date of Bequest.	*Donor's name.*	*Sum given.* £ s. d.	*Paid.* £ s. d.	*Commissioners' Remarks on Application.*
Undated.	*Ann Duckett* . .	500 0 0		100*l.* to be lent *gratis* to freemen for 5 years. The 400*l.* to be lent to ditto at 2*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* per cent., and the 10*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* per annum to be distributed as stated. The three widows' freemen now receive 1*l.* 14*s.* 2*d.* each for a dividend of 3*l.* 11*s.* 11*d.*, Old South Sea annuities; and those of the parish 1*l.* 2*s.* each dividend on 94*l.* 2*s.* 4*d.*, both being investments of arrears, and making the whole sum now paid annually by the Company on account of these bequests 16*l.* 19*s.* 8*d.*
	To pay to six poor widows of St. Giles, Cripplegate . .		6 0 0	
	Four poor widows of the company . .		4 0 0	
	To the wardens . .		0 10 0	
	Beadle . . .		0 3 4	
Undated.	*Thomas Rich* . . .	100 0 0		
	To pay to the clerk and register of the company . . .		1 3 4	
	To the beadle . .		0 10 0	
The clause of this will not registered.	*Peter Birkenhead* . .	150 0 0		These sermons are preached in Mercers' Chapel every year on stated days, by preachers appointed by the master of the company, who receive 2*l.* for each sermon.
	For two sermons yearly, (Jan. 30 and May 29)		4 0 0	
	To the clerk . .		0 10 0	
	Beadle and chapel-keeper		0 6 8	
Ditto do.	*Thomas Langham, esq.* .	400 0 0		This 11*l.* together with 6*l.* 13*s.* 7*d.* the interest of 226*l.* 2*s.* 2*d.* arrears invested, are yearly paid as stated.
	To pay to the poor of Clapham . . .		11 0 0	
Ditto do.	*Sir Edward Desbouverie* .	100 0 0		
	To pay to the poor of the Company. . .		4 0 0	
1701, June 30.	*Thomas Papillion*, esq. .	1000 0 0		This name is not found in the commissioners' reports; but is mentioned, with the legacy, in the Journals of the House of Commons.
	To pay such relief to any person or persons lineally descended from him as shall be in want, as the company find convenient. .			
1321, June 30, By Indre.	*John Allen* . . .	300 0 0		Sir John Allen (the donor here mentioned, and of whom an account has already been given,) left the sum stated in 1521, in part for superstitious uses, and for pensions to Whittington's almspeople. The 27*s.* per annum to the three parishes was to be expended in three loads of coals, if to be bought for that sum, otherwise to be paid in money.—(See "Appowell.")
	To pay to St. Nicholas Acon . . .		0 9 0	
	Milk street parish .		0 9 0	
	St. Benet Fink . .		0 9 0	
	Whittington's almspeople		0 4 8	

Date of Bequest.	*Donor's Name.*	*Sum given.* £ s. d.	*Paid.* £ s. d.	*Commissioners' Remarks on Application.*
1717, Oct. 26, Indre, dated 1721 March 28.	*Daniel Westhall* . . . . To maintain two sermons in the Christmas holiday . . .	100 0 0	2 0 0	Left to pay 40*s.* for two sermons yearly in Mercers' Chapel, and to give 5*s.* each to 12 poor freemen of the company.
This clause in the will registered	Lady *Jane Mico* . . . . To pay ten poor widows of London 10*l.* per ann. each . .	2980 5 9	80 0 0	(See "Lady Mico's Almshouses.")
	The clerk of the company		2 0 0	
	Ground-rent, repairs, and other charges . .		6 0 0	
Ditto do.	*Francis Floyer's* gift of . For the maintenance of 7*l.* 16*s.* per annum to the poor of Brent Pelham, Herts, which at 30 years' purchase amounts to .	234 0 0	7 16 0	The sum of 7*l.* 16*s.* together with 4*l.* 14*s.* 10*d.* the dividends on arrears invested, making together 12*l.* 10*s.* 10*d.*, are now annually paid to the vicar of Brent Pelham.
By Ind. of 2 Mar. 1523.	*Lady Bradbury.* To pay to St. Stephen, Coleman street, issuing out of lands in Westminster, &c. which the company have not received in the memory of any man living . .		1 10 0	The bequest of lady Bradbury consisted of 149 acres of land in Marylebone parish, Westminster, St. Giles, and St. Martin's in the Fields; and has been noticed, p. 236. The company retain about 8½ acres, forming the north side of Long Acre and the adjacent streets.
	Various Gifts from different of the above donors, to the master surveyor, warden, house-warden, renter-warden, clerk and beadle, are reckoned to amount to in the whole		7 4 0	
	Total	16649 5 9	553 10 8	
	GRATUIOUS LOANS.			
1545, Sept. 7.	Sir *Michael Dormer* at 20*l.* per annum, for every 50*l.* to the clerk of the company	200 0 0	6 8	Not mentioned in the commissioners' reports.
1584, Dec. 1.	Mr. *Culverwell* . . . . For a young man trading to Flanders *gratis.* .	50 0 0		Do. do.
1600, Sept. 2.	*Margaret Sharles* . To be lent to five young men *gratis.*	100 0 0		Do do.
Undated.	*Mary Robinson* . . . . To be lent to four do. do.	200 0 0		Do. do.

Date of Bequest.	*Donor's name.*	*Sum given.* £	*s.*	*d.*	*Paid.* £	*s.*	*d.*	*Commissioners' Remarks on Application.*
1592, Aug. 4.	William *Quarles* . . To be lent to two young men, ditto.	100	0	0				Not mentioned in the commissioners' reports.
1623, Dec. 16.	Alderman *Holiday* . . For two young men.	200	0	0				Do. do.
1625, Mar. 30.	*Richard Fishborne* . . For five young men.	1000	0	0				Carried to the stock of the company.
No date.	Alderman *Poole* . . Two young men for four years.	100	0	0				Not mentioned in the commissioners' reports.
Ditto.	*John Duckett* . . . Whereof 100 to one young man, and the other to two, ditto.	200	0	0				Do. do.
No date.	Lady Viscountess Dowager *Campden* . . . For eight young men, *gratis*, for four years.	1000	0	0				Carried to the stock of the company.
Ditto.	Alderman *Edmund Sleigh* . For one young man, do.	100	0	0				Not mentioned in the commissioners' reports.
1665, Sept. 25.	Sir *Samuel Mico* . For five young men for three years.	500	0	0				Do. do.
No date.	Lady Viscountess Campden. In regard of the company's acceptance of the trusts of her will.	300	0	0				Do. do.
Will not registered	*Ralph Stint* . . . To be let out at 5 per cent. to such of the company's livery that attend yearly, as a benevolence to the lord mayor and sheriffs .	400	0	0	20	0	0	Do. do.
		4450	0	0	20	6	8	
	Brought from fol. 292 .	16649	5	9	553	10	8	
	Total of money legacies and annual payments .	21099	5	9	573	17	4	

Add for Sir Thomas Leigh, at p. 287, 100*l.* Error at p. 287, of 3*l.* 4*s.* instead of 3*s.* 4*d.*: deduct 3*l.* 0*s.* 8*d.*

"All the money legacies under the control of the Mercers' Company (which in lapse of time and change of circumstance had fallen into disuse,) have lately been the subject of a suit in chancery. A new scheme has been submitted to, and approved by that court; and the money is now lent to liverymen or freemen of the company, in sums of 100*l.* and not exceeding 500*l.* for a term, without interest, upon approved security."—*Note by George Bicknell, esq. (late Master*, 1832.)

FOR THE MEN OF THE MYSTERY OF MERCERY OF LONDON.

Prima pars Confirmac'on' de Anno R. Re. Elizabeth' secundo.

Regina om'ib3 ad quos p'sentes L're p'vene'int salt'm. Inspeximus Cartam & L'ras Patentes Dñi *P.* & Dñe *M.* sororis n're p'charissime nup' Regis & Regine Angl' de confirmacõe fact' in hec verba. Philippus & Maria Dei gra' Rex & Regina Angl' Hispaniar' Franc' utriusq' Sicilie Jerl'm & Hib'n Fidei Defensores Archiduces Austrie Duces Burgundie Mediolani & Brabancie Comites Haspurgi Flandrie & Tirolis. Om'ib3 ad quos p'sentes L're p'ven'int sal'tm Inspeximus Cartam & L'ras Patentes Dñi *H.* quondam regis Angl' p'genitoris ñri d'ce Regine fact' in hec verba Henr' Dei Gra' Rex Angl' & Franc' & Dñs Hib'n Om'ib3 ad quos p'sentes L're p'ven'int salt'm Sciatis q'd cum Dñs Ric'us quondam Rex Angl' Secundus post conquestum p'genitor n'r t'ciodecimo die Januarij anno regni sui decimo septimo consideracõem h'ens q'd plures hõies de Mistera Mercerie Civitatis London sepius p' infortuniu' maris & alia infortunia casualia ad tantum deveniebant paup'tatem & innopiam q'd parum vel nichil h'ebant unde vivere valebant nisi de elemosina alioru' X'pi fideliu eis condulenciu' & subvenienciu' intuitu charitatis eoq' p'textu' tunc hõies p$_{r}$d'ce Mistere Civitatis p^{r}d'cevoluntatem h'eant & p'positum ordinandi aliquam certitudinem t'm p' sustentacõe taliu' pauperum q'm unius Capellani divina p' statu, d'ci n'p Regis & hõib3 Mistere p^{r}dce imp'pm celebrat^{r}· p' l'ras suas Patentes de gra' sua sp'iali & p' quodam fine sibi soluto in Hanap'io suo int^{r} alia concessisset & licentiam dedisset p' se & hered' suis quantu' in ip'o fuit hõib3 Mistere p'd'ce in civitate p'dca q'd ip'i extunc unam

The Queen: To all to whom these present Letters shall come Greeting. We have inspected the Charter and Letters patent of Confirmation of the lord Philip and the lady Mary, our most dear sister, king and queen of England, made in these words: Philip and Mary by the Grace of God king and queen of England, Spain, France, and both the Sicilies, Jerusalem and Ireland, Defenders of the Faith, &c. To all to whom these present Letters shall come greeting: We have inspected the Charter and Letters patent of the lord Henry, late king of England, our progenitor in the said kingdom, made in these words: Henry, by the Grace of God, king of England and France and lord of Ireland, To all to whom these present Letters shall come greeting: Know ye that whereas the lord Richard, late king of England, the Second after the Conquest, our progenitor, the thirteenth day of January, in the seventeenth year of his reign, in consideration had that several men of the mystery of Mercery of the City of London, often by misfortunes of the sea and other unfortunate casualties, had become so impoverished and destitute, that they had little or nothing in consequence to subsist on unless from the alms and other assistance of the faithful in Christ, bestowed and accruing to them in the way of charity; and by reason whereof the men of the Mystery aforesaid in the City aforesaid, being voluntarily desirous to have and form some establishment, as well for the perpetual sustentation of such poor as of a chaplain to celebrate divine offices for the state of the said late king, and of the men of the Mystery aforesaid—By his Letters patent of his special grace, and for a certain fine paid into his Hanaper, did, amongst other things, grant and give license for himself and his heirs as much as in him was to the men of the Mystery aforesaid in the City aforesaid, that they from thenceforth might have a perpetual Community of themselves, and that the same Community every

Cõmunitatem p'petuam de se ip'is h'erent & q'd eadem Cõitas sing'lis annis elig'e possint & fac'e quatuor Custodes de Hõib3 d'car' Cõitatis & Mistere ad sup'vidend' regend' & gub'nand' Misteram & Cõitatem p[r]d'as ac om'es Hõies p'sonas & negocia ear'dem imp'pm p'ut in L'ris p'dcis plenius continet[r] Nos p[r]missa considerantes concessionem & licenciam p'dcas rata[s] h'entes & gratas eas p' nob' & hered' n'ris quantum in nob' est de gr'a n'ra sp'iali & de avisamento & assensu consilij n'ri ad supplicacõem humilem dil'cor' nob' Joh'is Coventre Joh'is Carpent[r] & Willi' Grove executor' Testamenti Ri'ci Whityngton nup' civis & M[r]ceri London Acceptam[s] approbam[s] & confirmam[s] Et ult'ius de ub'iori Gr'a n'ra speciali & de avisamento & assensu p[r]d'cis ad h'moi supplicacõem d'cor' executor' concessim[s] q'd Custodes & Cõitas Mistere p[r]d'ce & successores sui imp'p'm h'eant unu' cõe sigillum p' negocijs d'ce Cõitatis sigilland' deservitur' imp'p'm Et q'd sint p'sone habiles in lege ad impl'itand' & impl'itari in quibuscunq' cur cum p'sonis quibuscunq' In cujus rei testimoniu' has l'ras n'ras fieri fecim[s] patentes T. me ip'o apud Westm' quartodecimo die Februarij Anno Regni n'ri t'rcio Nos autem cartam & l'ras p'd'cas ac õia & sing'la in eisdem content' rata h'entes & grata ea p' nob' heredib3 & succ' n'ris p[r]d'ce Regine quantum in nob' est Acceptam[s] & approbam[s] ac dil'cis nob' Rog'o Martyn Aldermanno Civitat' n're London' Will[o] Cꝙmpton Ric'o Carrell & Lionello Duckett nunc Gardianis sive Custodib3 Mistere p'd'ce & successorib3 suis Ratificam[s] & Confirmam[s] p'ut carta & l're p[r]d'ce r'onabilit[r] testant' In cujus rei testimoniu' has l'ras n'ras fieri fecim[s] patentes T. nob' ip'is apud Westm' quintodecimo die Julij annis R. ñ. quarto & sexto Nos autem cartam & l'ras p'd'cas ac om'ia & singula in eisdem contenta rata h'entes & grata ea p' nob'hered' & succ' n'ris quantum in nob' est acceptam[s] & approbam[s] ac

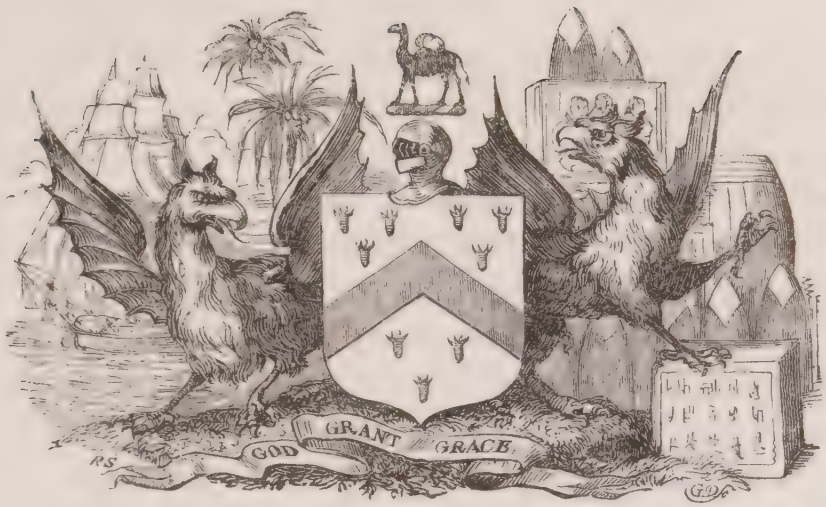
year might have power to elect and make four Wardens from the men of the said Community and Mystery, to oversee, regulate, and govern the Community and Mystery aforesaid; and all the men, state, and affairs, of the same for ever, as in the said Letters is more fully contained. Now we, in consideration of the premises, the Grant, and Licence aforesaid, have ratified and granted, and the same for us and our heirs, as much as in us is of our special grace, and with the advice and assent of our Council, at the humble supplication of our beloved John Coventry, John Carpenter, and William Grove, executors of the Testament of Richard Whytington, late citizen and mercer of London, do accept, approve, and confirm; and moreover of the abundance of our special grace, with the advice and assent aforesaid, and at the humble supplication of the said Executors, we have granted that the Wardens and Commonalty of the Mystery aforesaid, and their successors, may for ever have a common seal for the sealing and use of the business of the said Commonalty, and that they may be persons able in law to implead and be impleaded, in whatsoever court and before whatsoever persons. In witness whereof we have caused these our Letters to be made patents. Witness the King at Westminster, February 14th, and in the third year of his reign. Now We the Charter and Letters aforesaid, and all and singular in them contained, have ratified and granted; and for us, our heirs and successors, we the said Queen as much as in us is do accept and approve; and to our beloved Roger Martyn, alderman of our City of London; William Compton, Richard Carrell, and Lionel Ducket, now wardens or keepers of the said Mystery, and their successors, do ratify and confirm as the said Charter and Letters reasonably testify. In witness whereof we have caused these our Letters to be made patents. Witness ourselves at Westminster, 15th July, and in the 4th and 6th of our reign. Now we the same Charter and Letters aforesaid and all and singular therein contained have ratified and granted, and for us our heirs and successors as much as in us is do accept and approve; and to our beloved Humphrey

dil'cis nob' Humfr'o Baskerfelde Aldermanno Civitatis n're London Thoma Gresham militi Thoma Heton & Antonio Hickeman nunc Gardianis sive Custodib3 Mistere p'd'ce & eor' succ' Ratificam^{s} & Confirmam^{s} p'ut Carta & l're p'd'ce r'onabilit^{r} testant^{r} In cujus rei, &c. T. R. apud Westm' xx^{o} die Junij Anno r. sui sc'do.

P' octo libris solut' in Hanap'io.

Baskerfelde, alderman of our City of London, Thomas Gresham, knight, Thomas Heton and Antonio Hickerman, now wardens or keepers of the said Mystery, and their successors, do ratify and confirm as the said Charter and Letters reasonably testify. In witness whereof, &c. Witness the Queen at Westminster the 20th day of June, in the second year of her reign.

For 8*l.* paid into the Hanaper.



GROCERS' COMPANY.*

GENERAL SUMMARY FROM THE HISTORIES OF LONDON.

"The Company of Grocers, in elder time called Pepperers, were first incorporated by the name of Grocers, in the thirtieth year of *King Edward the Third,* anno dom. 1345; the arms and supporters granted by Thomas Benolt, Clarencieux, in the time of King Henry the Eighth, (viz. anno 1531;) helm and crest afterwards granted, and the same arms and supporters confirmed by William Hervey, Clarencieux, under the seal of his office, and the seal of his arms, anno 1562, 4 *reg. Elizab.*, and approved in a visitation anno 1634."†

"This Fraternity, antiently denominated *Pepperers,* having changed their name to that of *Grocers,* were under that denomination incorporated by letters patent of Edward the Third, anno 1345, by the name of the Wardens and Commonalty of

* So much use has been made of the "Account of the Grocers' Company," in our introductory Essay, as well in regard to its valuable historical information and constitution as on other points, that only a slight account, embodying such additional matter as we have been able to obtain, and avoiding as much as possible what has been already said, will here be necessary.

† Strype's Stow, ii. p. 262.

the Mystery of Grocers of the City of London, which was confirmed by Henry the Sixth, anno 1429. This Company consists of a prime and three other wardens, fifty-two assistants, and one hundred and twenty-seven liverymen, whose fine upon admission is twenty pounds. They have a great estate; out of which is yearly paid to the poor about seven hundred pounds."* "Their arms are, argent a chevron, gules, between six cloves in chief and three in base, sable; crest, a helmet and torse, a loaded camel trippant proper, bridled of the second; supporters, two griffins per fess gules and or; motto, 'God grant the Grace.' This Company furnished one hundred lord mayors, and is further dignified by enrolling amongst its honorary members five kings, several princes, eight dukes, three earls, and twenty lords, together with numerous distinguished statesmen, naval and military officers, &c."† Their patron is St. Anthony.—*Hall: Grocers' Alley, Poultry.*

There is no patent of incorporation of the Grocers' Company to be found in the calendars of the Patent Rolls at the Tower, or in the indexes to those deposited at the Rolls Chapel, before 7 Henry VI., nor even a licence for holding such a gild, the term *grocer* being at first unknown. It is certain, however, that the founders of that company, under the name of Pepperers, met as a fraternity in 1345.

The charter 7 Henry VI. incorporates "the freemen of the mystery of Grocers of the city of London" by the name of "Custodem Co'itates Mistere Grocerie, London," allowing them to elect annually three wardens.‡ In 8 Henry VI. they were confirmed with additional privileges, by letters addressed "To the Wardens of the Mystery of Grocers of the City of London."§ By a charter 26 Henry VI., the king constitutes William Westmale, Richard Hakedy, and Thomas Gibbs, wardens, garbellors of spices on behalf of the fraternity, with ample jurisdiction and control, and the examination of drugs.‖ Philip and Mary, in their 4th and 5th years, recite by inspeximus, and confirm the charter 7 Henry VI.

* Maitland, p. 1232.

† New View of London, ii. p. 607.

‡ Primo Pat. de anno reg. Hen. VI. 7mo. m. 10. 24. "*Incorporatio Grocerior' Lond. ac eorum libertat.*"

§ Tertia Pat. de anno Reg. Hen. VI. 8vo. m. 9. n. 6. "*Incorporatio ac libbert' pro custod. Misterie Grocerie civibus Lond.*"

‖ Tertia Pat. de anno 26. Hen. VI. m. 15, n. 6. "*Ampl' libertat confirmat. custod. Misterie Grocerie, London.*"

to Sir John Lyon, knight, alderman, Edward Fouler and Peter Bristowe, wardens;* as does Elizabeth, by inspeximus directed "p.'Hoibꝫ Mistere Grocerie, London," and addressed to the then wardens, Thomas Lodge, alderman, Edward Jackeman and John Ryvers.† James I. in his second year, granted the company an entire new charter, extending their oversight and control, and allowing them to elect assistants. This was merged in a new charter of Charles I., by which he reincorporated the company, making them a body politic and corporate, under the denomination of "the Wardens and Commonalty of the Mystery of Grocers of the City of London," and which allowed them annually to elect four wardens, with assistants, (not to exceed thirteen in the whole,) and to hold courts of the same.‡ The charter of 3 March, 4 Jac. II.§ confirmed the charter of 36 Car. II. with additions, and was followed by a second charter of James II., dated November 2d the same year, which confirmed the Grocers' first incorporation of 7 Henry VI., together with the charter 15 Charles I., and all liberties which they had enjoyed before the (afterwards revoked) grant of 36 Charles II.‖ Finally, William and Mary, in the second year of their reign, besides placing the company in possession of all the privileges they had enjoyed before the Quo Warranto, (in common with the rest of the companies,) embodied with them, as part of the same corporation of grocers, the confectioners, druggists, tobacconists, tobacco-cutters, and sugar-refiners, and extended the grocers' right of trade-search over the whole, to the City and its liberties and suburbs within the circuit of three miles.¶

The names of the company of Grocers, from the record in the Chapter-house, consisted of the following fifty-nine persons:

Mr. Laxton.	Mr. Bodley.	Mr. Pynchester.
Mr. Aleny.	Mr. Grimson.	Mr. Mery.
Mr. Prest.	Mr. Lane.	Mr. Bodnam.
Mr. Gybson.	Mr. Sumner.	Mr. Myller.
Mr. Fermor.	Mr. Osborne.	Mr. Bowyer.
Mr. Crull.	Mr. Posyer.	Mr. Woodcock.

* Prima pars confirmac'on de anno R Re. Elizabeth' secundo.

† Ibid.

‡ *Quarta pars Paten de anno RR. Caroli quinto-decimo.* "D. Con. sibi et successb3, Mister' Grocer', London."

§ Tertia pars Paten. de anno R. Re. Jacobi Secundi quarto. "D. Conc. Grocer. London, Concess."

‖ Undecima pars Paten. de anno R. Re. Jacobi Secundi, quarto. "De Cart. Custod. et Ciõi'tat. Mister' Grocer', London, sibi et success."

¶ Quarta pars Paten. de anno secundo Guliel. et Marie Secundo. "De Cart. Custod. de Grocer. London, sibi et successoribus."

Mr. Wheeler.	Richard Cull.	John Gore.
Mr. Wolley.	John Dunstall.	John Saunders.
Mr. Wendon.	Edward Preste.	Edmond Cockerell.
Mr. Deane.	Henry Barnys.	Robert Colte.
Mr. Morys.	William Mathew.	Will'm Lyvers.
Mr. Chertsey.	James Apott.	Will'm Rawlyns.
William Huxley.	Nich'us Tycheborne.	Henry Cholmley.
Ambrose Barker.	Robert Fabyane.	John Malyn.
Will'm Toker.	George Betynson.	William Rest.
Henry Horne	Thomas Alsopp.	George Lytilcote.
Robert Wolworth.	Edward Moreton.	Arthur Devonshire.
Philip Yorke.	Will'm Pratt.	Thomas Cunstable.
Will'm Buller.	Will'm Wyott.	Will'm Pegham.
John Lyon.	Thomas Ponslowe.	

By the sworn return of William Ravenhill, clerk of the Grocers' in 1700, the livery then amounted to 277. At the poll, 1722, 151 voted. The "New and Complete Survey," 1742, states the livery to amount to 280. In the list of liverymen, 1796, the number who voted was 150. The Grocers' livery,* as in their list for 1831,

* *List of the Livery of the Grocers' Company.*

Abbinett, John, jun., Mark lane, wine merchant.
Amale, H. L., Doctors' Commons.
Andrews, Thomas, Soho square.
Annand, William, Pinner's court, Broad street.
Ansted, John, Mincing lane, broker.
Ansted, William, Warren street, Fitzroy square.
Bagster, Samuel, Paternoster row, bookseller.
Bailey, Thomas, 14, Castle street, Finsbury.
Barron, Charles, Giltspur street.
Barrow, Charles, 28, Pall Mall.
Baxter, T., Dalston terrace.
Baxter, H.
Baxter, Charles, 23, Mincing lane.
Best, R. Jun., Greenwich.
Bicknell, Henry, 76, Great Surrey street.
Biggerstaff, R.
Birch, William, Charlotte row.
Bishop, James, Finsbury, distiller.
Blackburn, William, Mr. Twining's, Strand.
Boddy, John, 3, Brunswick place, Camberwell road.
Box, George, Great Knight-rider street.
Bridgeman, William.
Bridgeman, John.
Bridges, Thomas, 35, St. Swithin's lane.
Browne, J. H.
Browne, H. N., Betts street, Ratcliffe, sugar refiner.
Brooke, L. B., 11, Paper buildings, Temple.
Browning, Henry, 37, Mark lane.
Bullen, Bank of England.
Bunkin, John.
Burgon, John, Bucklersbury.
Champion, William, Upper Thames street, grocer.
Champion, Thomas, 28, Lower Grosvenor street.
Chaplin, John.
Cheveley, Thomas, 92, Royal Exchange.
Churchyard, Thomas, Wilson street, Finsbury square, druggist.
Collison, Francis.
Cooper, John, esq., Osborn street, Whitechapel, sugar refiner.
Cotton, Francis, Shoreditch, silversmith.
Coxhead, S. Bridge road, Lambeth, oilman.
Dawson, Charles, Boswell court, Carey street.

consisted of 186, four whereof were master and wardens, and 35 on the court of assistants. The present livery fine is 21*l.*

Strype's catalogue only enumerates sixty-four lord mayors Pepperers or Grocers, from 1231 to 1710.

Davis, Edward, 9, Philpot lane.
Day, William, Gracechurch street, oilman.
Day, Thomas, Gracechurch street, oilman.
Dodd, William, 14, Judd place, East.
Dollond, G. H. St. Paul's Church-yard.
Draper, Richard, 34, Dowgate hill.
Edridge, Joseph, Tottenham.
Ellis, W., 88, Tower street.
Eyles, Edward, Ludgate hill.
Eyles, R. W., Lavender Sweep, Clapham.
Fanhouse, James, Mincing lane, broker.
Fielder, Thomas, Down place, Kent road.
Fincham, Charles, Charing Cross, grocer.
Folgham, Thomas, Mr. Hudson's, Cheapside.
Frampton, Thomas D., Leadenhall street.
Frampton, William, jun., Leadenhall street.
Funge, John, Garraway's Coffee house.
Fyffo, E. C., Garlick hill.
Gadbury, George, 12, Greenman row, Bethnal green.
Garrard, Thomas, Ratcliffe Highway.
Garrard, R., 31, Panton street, silversmith.
Gilbert, W. D., Leadenhall street.
Gilbert, T., Leadenhall street, optician.
Goodhart, Jos. Henry, Surrey place, Old Kent road.
Goodhart, Jacob, E., 4, Ratcliffe highway.
Goodhart, John, Lamb's Conduit street, grocer.
Goodhart, Jacob, Tooting, Surrey.
Goodhart, Emanuel, Langley, Beckenham.
Gore, A., Mount street, Lambeth.
Gosling, William, Great St. Helens, surveyor.
Gower, A. L., 31, Finsbury square.
Grace, Henry, Old street, colourman.
Green, Henry, 5, Gracechurch street.
Griffin, John, Southampton street, Covent Garden.
Groves, R. J., Mincing lane.
Hale, Harry.
Hale, Charles, Poultry, oilman.
Hancock, John, Bread street hill, grocer.
Hankey, W. A., 14, Mincing lane, broker.
Harlston, S. P., 11, Paper buildings, Temple.
Hayward, James, Barnes, Surrey, druggist.
Heath, J. B., Old Jewry.
Hedley, J. H., Mincing lane.
Hill, Henry, 15, Vauxhall terrace.
Hill, John Wilks, Cooper's row, Great Tower hill, surgeon.
Hill, Joshua Charles, 2, Sloane street.
Hill, Thomas, 1, Paragon row, Kent road.
Hill, William, 71, Borough, salter.
Hill, W., jun., 71, Borough, oilman.
Hillhouse, Richard, Great Russell street, Bloomsbury, grocer.
Hodgson, John, Church lane, Whitechapel.
Hodgson, Thomas, Church lane, Whitechapel, sugar refiner.
Holden, Robert.
Hooper, W. C., 26, Old Change.
Hooper, S. F., Great Eastcheap.
Hope, S. F., Gracechurch street, oilman.
Hopkins, William, esq.
Hopkins, Charles, Stratford, Essex.
Hughs, Hugh, W., Ditchling, Sussex.
Inglis, James, 55, Old Broad street, merchant.
Jackson, Henry, 16, Bayham street, Camden Town.
Judkin, T. S., Clarendon square, Somer's Town.
King, F. B., Lower road, Islington.
Ladbroke, Henry, esq., Bank buildings.
Ladbroke, Felix, esq., ibid.
Lambert, D., Abchurch lane.
Lawrence, W., Goodman's fields, sugar refiner.
Lawrence, R. H., ibid.
Layton, A., Lime street, broker.
Layton, James, jun., 31, Old Jewry.
Lloyd, D., Rood lane, grocer.
Lomas, H. L., Stock Exchange.
Louchman, Joseph, 14, Aldermanbury.
Lushington, William.
Lushington, John, esq.
M'Adams, John, Strand, silversmith.

ORIGIN AND HISTORY.

The original founders of the Grocers' Company, it has been stated, were at first known by the name of Pepperers, pepper being the principal article in which the fraternity then dealt. This commodity, the being *licensed* to deal in which is still obliged to be

M'Andrei, Robert, Lower Thames street, orange merchant.
Marriner, James, 93, Cheapside.
Matson, G., Martin's lane, Cannon st.
Matthei, William, Friday street.
Mawley, Charles, 1, Doughty street.
Mitchell, Alexander.
Morrison, W. N., Great Surrey street, silversmith.
Nairne, Charles, Walcot terrace, Lambeth.
Nairne, George, Stock Exchange.
Nettleship, Thomas, Grocers' Hall.
Nettleship, Samuel, Sunning hill, Berks.
Newsom, W., 279, High street, Southwark.
Nottidge, F. H. Russell street, Bloomsbury.
Paine, Cornelius, Mincing lane, broker.
Palmer, J. H., Walworth.
Papsworth, John, Tottenham Court road, grocer.
Pinkey, H. K., 7, Idol lane.
Pott, William, Bridge st. Southwark.
Pott, Arthur, ibid.
Pott, Charles, Bridge st. Southwark.
Potts, Richard, Lloyd's Coffee house.
Priestley, Thomas Pewson, 10, Coburn street, Mile End.
Pugh, C., Cannon street, grocer.
Pugh, David, Welch Pool.
Rankin, G. N., Basinghall street.
Richards, R., 23, Rood lane.
Ripley, James, Mill place, Commercial road.
Rippon, C. N., 3, St. Mary at hill.
Risdon, J. jun., Stock Exchange.
Roebuck, George, St. Mary at hill, grocer.
Ryder, Thomas.
Savage, W. H., Great Queen street, Lincoln's Inn fields, coachmaker.
Savage, W. W., ibid.
Sharpe, R. S., Fenchurch street, grocer.
Sharpe, Thomas, ibid.
Shaw, Benjamin, Cornhill.
Shaw, Samuel, ibid.
Shillito, John, 145, Upper Thames st.
Smart, George Thomas, 91, Great Portland street.
Stedman, C. H., 9, Throgmorton street.
Stedman, F., South Sea House.
Steinmitz, C., Ratcliffe Cross.
Steinmitz, T., ibid.
Steinmitz, W., ibid.
Stuart, Henry, Foregate, Worcester.
Suckling, Colonel William, Windsor, Berks.
Tabrum, Robert, East street, Colchester.
Taddy, Charles.
Thompson, William James, Dunster court, Mincing lane.
Townsend, E., jun., 47, Lime street, broker.
Tucker, G. C., Russell court, Drury lane, bookseller.
Vanhouse, James, Mincing lane, broker.
Vanhouse, William, ibid.
Vanhouse, James, jun., ibid.
Vanhouse, Charles, Copthall court, broker.
Wade, J., Leadenhall street, carver and gilder.
Warner, Redston, Rood lane.
Warner, Robert, Warnford court, Throgmorton street.
Warner, Charles, Everton, Liverpool.
Warner, George, Rood lane.
Warner, Henry, ibid.
Warner, C. P., 28, Cornhill.
Warren, Thomas, Commercial Sale Rooms.
Warren, James, ibid.
Ward, Samuel, Piccadilly, tobacconist.
Watts, John.
Welch, George, Portsmouth.
Wichart, D., 59, Lemon street, sugar refiner.
Williams, William, Great St. Helens.
Yallop, Thomas, Old street road, colour manufacturer.
Yates, Edward John.

specially inscribed over the doors of modern grocers, was equally esteemed an import of importance in the culinary preparations of the Romans. It is so noticed in the reign of Augustus:

> Mercibus hic Italis mutat, sub sola recenti,
> *Rugusum Piper* et pellentis granei Cymini.
> *Persius*, Sat. 5.

> "With merchandizes this with care doth run,
> Unto the East under the rising sun,
> To fetch rough Pepper and pale Cummin seeds,
> For Roman wares."

Hence Ravenhill, the historian of the Grocers' Company,* concludes that this trade was not unknown at Rome; and, though his opinion has been treated as visionary, we must certainly admit that if the Romans were importers of pepper, they must have had retailers of it, or pepperers. In respect to the sale of drugs, which we have seen early formed another main branch of the grocers' trade,† they more nearly resembled the Roman *medicamentarii:* dealers in the various other articles, formerly termed groceries, are also to be traced amongst the classical ancients.

The Pepperers are first mentioned as a fraternity amongst the amerced gilds of Henry II., but probably existed as a gild long before. The "*Gilda de Pipariorum*" paid on this occasion sixteen marks. Half a century later we find the Pepperers filling the first civic offices, and that they were mostly of Italian descent. Andrew de Bokerell, pepperer, and mayor from 1231 to 1237, was of the *Eocherelli* family, noticed in the preceding account of the Mercers' Company, as was Sir John de Gisors, pepperer, and mayor 1310, a member of the *Gisorio*, also of Italian origin; both are mentioned with the Basings, and other Lombards, in the Hundred Rolls and Inquisitions in the reign of Edward.‡ The statutes and ordinances of the Pepperers, made in the reign

* Ravenhill's Short Account of the Company of Grocers, 4to. 1689.

† Hist. Essay, pp. 478-9.

‡ In 1283, the first mention occurs of legal encouragement given by act of Parliament to foreign merchants, then called "Merchants' Strangers," who, excepting always those at the Steelyard, till now met with many discouragements from the jealousy borne towards foreigners by the English, so little was the true interest of the public then understood. These merchants were chiefly Lombards, and other merchants of Italy, viz. of Genoa, Florence, Lucca, Pisa, and Venice, who then supplied all the rest of Christendom, westward, with Indian and Arabian spices and drugs, as well as with their own fine manufactures of silks and stuffs, and with the wines and fruits of Italy. The Italian mer-

of Edward II. were amongst the City Records, under the title "Ordinatio Piperorum de Sopers lane." They were written in Norman French, and began thus:

"Ces sount les Pointz que les bons genz de Sopere lane del Mestier des Peveres," &c. By the assent of Sir Stephen de Abyndone, mayor of London; John de Gisors, Nicholas de Farindone, John de Wengrave, Robert de Kelsby, William de Leyre, and others, made for the common benefit of the whole people of the land."

That the Grocers were only a separation from the parent society of Pepperers, and which latter long afterwards formed a distinct and independent body, is evident from what has been said, and from the preamble to their "Pointz," at their first assembly in 1345, when they commenced their fraternity under that designation only:

"En le honeur de Dieu," &c. "une Fratrnite fuist funduz der compaignons *Peveres* de Soperes lane."

Why they acquired the name of grocers has been variously accounted for. Pennant absurdly ascribes it to their having dealt in *grossi* or figs; but this, as only one, and an almost unmentionable commodity with the early members of the trade, could hardly have given them their name. Ravenhill's explanation is more correct, that "the word *grocer* was a term at first distinguishing *merchants* of this society in opposition to *inferior traders;* for that they usually sold in *gross* quantities by great weights,"* and it was on this account that they are supposed afterwards to have obtained the custody of the *King's Beam.* He adds, "in some of our old books, the word signifies merchants that in their merchandizing dealt for the *whole* of any kind. But, in after times, the word grocery became so extensive, that it can now be hardly restrained to certain kinds of merchandizes they have formerly dealt in; for they have been

chants, styled Lombards, who resorted to England, became likewise great lenders of money, both to the king and nobles: and though, from narrow views, opposed by the people, furnished its best sinews to trade, as do now their successors on the same spot of residence,—the bankers of Lombard-street. The king, on being petitioned by the Londoners to expel these merchants, refused, which occasioned the frequent conflicts we have noticed. Anderson's "History of Commerce," which chiefly furnishes the preceding information, has the following passage on the subject: "We shall only remark, that many have blamed the City of London for so often and violently opposing foreigners, since, though it may suit with the narrow system of their freedoms and respective companies, such opposition has been by many judged detrimental to the general commerce of the kingdom." V. i. 317-18.

* Ravenhill's Short Account of the Grocers' Company.

the most universal merchants that traded abroad, and what they brought home many artists of this society found out ways afterwards to change and alter the species, by mixture, confections, and compositions of simple ingredients; by which means many and various ways of dealing and trading passed under the denomination of GROCERIES: and, indeed, this city and nation do in a great measure owe the improvement of navigation to merchants originally exercising their mystery, as trading into all foreign parts from whence we have received either spices, drugs, fruits, gums, or other rich aromatic commodities." How completely supported the above explanation is by the act of 37 Edward III., must appear from again quoting the preamble of that act: "That those *merchants* called 'GROSSIERS' had, by covin, and by orders made amongst themselves in their fraternities or gilds, *engrossed* all sorts of wares, whereby they suddenly raise the prices of them, and that they had laid up other merchandizes until they had become dear." And, in like manner, Skinner: "*Grocers*, in libro statutorum significat *mercatores* qui aliquid merceriis genus totum coemant."* Ravenhill's opinion, in continuation: "that the Levant and other Merchant Companies sprung out of this," as we know to be the case with the East India Company, (the importers of the greatest of all modern groceries, *tea*,) is easily to be proved; nor will his assertions be found less true as to other points, from our succeeding notices.

The first meetings and proceedings of the branch fraternity of Pepperers or Grocers, their electing of wardens, framing ordinances, appointment of a chaplain, receipt of gifts for their altar, adoption of a livery, and progressive improvement in funds, have been noticed.† It began, as there stated, with only twenty-one persons:

William de Grantham.	Nicholas Corp.	Johan la Messe.
John de Stanope.	Roger Osekyn.	John Gonwardby.
Will'm de Hanapestede	Will'm Brian.	Remon de Gurdens.
Will'm de Cotoun.	Johan de la More.	Peres Van.
Laurence de Halliwelle.	Thomas Freland.	Vivian Roger.
John de Brounsford.	Roger Carpentier.	Geoffery de Haiwelle.
Richard le Zonge.	Richard de Totyngton.	
Robert de Hatfelde.		

The conditions on which themselves as well as future members could claim admission, and with which they commence their laws,

* Etymologicum Linguæ Anglica, in *v.*

† Hist. Essay, pp. 43—45.

sufficiently corroborate the fact of their being the heads or mercantile part of the pepperers' gild, and that they now met for the purpose of forming a separate and great commercial society, intended to embrace other objects besides their original trade in spices;—they were, as already stated, to be "persons of *good condition*, pepperers of Sopar's lane, and spicerers of the ward of Cheap, or people of that mystery, wheresoever they resided."*

Their subsequent proceedings for more than a century, as given in Mr. Heath's Account, may be thus shortly summed up:

In 1346 they admitted nine new members, chose four auditors from their body, and made additional regulations, imposing penalties for breach of the ordinances, and neglects in the purchasing and wearing of their liveries. In 1347 six more members joined: the fraternity changed their place and time of annual meeting, assembling at the Abbot of St. Edmund's, instead of Bury, and in June instead of May. In 1348, the general assembly met at Ringed Hall, Thames street, and on a Sunday. New "points" were agreed on at this meeting connected with the election of wardens and the engagement and pay of a beadle; fresh regulations were prescribed also as to masters and apprentices of the company; and, as to wardens, a special ordinance was passed, which proves the asserted union of *merchant* and *trader* at this time in the members: "no wardens," it was ordered, "should thenceforward adventure over the seas, neither lend any goods of the fraternity but at their own hazard." The most curious "point" was the one relating to the admission of sisters as members, who are mentioned for the first time this year. The year 1349 was only distinguished from former meetings by the reception of thirteen new brothers into the fraternity.

The continuation of the company's history, as preserved in their records, is for several years after the above date chiefly interesting as affording pictures of the early manners and customs of these fraternities, ample specimens of which have been already quoted. From 1350 to 1375, the society's meetings continued to be held regularly, sometimes at one great mansion and sometimes at another; and it kept increasing in wealth and numbers. As early as 1373, only twenty-eight years after their foundation, the first complement of twenty-one members was raised to 124, and included some of the most distinguished names in civic history. City wealth and City honours went hand in hand;—becoming mer-

* Acc. of Grocers' Comp. 47.

chants of the first class: indeed, exclusively monopolizing one great branch of the infant commerce of the country. We need not be astonished at the fact which has been stated, that no less than sixteen members of this company were aldermen in 1383. The names of these aldermen, with those of other eminent citizens admitted previously, will be seen below.* Four of them were lord mayors between 1346 and 1392, namely, Sir Andrew Aubrey, Sir John Hadderly, (or Hadley,) Sir William Standon, and Pennant's "stout mayor," Sir Nicholas Brembre, already mentioned. Nicholas Chaucer, whose name appears amongst these early admissions, was remarkable for being related to the great father of English poetry, Geoffery Chaucer; and Churchman, for having obtained for the Grocers the joint custody, with the City, of what was called the "King's Beam," and for being the original founder of the custom-house.†

* Aldermen in 1383:

Sir Nicholas Brembre.	John Hoo.	Richard Aylesbury.
Sir John Haddeley.	Hugh Falstolfe.	John Ferneux.
John Warde.	Geffrey Cremylford.	William Evesham.
William Barrett.	William Badby.	Richard Prestor.
Adam Caryl.	Sir William Standon.	John Churchman.
Adam Chaungeor.		

Members admitted in 1346 were :

Thomas Aubrey.	John Salusbury.	Sir John Hammond.
Thomas Dolseley.	Thomas Salusbury.	Simon Dolseley.
Sir Andrew Awbrey.	William Brokesborne.	John Nock.

In 1347 :

James de Stanope.	Sir John de Grantham.	William Krecherche.
Sir Will'm. de Thorneye.	Nicholas Chaucer.	John de Evonefeld.

And in 1349:

Wilcot Canstone.	William Hanapstede, jun.	Thomekyn Grantham.
Richard Grace.	John Weston.	John Oterle.
Jenkyn Gadfrey.	John Zonge.	Simon Stapilforde.
Phelypot Farnham.	John Flan.	Wilcot Cosyn.

Sir John de Londres, a parson of St. Anthony.

† Stow's statement is, that he, (Churchman,) 6 Richard II., "for the quiet of merchants," (or to prevent disputes about weight,) built a certain house on a key, called Woolwharf, "to serve for troynage or weighing of wools in the port of London;" and which troynage had been before at Woolchurch Hawe." Churchman received a grant from the king that "the said troynage should be held and kept in the same house, with easements there for the same beames and weights, and a convenient place for the customers, comptrollers, clerks, and other officers of the said troynage." This establishment involving great personal labour and responsibility, Churchman is supposed to have transferred his right, for a consideration, to the society of which he had become a member.

The first time we meet with the name "grocers," is in the just-quoted petition of the Commons in 1361; and the way it is there mentioned,—"those merchants called grocers,"—sufficiently shews that the title was new: as does the charge against them, of being "engrossers of all sorts of wares;" that they had then began to step out of their original trade of pepperers or spicers, to become general dealers; and which change being found an evil, they are accordingly complained of. The company do not themselves adopt the name, however, till 1376, when in new ordinances then made, they style the fraternity "the Grocers of London." Whether they had been reluctant, as considering the term one of reproach, or that they now conceived it characteristic of the greatness of their dealings, does not appear, but either, or both ways, the circumstance corroborates Ravenhill's explanation of the name grocer. Stow's statement agrees with this conjecture. He says, "by the assent of Stephen de Abunden (who was mayor in the 8th of Edward II.) the pepperers in Soper's lane were admitted to sell all such spices, and other wares, as grocers now sell, *retaining the old name of pepperers of Soper's lane;* till at length, in the reign of Henry VI., the said Soper's lane was inhabited by cordwainers and curriers; after that the grocers had seated themselves in a more open street, to wit, in Bucklers bury, where they still remain." And in another place, in his edition of 1599, he adds, "the pepperers and grocers of Soper's lane are now in Bucklers berie.*

The Grocers, soon after Churchman's grant, appear to have removed the Beam from the custom-house to Bucklersbury, to which place they must have gone before the time that Stow mentions, for, in 1398, a note in the company's books, which details the weights attached to the establishment, states them to have been deposited "in domo com. nra. m. Gro. in Bokerlesbury;" *i. e.* "in the house of our community of the mystery of Grocers in Bucklersbury."

In 1450, the Grocers obtained the important privilege of sharing

* Strype's Stow, i., 549. "Soper lane was converted after the fire of 1666 into Queen street, a continuation of King street, which, leading from Guildhall, intersects Cheapside; but the church of St. Pancras was situated in Pancras lane, anciently called Needler's lane. Latimer's Sermons mention Soper lane as having been a receptacle for the sale of pies. "Thou must at Easter receive the god of Antichrist, and thou must buy and pay for it, as men sometimes bought pies in Soper's lane."

the office of garbeller of spices, with the city.* This occupation, we are to suppose, was not so amply secured to them before, though they certainly exercised it as early as the reign of Richard II., as appears from a document among the City records, prescribing the regulations they were to observe, but of which we omit to notice more than the title, as of no general interest.†

This garbelling was originally confined to pepper and other spices, and was deemed necessary to prevent their being adulterated, for which purpose a chief garbeller was appointed, and sworn to execute his office faithfully and impartially. The fraternity appear to have obtained this latter privilege in consequence of a petition presented by them to the corporation of London, conjointly with "Angelo Ciba, Reginald Grillo, Tobias Lomellino, Branca Doria, and other Genoese, Florentine, Lucca, and Lombardy merchants, complaining of the unjust mode of garbelling spices and other *sotill wares;* whereupon it was ordered, that any merchant who should for the future sell spices or other merchandize belonging to garbellage, without its being first cleansed by a garbeller, chosen, accepted, and sworn for that purpose, should forfeit the goods. The Grocers' company (as best understanding these commodities,) were requested to recommend some member of their own body to the court of aldermen to fill this office, which they accordingly did, and *Thomas Halfmark* was chosen and sworn garbeller of spices and *sotill ware*."‡

The wonderful increase in the company's trade and importance

* In 1522, Henry VIII. granted a patent to Sir William Sidney, constituting him keeper of the Great Beam, against the privileges of the City, but in 1530 he revoked his grant, and restored the office by charter in full right to the corporation of London, who still have their weights at the Weigh-house, in Little Eastcheap, and the porters attending which are, from their connexion with such weights and beams, or machinery, which is there called "*tackle*," denominated "tackle-porters," in contradistinction to the other class called ticket-porters.

† Articuli tangentes Mistere, Grossar et Garbelt'. 10 Oct. 17 Ric. II. 6 b. 284 li.

‡ *Account of Grocers' Company.* Cowel says, "The garbellor of spices is an officer of great antiquity in the city of London, who is empowered to enter any shop or warehouse, to view and search drugs, &c. and to garble and cleanse them."

The rare tract on this subject, entitled "A Profitable and Necessarie Discourse for the Meeting with the bad Garbelling of Spices used in these Daies, &c." 4to. London, 1591, affords many curious hints relative to the above part of the Grocers' profession at that time.

It is addressed from Grocers' Hall, London, to Sir William Webb, (then mayor,) and his brethren the aldermen, and complains that the representation of "sundrye of the retayling grocers of London to the cheefe officers, the gardians, and to the first menne of that society (the grocers) against the fact of bad garbelling of spices, betweene them and the merchantes," had, "in lieu of reformation, taught manye indigneties, and wrought som indignation, towards the complainants;" and it makes this

in consequence of their possessing the above privileges, is evidenced by abundance of entries in their books.

From a tariff of charges at the company's weigh-house, 1453, we find nearly forty articles enumerated, of which the grocers then had the weight and oversight, and most, if not all, of which themselves imported and dealt in, viz. pepper, saffron, cloves (clowes,) mace (mac), greynes, cynamon, gynger (by the case or bale,) long pepper, flowre of alman, currants (reysens of Corent,) gynger (y^e^ barel y^e^ c.) tyn (the peece,) led (the fodder,) galyngale (y^e^ bale y^e^ c.) druggs (any weight,) woad (y^e^ balet,) mader, alum, foyle or rooch, (y^e^ bale,) horns (yorns, y^e^ tunne,) cotton, (Cyprus or Brasselon, y^e^ c.) ryse, cummin and annys, soope, almands, wex, dates, sannders and Brazil (woods,) argent vyff (y^e^

appeal in consequence, to a controlling power, threatening, if it should there fail, to follow the advice of the poet *Musæus*—

'It is good sometime to sound in open street
The wicked works which men do think to hide;'

or, meaning, as the petitioners explain, "that by publishing some small pamphlet touching the same, suche good maye ensue,—either the workemanne to grow betterr, or the buier to be more wise in the office of garbelling."

The reader is, in a subsequent address to him, told that this bad garbelling of spices had then existed "many years, more than some scores past."

A detailed account of the science of garbelling follows. The necessity of cleansing and purifying of spices, it is stated, was debated in the reign of Henry VI., when the office of garbelling was given to the lord mayor and corporation of London by that king; but with an understanding, it is added, that as well the merchant owners of such spices, as the City grocers retailing the same, should be advised with, in making the proper regulations for conducting of the art: and it notices, as the first appointed garbellers, the above "*Richard Hackdie* and *William Aunsell.*" Nutmegs, mace and cinnamon, ginger, gauls, rice and currants, cloves, grains, wormseed, aniseed, cumminseed, dates, senna, and other things, are spoken of as having been in that reign garbellable.

The tricks of the garbellers, their unjust and partial practices, and other things only interesting to the trade, are then pointed out.

Finally, it is recommended that all spices to be garbelled shall be weighed and put in bags by the owners, marked and sealed, and be conveyed to Guildhall, there to remain in sure keeping under the keys of the said garbeller, and the comptroller of the chamber of London, under whose direction they shall be dealt with according as they turn out, good or bad, &c. according to an act of common council of the reign of Henry VIII., and also that the original and fair method of garbelling shall be restored.

The privilege of garbelling granted by Henry was afterwards confirmed, with a few alterations, in the grants of Charles I., Charles II., James II., and William and Mary. The office of garbeller, however, not suiting the more enlightened views of trade of these latter periods, fell into disuetude; and the last mention of it in the company's books is in July, 1687, when a "Mr. Stuart, the *City garbeller*, offered to purchase the company's right in the garbelling of spices, and other garbellable merchandize. The court, finding that, from long disuse, their privilege of appointment to that office was weakened, they accepted a small fine of *50l.* from Mr. Stuart, for the office for life, and twenty shillings per annum."—Mr. Heath's Account of the Grocers' Company, p. 61

bolyon,) vermelion, verdygres, saltpetre, brymston, reed copper, flex (y^e^ c.)

On the weighing of these articles the company received fees of from one penny to twenty pence, according to the nature, weight, or mode of package; whether by the bale, cask, barrel, butt, or tun: the case, hundred, draught, &c. And it is added, at the foot of the list, "al maner other merchandizes y^t^ comyth to y^e^ beam, and is not comprehended in this wrytinge, to pay for the bales of ev^r^y xx^lbs.^ 1*d.*

The grant of the garbellorship extended the company's control to such a variety of articles, exclusively of the above, that nothing perhaps can afford a better idea of the greatness of their concerns, than the enumeration in these two documents. It specifies rhubarb, scammony, spikenard, turpentine, senna, dates, rosin, treacle, electuaries, syrups, waters, oils, ointments, plasters, powders, and all conserves and confections, as gum, succades, cardamoms, and all sorts of merchandizes, spices and drugs, in anywise belonging to medicines;* and whatsoever shall by sufficient officers, skilled in the premises of this kind, whom we are pleased to depute and appoint, duly and justly to supervise, garbel, search, examine, and prove." To fill the office of garbellers for all these numerous wares, the patent constitutes and appoints William Westmale, Richard Hackedy, and Thomas Gibbes, "wardens of the mystery of grocers in the City of London," &c. who are empowered to garbel all the above spices and merchandizes, in whatsoever hands they can find them, "as well in the towns of *Southampton* and *Sandwich*, as all other places within the kingdom, as well within liberties as without our city aforesaid [of London] only excepted."

The company's commerce extending to oil, as above, is illustrated by a curious entry, which states 44*s.* to have been paid for "costs, freight, carriage, wharfage, and piling up of ij shippes of *wa-loil* (whale-oil) containing xlviii^0^, iii. v. oyll, given to the fellowship by Alderman Knolley's son," which shews that the Greenland fishery was then well known, and traded to by the grocers. There are also numerous other entries in the wardens' accounts near this date, further illustrative of the company's commerce. Amongst others, various notices prove them to have added the wool trade to their many other dealings, and that to such extent,

* The Roman *Medicamentarii*, who have been mentioned, nearly resembled them; they sold drugs, and our grocers, called also pepperers, in the fifteenth century, hawks. Beckm. ii. 135; Paston Letters, ii. 110.

that Sir John Crosby, warden in 1483, is styled in his will "grocer and woolman."

The year 1427 was remarkable for the company's founding their hall, and that of 1429 for their receiving their first patent of confirmation.

In 1463 the original ordinances of the company, which were partly in Latin and partly in Norman French, and which had been translated during the mastership of Robert Chichely in 1418, were renewed or recopied,* and additions made to them suitable to the increasing consequence of the company. The notice is to the following effect:

"In the tyme of William Marowe, alderman, and alsoe of John Crosbie and William Browne, wardeyns, namelie, of y^e. Mysterie or Brotherhode of Groceres of the Cittie of London, elected y^e. 29th daie of y^e. moneth of Auguste, in y^e. yeere of oure Lorde 1463, and in the 3^d. yeere of king Edward IV. this boke was renewed."

For a considerable time after these new arrangements there is no mention of any occurrence worth noticing. "Their stock," Mr. Heath observes, "was delivered from year to year to the newly-elected wardens by their predecessors, and the details may be found in the voluminous and monotonous entries of wardens' accounts." These entries are in general confined to the registering of apprentices and freemen, the election of wardens, and to the particulars of their receipt and expenditure. Some of the more interesting of them follow.

In 1401 is specified, amongst other curious disbursements: "Sir Roger, the chaplain, his yearly salary from Easter to Easter, 6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* Rent for the fraternity's house in Bucklersbury for one year, from Midsummer day, 3 Henry IV., to the like day the following year, 33*s.* 4*d.*† A year's salary to Robert Sterne, the beadle, 58*s.* 4*d.*; besides 7*s.* for three yards "of greene cloth for his vesture." The priest's yearly charge for bread and wine, and candle, for singing mass, was 2*s.* The expenses at the election of masters for the same year, including the whole sum of provisions, (*les achates,*) and other costs, was 22*l.* 4*s.* 3*d.* The wardens' accounts for one year in the reign of Henry VI. (1435,) mention John Wells as the presiding alderman of the company, and Thomas Catsworth and John Godyn, wardens; and contain

* See Historical Essay, p. 105.

† This seems to have been near the time of their removal to Bucklesbury.

several items which afford interesting illustrations of the times, as well as of the particular concerns of the company.

The balance of the company's stock at this time, as transferred from the old to the new wardens, was only 24*l.* 4*s.* Towards their alms and buildings, charities, and for the erection of their new hall, (from the executors of two deceased members,) 5*l.* each; and from the executors of a brother and sister, (John Dekene, grocer, and his wyffe,) towards the same objects, 13*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* From Thomas, the son of Alderman Thomas Knolleys, the company received for making their wall (welle,) and the foundation of the hall kitchen, 6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* The garbeller's receipts, for two years, was 4*l.* An assignment to pay the debt of the company (probably on account of building their hall,) amounted to 11*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* They further received of money "granted be certeyn persones of the crafte to the purchasyng a piece of the voyde ground, sum tym the Lord Fitzwalter's halle," 32*l.* 17*s.* 4*d.* From John Chichely, chamberlain of London, and for "the half deal of 20 m. of a fine of green ginger (33,) made to the chamber, 6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* Lydgate speaks of the grocers as having become retail spice-dealers in the reign of Henry VI., and that they kept their standings in Chepe:

> "One bade me come nere and buy some *spyce*,
> Peper and sayforne they gan me bed,
> But for want of money I might not spede."

The events connected with the history of the grocers, subsequently to the date we are speaking of, were nearly such as have been described to have been common to all the companies; and which we shall consequently omit to mention, both here and elsewhere, unless in cases where they may exhibit some new features. All the companies, as we have seen, adopted the use of the English language in their books and ordinances near the reign of Henry V.; became subject to the same parliamentary enactments for regulating their government, laws, and liveries, in the reigns of his three successors, Henry VI., VII., and VIII.; yielded the like obedience to the mayor and aldermen for some ages afterwards, in all matters respecting precedency, state, and civic processions; in the registration of their charters and orders, and in the arbitration of disputes amongst each other. The effects of the suppression of colleges, in the reign of Edward VI., operated equally in stripping this, as the other fraternities, of much of their best property; and in the religious changes which succeeded, the grocers exhibited the like supple compliance as did the other companies,

with the "powers that be." Finally, in every thing connected with the issue of *precepts*, on all subjects and occasions; in the restraints imposed on them by the arbitrary interference of the crown; in the exactions to which they were subjected, by both parties, in consequence of the Civil wars; in the deprivations of the Quo Warranto, and in the destructive consequences of the fire of London; the history of the company we are speaking of, like that of the others, whose records are preserved, may, with small variation, be taken as a pattern of the whole. Some of these small variations or peculiarities, attaching particularly to the Grocers' company, follow, chiefly extracted from Mr. Heath's Account.

In 1605, (August,) a notice on the above company's journals declares "that the *new charter* was read to the company in English by the clerk, when the whole of them with one voyce and free consent gave greate approbation and allowance thereof: and returned Mr. Tipper, a member of the court, thanks for his great pains and talent in the business." A gratuity was ordered to Mr. Tipper's clerk, and a remuneration of 8*l.* 8*s.* to Joyce Knight, "paynter stayner, for lymning, guildinge, and flourishing the company's charter with the king's and prince's armes, and with divers of the assistants, their armes, besides an allowance of 8*s.* for two skins of vellum."

"(1616.)—The office of clerk to the company becoming vacant, the court, for the first time, elected an attorney to the place, who gave security in 500*l.*, and was to hold the situation as he should well and truly behave himself in the execution thereof."

1643.—Amongst other exactions common to the companies, the grocers paid 30*l.* per week to parliament, towards the support of their troops. Also 6*l.*, as their proportion, "for the cost of chains and engines, made and employed about the city for defence thereof;" and 8*l.* for the relief of wounded soldiers. How faith was observed towards them for this, and other pecuniary sacrifices, during these times, appears from some proceedings of the company, the next year, (1643,) when "several persons, members of this company, applied to the court for repayment of their portions of 9,000," [before stated to have been] "advanced for the benefit and relief of Ireland;" whereupon the wardens being ordered to take up enough to pay them under the seal of the company, "at as easy a rate of interest as they can," and the money so procured being found insufficient to satisfy the above and other claims, their court was obliged to direct "that part of the company's plate, not exceeding the value of one thousand pounds,

shall be taken out of the treasurie, and sold to the best advantage for payment of debts, and other necessary charges and affairs of this company." And they agreed, "that when the troubles of this kingdom shall be composed, and this company's stock returned, the sayd plate should be repayed and made good, to remain a memorial in this hall, according to the gift and intent of the donors." The "troubles" mentioned also caused the lord mayor to send letters to all the companies to lend their arms, a copy of which, as sent to the grocers, will be seen below.*

The above was followed by another drain on the company's resources of 4,500*l.* in consequence of the mayor's precept, stating that 50,000*l.* was to be raised by the companies "for defence of the city in these dangerous times, as the parliament forces are approaching." This obliged the wardens, besides attempting a fresh loan on the company's seal, to sell all this company's plate, (save the value of 300*l.* for necessary use and service,) and of which a register was ordered to be kept, and of the donors' names, so that "the same might be replaced upon the peace of this country being restored." These repeated sales, Mr. Heath observes, "must give the reader some idea of the large stock of plate possessed by this company in ancient times."† The next entry displays a specimen of further exactions on this company, which is amusing from its singularity.

In 1645, the Committee of Safety, who in the June of that year sat at Haberdashers' Hall, sent for the wardens of the grocers, and informed them that they had learned the company were indebted in the sum of 500*l.* on bond, to one Richard Greenough, who, as they alleged, "was found to be *a delinquent to the Parliament*," and they therefore demanded a speedy payment of the same to *them*. The wardens, who were startled at the novelty of the proposition, requested time to advise with the court, and they finding

* "To his loving friends the master and wardens of the Company of Grocers, after my hearty commendations, according to an act of common council, this day holden, for the better forming a safety of this cittie, in this time of eminent danger, I am to desire you forthwith to send, for the arming of auxiliary forces raysed for the cittie, all the *arms of your company*, which, by promised engagement of the common council, shall safely, in the same condition, be restored unto you, or others of the same goodness, and the full value thereof in money; and Capn. Hooker, Capn. Fran. Rowe, Capn. Hunt, and Capn. Thomson, or any two of them, are appoynted by common council to joyne with such as you shall assigne for the valuing of the said armes, to receive the same by inventory, for the purpose aforesaid; and therefore, in regard of the present want and necessity of the said armes, I pray you to expedite the business, and cause the said armes to be forthwith delivered unto the aforesaid parties. This, not doubting of your conformity and readiness herein: I rest, your loving friend, Isaac Pennington, *Mayor*."

† See *ante* (Hist. Essay,) pp. 37,38.

it of no use to contend, were again obliged to borrow the amount on the company's seal, and to "restore the bond."

The grocers' contribution towards the magnificent exhibition which the City made on the coronation of Charles II. amounted to 540*l.*; and on the previous entrance of his Majesty into London, on the 29th of May, 1660, they provided, as their portion of the pageant, "thirty persons as riders, and each a man in livery to attend him."

On the 2d of October, 1661, Sir John Frederick being elected mayor, and not being a member of one of the great companies, is said, in the grocers' journals, to have "moved the court, through Sir Thomas Alleyn, to be received into this society upon his translation from the Barber-Chirurgeons, whereof he is a member; and from which, *by the rules and customs of the City*, he must remove into one of the Twelve Great Companies, and that his lordship had expressed his friendly affection to this company upon the occasion of the motion. It was thereupon agreed that the said Sir John Frederick should be so admitted a member of the company, and of this court, and "that some public shew of solemnity and triumph, by pageantry, bachelors, gownsmen, and other ornaments, bee provided at the charge of the company, to be in readiness against the day of his lordship." This solemnity will be found described amongst the grocers' pageants, hereafter. The above entry possesses a degree of interest, as proving that the custom of translation in similar circumstances continued in full vigour, at least as late as 1661, and it corroborates what we have elsewhere advanced.*

* (See p. 37 of Hist. Essay.)—The following are some additional notices which have been met with on this point amongst the City Records, and with which we shall dismiss the subject. So imperative was it that the lord mayor should be a member of one of the twelve companies, that aldermen who were of minor companies, were to change from those companies when they came to be lord mayor, or before. Lib. H. fo. 314, Rep. 13, fo. 244, 247, 6, 9; Rep. 24, fo. 306; Rep. 67, fo. 312; Rep. 74, fo. 302; Rep. 81, fo. 327; Rep. 84, fo. 236. They were in such cases enjoined to translate themselves, Rep. 1, fo. 187; and such great company as they made choice of could be obliged to admit them. Instance: An alderman being next to the mayoralty, and declaring his purpose to take the company of Drapers, and that company refusing, they were enjoined to receive him; Rep. 35, fo. 211, 220, 230. Where an alderman belonging to a minor company, and standing next for the mayoralty, refused to go to the large companies, the court could commit. Mr. Curtis standing in this situation, and refusing to be translated from the Pewterers, of which he was a member, was fined 100 marks and committed to Newgate; and none of the pewterers permitted to speak to him during his imprisonment: Rep. 13, fo. 244, 246, 7, and 8. Nor were any allowed to move from a lower to a higher company, even of the Twelve, without leave. Thus we find an alderman not permitted of his own will to translate from the Ironmongers to the Grocers; Jor. 9, fo. 56. Examples of aldermen translating from inferior to superior companies, with leave, are found in Rep. 13, 25, or 26, fo. 429; Rep. 36, fo. 188; Rep. 40, fo. 79. In a controversy between two companies, the aldermen withdrew; Rep. 12, fo. 38.

In 1664, the Physicians having obtained a charter of incorporation, which seemed likely to abridge the sphere of the company's medical control, the following notice appears on the books: "Divers members of this company trading in drugs made request and suit for the countenance and protection of the court in the freedom of their trade, against the invasion of the College of Physicians, who, having lately obtained from his Majesty a patent, with new and strange power of privilege and search, seizure, fine, and imprisonment, are attempting the passing of a bill in Parliament for the ratification of the same; which, if effected, will be an insupportable inconvenience and prejudice." They prayed the aid of the court, which was granted, and a committee appointed to consult and instruct counsel to defend them before the committee in Parliament; it was likewise ordered that the charges incurred by the druggists, for the defence of their right against the physicians, should be defrayed by the Grocers' Company. The "plague year," 1665, produced an order of the Grocers' court, "that the election-feast is to be forborne this year, upon serious consideration of the sadness of the times, and encrease of this sore visitation in the city."

The fire of London, besides greatly damaging the Grocers' Hall, and having consumed also the whole of the company's property, excepting a few small tenements in Grub-street, the court of assistants assembled on this occasion at the *Turret House*, "in the garden," the only place the fire had spared, and a committee was appointed to take into serious consideration their affairs, whose first measure was "to suspend the payment of interest on the company's debts for the present," any attempt to levy a personal contribution at this moment being considered superfluous; and a schedule of the houses and rents belonging to the company, as they existed before the fire, was ordered to be prepared, together with a note of the terms and periods of expiration of the leases.

In answer to applications of the company's tenants for new leases, the committee recommended a petition to Parliament "for an act to empower the raising of 20,000*l.* upon the members of the company, for payment of debts, as the readiest and surest way for effecting the same." In the meanwhile, to sustain the company's credit, the silver in the hall, which had been melted by the fire, was sold, as has been stated, to meet present wants; an addition of 94 members was made to the livery; and in December, 1668, they were enabled by this means to discharge one-sixth part of their debts. The company, in their petition to Parliament,

state much other interesting historical matter relative to their difficulties.*

The petition to Parliament given in the note failed, and for a considerable time the efforts of this company to re-erect their hall, and meet other difficulties, seem to have been almost unparalleled. A motion for a dinner, in order to gain a better attendance and appearance of the livery, and which was to be succeeded by a subscription amongst themselves, was carried; but the object being known, it drew few attendants. A common hall of the company was afterwards called, and books opened to receive the issues of a general assessment on the members, to amount to the specified sum of 20,000*l.* "but the individual distress inflicted by the calamity which had taken place absorbed all ideas of that of the company, and they could only raise 6000*l.*" Some of the members, seeing the increasing clamour of the creditors, went so far as to petition Parliament "for sale of the company's hall, lands, and estate, for satisfying of the debts owing," to counteract which the

* It states, that they, "the petitioners, being an antient corporation, have in several ages, by the charity of well disposed persons, been intrusted with divers lands, rents, and gifts, and by means thereof, are charged with the maintenance of, and contribution to, several hospitals, almshouses, schools, provision for ministers, exhibitions to poor scholars in the universities, and other good and charitable uses.

"That in the year 1642, when the kingdom of Ireland was greatly distressed by the rebellion newly risen there, this company, having then a considerable estate, which is since impaired by the late fire, did, upon the credit of their common seal, borrow and advance the sum of 9000*l.* for the relief and defence of that part of his Majesty's kingdom, and have been constrained to borrow of others, and to pay in, the said whole 9000*l.* principal, with the great interest thereof, till since the late fire, and are in debt for the interest since then, being in all about 27 years, being reimbursed no more than 645*l.* whereby the said company is become greatly indebted to several widows, orphans, and other persons, divers of which will be inevitably ruined, if the company be not enabled to satisfy them.

"That the petitioners' estate consisting principally in houses destroyed by the late dreadful fire, and they being now in no capacity to raise money, either by making or enlarging of leases, or by any other way, and the now remaining part of their estate not being sufficient to defray the ordinary charges of the said company, as by their books doth appear, they are disabled, as a corporation, to satisfy their debts and trusts upon them, which they are obliged to. That at the time of the advancing of the said sum of 9000*l.*, it was agreed by the assistants, livery, and commonalty of the said company, then assembled at a general meeting at Grocers' Hall, that if any damage or loss should happen to the company by reason of the said advantage, that every brother of the company, of ability, should contribute towards satisfaction thereof, such rateable share as, by the wardens and assistants of the said company for the time being, should be assessed.

"May it please therefore this honorable house to give leave for a bill to be brought in, whereby power may be given for and towards satisfaction of the debts of the said company, to raise the sum of 20,000*l.* by an equal assessment upon the several members of the said company, of ability, under such course for appeals and other provision for their just proceedings, as in your wisdoms shall seem meet. And your petitioners, &c."

court published what was termed "the Company's Vindication," and circulated 1000 copies of it; while, in a memorial to the court of aldermen, they solicited assistance, on the just plea that the company's distress arose in part from the loans made to the City, but from which they obtained no relief. Their hall was subsequently seized, attachments laid on the rent due by the company's tenants, and the dissolution of the society seemed inevitable, when it was saved by the liberality of several of the principal members. Other means were raised by calling a considerable number of the freemen on the livery, and by adding in the course of two months no less than eighty-one new members to the court of assistants; so that, before the Revolution of 1688, the Grocers, like the rest of the companies, had restored their hall, as well as subdued the greater part of their embarrassments. One of the most brilliant epochs in their annals at this time was, the enrolment amongst their members of King William III., who accepted the office of their sovereign master, 22d October, 1689. The details of the proceedings on this occasion, as translated from the Latin, contain the following curious summary of the company's history:

"Grocers' Hall was once the mansion-house of the Lord Fitzwalter, a peer of this realm, of whom the company purchased the same in the reign of King Henry VI. being situate in the centre of the city of London, and having a fair open garden behind for air and diversion; and before it, within the gate, a large court-yard for the reception of coaches, as the aldermen and sheriffs attend the lord mayor on public affairs, especially from Guildhall, and the sessions at the Old Bailey; or, as the nobility and other persons of quality, shall either pay their visits, or be thither invited by his lordship. For these reasons, the company of grocers, after the late dreadful fire, rebuilt and enlarged it with all offices and accommodations, far beyond any other place that ever was, or now is, for the most commodious seat of the chief magistrate, as he is, for the time being, his Majesty's representative in this famous city, at the expense of many thousand pounds, as designing it for encouragement of their members, and conveniency of the citizens resorting thither, as to the fountain of justice, from all parts of the City; as it may also redound to the honour of the kingdom, being conspicuous (in their transient view) to ambassadors and foreigners, as well as natives of his Majesty's dominions, passing and repassing through this city.

"And as this society may boast of its antiquity, deriving its original from merchants in Rome, trading in spices to the eastern parts,

who from Rome transplanted themselves to this City, with the conquest of this island, and first gave wings to navigation here, from whence this island hath been able to give law by sea to all the world; so that it, above all other companies in London, abounded in wealthy members, trading both at home and abroad; from whence have sprung many honourable families, being incorporate by the name of Four Wardens, as superintendants, without a master, and so most capable of adoption by a crowned head, as King Charles II., of blessed memory, having been their last sovereign master; and, as other companies have done, in memory of the king from whom they have received the like honour, so this company hath set up his late Majesty's statue in the Royal Exchange, and recorded his sacred name here in their register, that so the generations to come may know how far they are debtors to his memory for the foundation he laid, whereon his royal successors might build, to carry on and complete their happiness, in restoring and settling so pious a nursery of charities, and fruitful seminary of eminent merchants and good citizens.—GOD SAVE THE KING AND QUEEN."

The original CONSTITUTION of the Grocers' Company is contained in the charter of 7 Henry VI., (confirmed by Queens Mary and Elizabeth,) and anciently termed their "great patent,"* and in an extension of the same great patent by the first named monarch, granted the following year.† Their constitution, as afterwards altered, is to be found in the charters 2 James I. and 15 Charles I., and the confirmation of the latter by the Charter of Restitution, (Nov. 15,) 4 James II. The separate grants of *Trade Privileges* were made by the letters patent, 26 Henry VI., and confirmed by Henry VIII.; another confirmation was embodied in the charter of restitution of James II.; in a charter of the 9th of March, 4 James II.; and in the confirmations and enlargements by charter of William and Mary, 9 Anne, and 12 George I.

The charter 7 Henry VI., (and of which the one, 8 Henry VI. is chiefly a recital,) grants to the freemen of the Mystery of Grocers of the City of London:—That they may be in deed and name one body and one perpetual commonalty; and that the same commonalty every year may elect and make from among

* The particulars of the fine and costs of obtaining this patent, are thus detailed in the Company's books, viz.

1429.—"To ye. chauncellor, for a fyne to ye. king, 50*l.* Alsoe for ye. seale of owre *greate patentee*, 8*l.* 5*s.* Alsoe for ye. drawinge of ye. saide patentee and costys, 12*s.*

† "Incorporation and Liberties for the Wardens of the Mystery of Grocers of the City of London." Vide Cal. Rot. Patentium in Turre, Lond'.

themselves three wardens, to oversee, rule, and govern the mystery and community aforesaid, and all the men and affairs of the same for ever; and that the same wardens and community may have perpetual succession and a common seal for the service of the affairs of the said community, and that they and their successors for ever may be persons able and capable in law to purchase and to possess in fee and perpetuity lands, tenements, rents, and other possessions whatsoever; and that they, by the name of the wardens and commonalty of the Mystery of Grocers of London, may be able to implead and be impleaded, before whatsoever judges, in whatsoever courts and actions; and further, that the wardens and community of the said mystery may be able to purchase lands, tenements, and rents, within the city of London and the suburbs of the same; and to hold such lands, &c. from the king, to the value of twenty marks a year, to have and to hold to them and their successors for ever, in aid of sustaining the poor men of the said community; together with a chaplain to celebrate divine offices for ever for the king's estate whilst he lived, and for his soul when dead; and moreover, the state and souls of all men of the said mystery and commonalty, and of all the faithful deceased, according to the ordination of them, the said wardens and community in that behalf to be made, the statute of mortmain, &c. notwithstanding.*

The charter 15 Charles I. (which embodies that of 2 James I.) grants that all and singular the freemen of the Mystery of Grocers and their successors for ever, as well for the better order, government, and rule of the men of the said mystery, as for the use, advantage, and relief of the good and the correction of the evil amongst them, shall be a body politic and corporate, by the name of the wardens and commonalty of the Mystery of Grocers of the City of London, and so declares them to be, with perpetual succession, the power to enjoy estates and privileges of whatsoever kind; and that they may assign or otherwise dispose of such estates; that they may plead and be impleaded; may have a common seal for their affairs and negotiations, and be able to break, change, and alter the same. It grants that the said wardens and commonalty, as well then as for ever, may elect four of the commonalty of the said mystery in form thereinafter mentioned, who shall be and be called wardens of the said mystery; and also in like manner that there shall be elected certain of the said commonalty, who shall be

* Patent 26. Henry VI. "Ample Liberties confirmed to the Wardens of the Mystery of Grocers of London."

and be called assistants, and who from time to time shall be assistant and helping to the said wardens in matters and affairs of and concerning the said mystery; and that the said wardens may have and keep their certain hall or council in the said city or liberties; and that the same wardens or any two of them, when and as often as shall be convenient and necessary, may convene and hold therein their certain court or convocation of the said wardens and assistants, to the number of thirteen persons or more, of whom two should be wardens of the mystery; and that in such court the same wardens and assistants may treat, confer, consult, counsel, and decree as to the statutes, articles, and ordinances, touching and concerning the said wardens and commonalty, and the good rule, state, and government of the same, according to their sound discretions. It further grants to the said wardens and commonalty, that the said wardens and assistants, on public notice to the company, shall have from time to time full power and authority to make and ordain such reasonable statutes and ordinances in writing, as shall in the wise discretion of such wardens and assistants seem good, wholesome, useful, honest, and necessary, for the good rule and government of the wardens and commonalty of the said mystery, and all others free of the said mystery, or having or bearing offices in the same for the public good and common utility of them, the said wardens and commonalty, and of all things in anywise concerning the said mystery; and that such wardens and assistants, in consequence of such laws and ordinances so to be established, may inflict such pains, punishment, and penalties, by imprisonment of the body, or by fines and amerciaments thereupon, and upon all delinquents against the said ordinance, as shall to them seem necessary the better to compel the observance thereof. That such fines and amerciaments to be so levied, shall be to the use of the wardens and commonalty of the said mystery, and grants that all such ordinances shall be observed under the pains prescribed by them, so that the same ordinances be reasonable, and not contrary or repugnant to the laws of England. And the king, for the better execution of his will and grant by his said charter, nominates and directs that four persons therein named shall continue as wardens until a certain day specified, when four others shall be elected in their stead, in form prescribed by the ordinances and by the said patent; and nominates in like manner sixty-three persons therein named, freemen of the mystery, (and whereof two were aldermen,) to be the then assistants, and to continue in their office during life, un-

less removed for bad government, or other reasonable and sufficient cause to be proved against them: grants the wardens and commonalty that the said wardens and the said assistants, to the number of thirteen or more, may have power yearly, on the 14th of July, or within eight days after, to elect and nominate four of the freemen of the said commonalty, who shall be wardens for one year, and who afterwards shall be succeeded by four other wardens, to be elected in like manner: ordains that the said wardens and commonalty and their successors, who may so chance to be wardens, may at any time within a year after serving office be removed, as well for bad government as other reasonable cause, and similarly the assistants of the said mystery for the time being, and that they may elect others in their stead, as before ordained, who before admission shall take the oath, which the wardens of the mystery are empowered to give, well and faithfully to execute their office, to keep the secrets of the court, and to do justice in all things, as well respecting apprentices as other freemen of the mystery: grants to the said wardens and commonalty, that the said wardens and assistants may levy reasonable taxes and money from members towards arms, corn, and other grain and provision for the public service; and also reasonable sums for admission into the livery for the better support from time to time of the society; and that for the better ordering of the mystery, the wardens and commonalty shall have jurisdiction over the trade in the City and suburbs, for three miles round, with power to punish delinquents, and various other privileges relative to the same; for the enjoyment whereof to them, all mayors, &c. are enjoined to be helping and assisting. Confirms all former grants and privileges, and enjoins that they shall not be troubled to answer for any supposed usurpations, or other thing, by writ of quo warranto or otherwise:—proviso, that nothing granted by this charter shall tend to the injury of the society of apothecaries of London.

The Act of Restitution, (2d Nov.) 4 James II. confirms the charter of the 26th Henry VI., by which the garbellorship was conferred on the company, and also the above charter of the 15th of Charles I., together with all liberties, customs, jurisdictions, estates and property which they had at any time theretofore possessed, by virtue of any charter or charters granted prior to the charter of Charles II., (18th December, 1684,) and restores the company to the precise state they were in before the judgment on the quo

warranto. The charter, (March 9,) 4 James II., as well as great part of the succeeding charter of that king, (just mentioned,) and also the charters 2 William and Mary, and 12 George I., relate to the trade privileges of the company, and declare the species of trade which in former charters was expressed under the denomination of *grocery*, to include under those patents "*druggists*, *tobacconists*, and *tobacco-cutters;*" and they incorporate such trades as part of the body corporate and politic of the Grocers' Company.

The ORDINANCES, GOVERNMENT, and OFFICERS of this company have been so largely treated of in our preceding pages, that little remains here to be added beyond a few miscellanous remarks.

The company's earliest ordinances (1325,) only recognise them as pepperers, and exclude all persons as members who are not of good condition, and of that craft, though the injunction they contain to relieve such of the fraternity as "should become poor by adventures on the sea, or by the advanced price of merchandizes," show them to have been merchants. Their new ordinances of 1376, (which first mention them as "the Grocers of London,") are the foundation of their present ordinances. An article in the previous bye-laws of 1348 prohibits the wardens from adventuring "over the seas," or landing any of the "goods of the fraternity, but at their *own* hazard," and also from "giving out the common seal of the fellowship;" both proving them to have been, at that date, trading on their common stock, as a merchant body, like the East India, or any other modern company.

The following variations are to be traced from history, old wills, and other sources, relative to the style of this society, and the names and number of its officers at different periods, as in the case of the Mercers.

The original ordinances of 1345 vest the government of the fraternity in *two wardens* or *purveyors*. In the new made ordinances of 1376 the annual dinner is ordered to be provided "by the two *masters* for the time being; after which," it is added, "the company are to chuse their *three wardens;*" and they are also by their incorporation charter limited to the latter number and denomination. The charter 15 Charles I., first allows them to elect *four wardens;* and, in the company's proceedings on electing William III. master, in 1689, they state themselves to have been "incorporated by the name of *four wardens*, as superintendants, without a *master*, as more capable of adoption

by a crowned head." In ancient entries in their books, the principals of the society are variously styled; as, 1427, "John de Wellys, alderman, *governor;* John Melbourne, John Olyve, *maisters.*" 1468: "Sir George Yonge, alderman and *upper master;* William Cardmaker, John Stokes, *wardens:* afterwards the head is called "prime warden," "upper master," "master and warden." The like variation in describing the principals of the company occurs in old wills. Thus, 1514, Alderman Kebel places the nomination of the poor freemen on whom he settles pensions in "the wardens and associates of the Mystery of Grocers." 1529: Sir William Butler makes his devise "to the wardens or keepers of the commonalty of the Mystery of Grocers." 1581: Emma Backhouse puts the nomination of certain students to be educated, pursuant to her will, at Cambridge, in "the master, wardens, and commonalty of Grocers." Peter Blundell, 1599, devises to "the wardens and commonalty."

From 1465 to 1496 the prime master or upper warden was always an alderman, agreeably to very ancient custom, and amongst them the greater part were knighted.

The wardens, according to the ancient ordinances, as we have seen, were always elected by general assent, as indeed all the officers; and, from the proceedings in 1345, and afterwards, it appears, that of the twenty-two members first composing the fraternity, nearly the whole took their turn as wardens. Thus, on the second assembly, (May 12, 1346,) after the feast, Roger Osekyn and Lawrence de Halewelle chose John de Stanop and Robert de Hatfeld, the next rotatory members, wardens for the year ensuing, in manner ordained by their "points." Stanop and Hatfelde, the following year, chose Nicholas Corp and John Gonewardby, the two next on the list of twenty-two; Corp and Gonewardby, the next two rotatory members, chose Carpenter and de Hanapestede, who in like manner chose de Grantham and Nicholas Chaucer, and so on.

Assistants (with the grocers, as with other companies,) naturally grew out of the increase of the society, being originally, as we have seen, merely auditors or overseers, for the benefit of the whole. The clerk might at first be more properly termed the fraternity's book-keeper, as he had none of the modern duties of a solicitor to perform, and, in fact, only seems to have had to make entries of the proceedings which took place, or keep the

* Hist. Essay, p. 45.

Court-books. In the points made 1348, it is ordered that the particulars of apprentices taken by members of the fraternity shall be first entered "on common paper," and at the end of the year "the list of names" was to be delivered to the new wardens. Neither of these early clerks, if any, are named, nor is there any specific mention of such till 1460, when a solicitor was first chosen to that office, at the salary which has been stated.

In pursuance of the charter 26 Henry VI., which extended the company's control and oversight to druggists, apothecaries, and confectioners, as well as to their own particular trade, the wardens or their deputies could, like modern excisemen, not only enter their shops and impose fines for deceits, but they always seized the spurious article.*

* In 1561 the books state that "bags and remnantes of certeyne evil and naynte pepper" were ordered to be conveyed oversea to be sold, but the dust of the "evil pepper, syrnamed ginger," was to be burned. Thus it appears that the company, although they had "a reverend care of the health of their fellow-citizens, did not scruple, on occasion, to poison their continental neighbours." In 1562 the court made an order that "grocerie wares should not be sold in the streates, figges onlie excepted;" and that the apothecaries, freemen of the company, should not use or exercise any drugs, simple or compound; "or any other kynde or sortes of poticarie wares but such as shall be pure and perfyt good." In 1571, Rauf King, a brother of the company, "and certain others, makers of comfytes, were charged before the wardeyns for their misdemeanours in minglinge starche with the sugar, and such other thinges as be not tolerated nor suffred; and the said King having now in his place a goode quantitie of comfytes made with corse stuffe, and mingled as aforesaid with starch and such like;" it was ordered that the comfits should be put into a tub of water, and so consumed and poured out; and "that everie of the comfytt makers shall be made to enter into bondes in 20*l.* that they shall not hereafter make any biskitts but with clere suger onlie, nor make any comfytts that shall be wrought upon seeds or any other thinges but with clere suger onlie."

Other entries exhibit the still more arbitrary power which the livery, by their ordinances, anciently vested in their officers in regard to this trade-oversight. It not only extended to seizure, but to imprisonment of the person in the common prisons. On the 7th of February, 1616, we find that Michael Eason, having been convicted before the court, he being an apothecary, and brother of the company, of selling "divers sortes of defective apothecaries wares, which, on triall, were found to be defective, corrupt, and unwholsome for man's body;" and it being further proved "that he had soald and uttered the like wares to Mr. Lownes, the prince, his highnesses apothecarie, and others; and he also being found very unfitt in making of compositions and confections, and insufficient and unskilfull to deale therein, he was by the court, in consideration of the great damage and danger which might happen to the companie by permitting such enormities, committed to the Poultrie compter." There are repeated instances of the company's proceeding to these extremities, not only in cases similar to those quoted, but also in those of the nonpayment of livery and other fines. In October, 1668, one Rellers was committed to Newgate for refusing, after being summoned before the lord mayor, to pay his livery fine of 30*l.* This power of imprisonment, we have seen, was regularly confirmed by the charter 15 Charles I.

The most extraordinary of the ancient enactments, and arbitrary in the highest degree, though made, like the rest, "by comon assente," was of a similar nature with that claimed by the weavers'

LORD MAYORS OF THE GROCERS' COMPANY.

The principals of the Grocers' Company who attained to the rank of lord mayor were as follows.

Of the Fraternity of Pepperers, before their separation and assuming the name of Grocers, the following served this office:

Date.	*Name.*	*Residence.*	*Buried.*
1231			
1232			
1233			
1234	Andrew Bokerel.	Unknown.	Unknown.
1235			
1236			
1237			
1245			
1246			
1250			
1259	Sir John Gisors, Knt.	Gerrard's Hall, Basing lane.	Christ's Church, Newgate street, (in the Lady Chapel.)
1311			
1312			
1313			
1279	Alan de la Zouch.	Unknown.	Ashby de la Zouch, Leicestershire.
1272	Sir Henry Frowicke,[1] (in part.)		

gild, in temp. Edward I., viz. the power of distraining on defaulters, and which was in the former case declared to be illegal.

"It was ordained the said 21st of May, 1366, by common assent, that the wardens for the time being, and those who should afterwards be, in aid and maintenance of the fraternity, should have power to distrain, and the distress so taken to retain and keep during the time of their wardenship, without any other manner of officer; those who should act contrary to any of the ordinances, or should refuse to pay what should be imposed on them by the resolutions of the wardens, for their opposition or other defaults, according to their deserts. This power was sealed by all that were of the fraternity, to be kept in the hands of the wardens from year to year, to maintain them, and to take and retain the said distress, until satisfaction made by the points, firm and established, to be kept for ever. And on the same day it was agreed, that whoever should be of the fraternity thereafter, should seal the same power in manner as others had done before; and from year to year, on the day of the assembly, it should be read before the whole company, after the other points." *Account of the Grocers' Company*, p. 51-2.

[1] Frowike was custos of the City for part of this year. He gave name to one of the City wards, (supposed Cripplegate,) which has been already noticed under the name of "Warda de Henr' Frowike." He was one of the three citizens who founded London College, near Guildhall.

Date.	*Name.*	*Residence.*	*Buried.*
1319, 1321, 1322, 1324, 1325, 1327	Hammond Chickwell.[1]		In St. Paul's Cathedral, (next the choir.)
1329	Sir John de Grantham.		
1329, 1340, 1351	Sir Andrew Aubrey, (the last of the Pepperers.)[2]		

OF THE FRATERNITY OF GROCERS.

1360	Simon Dolseley.		
1363	John Notte.		
1375	John Warde.		
1377, 1383, 1384, 1385	Sir Nicholas Brembre.	Bread street ward.	Christ's Church, Newgate street.
1378	Sir John Philpot.	Philpot lane.	Ditto.
1379, 1393	Sir John Hadley.[4]		
1389, 1392	Sir William Vinor.		
1392, 1407	Sir William Standon.		
1399, 1410	Sir Thomas Knolles.	Watling street.	St. Antholin's, Watling street.
1411, 1421	Sir Robert Chichele.	Garlick Hythe.	St. James's Church, Garlick Hythe.
1418	Sir William Sevenoke.	Ludgate.	St. Martin, Ludgate.
1420	William Cambridge.		
1431	Sir John de Welles.	Watling street.	St. Antholin's, Watling street.

[1] Stapleton, bishop of Exeter, was beheaded by his orders, for demanding the keys of the city gates for Edward II.; and Chickwell, who kept the city for the queen and prince Edward, had their thanks.

[2] Andrew Aubrey. In a quarrel between the Fishmongers and Skinners, during his mayoralty, this mayor was assaulted and struck, for which two persons were beheaded by his orders in Cheapside.

[3] He made a bye-law against usury, then termed "*schefes.*" In 1390, it was one of the subjects of petition of the citizens to Richard II. that "the order made by John Notte, late mayor, might be executed throughout the realm."

[4] Farringdon ward was divided into *two* (*within* and *without*) during Hadley's mayoralty.

Date.	*Name.*	*Residence.*	*Buried.*
1434	Sir Roger Otteley.[1]		
1438 1448	Sir Stephen Brown.		
1443	Thomas Catworth.		
1450	Nicholas Wyfold.		
1455	Sir William Marowe.[2]	Bishopsgate street.	St. Botolph, Bishopsgate.
1456	Sir Thomas Cannyng.		
1460	Sir Richard Lee.		
1466	Sir John Young.[3]		
1468	Sir William Taylor.		
1471	Sir William Edwards.[4]		
1484	Sir Thomas Hill.[5] John Warde.		
1504	Sir John Wyngar.		
1510	Sir Henry Keble.	St. Mary, Aldermary church-yard.	St. Mary, Aldermary Church.
1515	Sir William Butler		
1516	Sir John Rest.		
1531	Sir Nicholas Lambert.		
1544	Sir William Laxton.		St. Anthony's Church, Threadneedle street.
1554	Sir John Lyon.		
1562	Sir Thomas Lodge.		
1563	Sir John White.[6]		
1573	Sir John Rivers.		
1577	Sir Thomas Ramsey.		
1589	Sir John Hart.		
1598	Sir Stephen Soane.	Little Thorlow, Suffolk.	Little Thorlow, Suffolk.
1608	Sir Humphrey Weld.	Weld (Wild) street, Linc.-inn fields.	
1613	Sir Thomas Middleton.		
1617	Sir John Bolles.		
1622	Sir Peter Proby.		

[1] A great frost of fourteen weeks' duration occurred in Sir Roger Otteley's mayoralty.

[2] He bequeathed 215*l.* to the Grocers' Company, to have masses said for his father, mother, and two wives, in Bishopsgate church, for thirty years.

[3] Sir John Young was knighted in the field, with Sir John Crosby and others, for repulsing the bastard Falconbridge, in his attack upon the City.

[4] The water conduit in Aldermanbury, and the Standard in Fleet street, were finished in his mayoralty.

[5] This was the year of the sweating sickness in London. There were three lord mayors and three sheriffs this year, and two of each died of the disease: Warde, who succeeded as mayor, was the survivor.

[6] There was a great plague in London during the mayoralty of Sir John White.

Date.	*Name.*	*Residence.*	*Buried.*
1641	Sir Edmund Wright.[1]		
1648	Sir John Warner.		
1650	Sir Thomas Foote.		
1652	John Kendricke.		
1660	Sir Thomas Alleyne.		
1662	Sir John Frederick.[2]	Frederick's place, Old Jewry.	
1673	Sir Robert Hanson.		
1674	Sir William Hooker.		
1679	Sir James Edwards.		
1682	Sir John Moore.		St. Dunstan's, East, Thames street.
1684	Sir Henry Tulse.[3]		
1693	Sir John Fleete.		
1696	Sir John Houblon.	Threadneedle street, (on the site of the Bank.)	St. Christopher's, Bank.
1710	Sir Samuel Garrard.[4]		
1729	Sir Robert Baylis.		
1730	Sir Richard Brocas.		
1731	Sir Humphrey Parsons.		
1738	Sir John Barnard.		
1748	Sir Robert Ladbrok.[5]	Lombard street.	
1757	Marsh Dickenson.		

NOBILITY SPRUNG FROM GROCERS.

Sir Alan de la Zouch, citizen and pepperer, and lord mayor in 1267-8, was the son of Baron de la Zouch, mayor in 1229; and, though not mentioned as the ancestor of any nobility descended from his stock, attained himself high honours under Henry III., who constituted him warden of all the king's forests south of Trent, and a justice itinerant for the counties of Southampton, Bucks, and Northampton.

[1] Sir Edward Wright was constituted mayor in place of Sir William Acton, who had been previously elected, but was discharged by the House of Commons.

[2] Sir John Frederick. See note, relative to his translation from the Barber-surgeons to the Grocers, (Hist. Essay, p. 37.)

[3] Strype lauds this mayor for refusing a fee of 1000 guineas to procure an applicant the lease of the City's duties of scavage, package, postage, &c. (worth 400*l.* per annum,) and afterwards improving the said duties to 1200*l.* per annum, for the benefit of the corporation.

[4] It is observable that three of this name and family have been mayors in three queen's reigns, Mary, Elizabeth, and Queen Anne.

[5] The dreadful fire at Change-alley, Cornhill, broke out during his mayoralty, (causing a loss of 100 houses, and 200,000*l.* worth of property;) and Maitland compliments Sir Robert's effective exertions in arresting its progress. The historian considers this to have been the greatest City conflagration since 1666.

Sir Thomas Knolles, grocer, and mayor in 1399 and 1400, was ancestor of Lord Knolles, (1603,) who was created first Viscount Wallingford and Earl of Banbury, 1626.

Sir Thomas Chichele, a warden of the Grocers' company, though not giving birth to any of noble blood, was as highly distinguished by his relationship to Archbishop Chichele.

Sir Peter Proby, grocer, and mayor in 1622, gave rise to the Barons Carysfoot.

EMINENT MEMBERS.

The "New View of London" states the Grocers' Company to have been dignified by having "five kings, several princes, eight dukes, three earls, and also twenty lords of it:" of these five kings we have only been able to ascertain the names of two, viz. Charles II., master of the company in 1660; and William III., who accepted the like office in 1689. Among the princes and nobility, the most distinguished during the later periods of the Grocers' history was the Duke of York, afterwards James II., George Monk Duke of Albemarle; Heneage Finch, first Earl of Nottingham; George Earl of Berkeley, (ob. 1688;) John Sheffield Duke of Buckingham, (master whilst Earl of Mulgrave, in 1684;) Charles Earl of Dorset and Middlesex, (master in 1691.) To whom are to be added, the celebrated Sir Philip Sidney, and other eminent characters, who, though not of the nobility, were much more distinguished. In the wardens' list of their honorary members they inscribe (of nobility) the names of the truly great William Pitt Earl of Chatham; Charles Pratt, first Earl Camden, (presented with the freedom in 1660;) the late Prince of Brunswick Lunenburg; his Royal Highness Edward Duke of York, brother to George III.; his Royal Highness the late Duke of Gloucester; the Earl of Liverpool, (presented with the freedom in 1814;) the late Earl of Londonderry, (presented with the freedom at the same time with the above;) Lord Goderich, and Lord Chief Justice Tenterden; Charles Marquis of Cornwallis, (elected 1792:) and of lesser rank, the Honorable Thomas Coventry, brother to William, fifth Earl of Coventry, (master in 1740;) the Right Honorable Arthur Onslow, Speaker of the House of Commons, (presented with the freedom in 1761;) the Right Honorable Bilson Legge, fourth son of William, the first Earl of Dartmouth, (presented with the freedom in 1767;) Sir John Philips, bart. (ob. 1764;) George Cooke, esq. M.P. for Middlesex, (1761;) the late Right Hon. William Pitt; Major-general Sir William

Meadows, K.B., (1792;) the Hon. William Knox, D.D., Bishop of Derry; the late Right Hon. George Canning, and the Right Hon. Lieut.-gen. Sir George Murray, K.B. (1829.)

HONOURABLE AND CHARITABLE ACTS OF GROCERS.

Sir John Philpot, (1378,) fitted out a fleet at his own expense to repress the piracies of a freebooter named John Mercer, a Scot, who was in consequence taken, with 15 Spanish ships, which he commanded, and all their rich plunder. He afterwards conveyed an English army into Britanny, with ships of his own hiring, and released more than 1000 victualling-ships of the enemy. Fuller, for this, and other patriotic acts, styles him, whilst living, "the scourge of the Scots, the fright of the French, the delight of the Commons, the darling of the merchants, and the hatred of some envious lords, but who was at his death lamented, and afterwards beloved of all, when his memory was restored to its due esteem." He was born in Kent, and lord mayor as just described.

John Churchman, sheriff in 1385, was the founder of the Custom House, as already mentioned, and first procured for the Grocers' Company the custody of the king's beam.

Sir Thomas Knolles, (mayor in 1399 and 1410,) re-edified at his own cost the church of St. Antholin's, Watling-street, and was a benefactor to the poor of the Grocers' Company.

Sir Robert Chichele, (mayor in 1411-12,) contributed largely towards rebuilding Romford chapel (by Hornchurch.) In 1428, he gave the ground (208½ feet long by 66 broad,) for building the church, and making the cemetery of St. Stephen, Walbrook, and bore afterwards the chief charges of the building. His descendant, Sir Thomas Chichele, (also a grocer, and mayor in the reign of Charles II.) was the principal contributor to the rebuilding of the same church after the fire of London.

Sir William Sevenoke was the well-known founder of the college and school of Sevenoke, Kent, where tradition states him to have been found a deserted infant, and, in gratitude for the fostering care he received, (which eventually raised him to great wealth, and the honour of the mayoralty,) to have established that noble charity.

Sir John de Welles, (mayor in 1431,) built the "Standard in Chepe;" greatly contributed towards the building of the Guildhall chapel, and entirely erected at his own expense the south aisle of

the choir of St. Antholin's (Watling-street) church. He also left a sum of money to substantially repair the then "miry way (now the Strand) leading from London to Westminster."

Sir Stephen Browne, (mayor, 1438.) His liberal conduct, in importing corn from Dantzic during one of the great metropolitan dearths, has been stated at p. 132, (Hist. Essay.)

Sir John Crosby, (grocer, and sheriff in 1483.) It is enough to mention "Crosby-house, Bishopsgate-street," as a proof of his great wealth and consequence. Sir John was a warden, and one of the great benefactors to the Grocers' Company. He gave 500 marks towards the repair of his parish-church of St. Helen; and towards the repair of Hanworth church, Middlesex, also of Bishopsgate, London Wall, London and Rochester bridges, different large sums. His bequests and donations at his death partook of the same noble character. His beautiful altar-tomb, with alabaster effigies of himself and wife, still exist in St. Helen's church, Bishopsgate-street, at a small distance from the remains of his noble mansion of Crosby-house.

Sir Henry Keble, (mayor, 1510,) was six times master of the Grocers' Company, and gave 1000*l.* towards rebuilding his parish-church of St. Antholin's, Budge-row, (Watling-street.) His bequests to his company will be found under the head "Trust-Estates and Charities.")

Sir William Laxton, (mayor in 1544.) He was founder of that noble charity, Oundle school, in Northamptonshire. (For which see as above.)

Lawrence Shireff, a member of the Grocers' Company, and warden in 1566, was founder of the celebrated Rugby Free Grammar School, one of the noblest and best endowed institutions of the kind in England.

Sir John Cutler, several times master-warden of the Grocers' Company, and one of their best benefactors, having rebuilt much of their hall at his own cost, was the founder of a Mechanic Lecture at Gresham College, with a salary of 50*l.* a year, which was settled on Mr. Hooke, geometry professor there. He rebuilt the north gallery of St. Margaret's church, Westminster, for the benefit of the poor, was a benefactor to the College of Physicians, and left many munificent legacies and gifts at his death.

DRESS AND OBSERVANCES.*

"London Triumphs, or the Account of the Grocers' Pageants at the Inauguration of Sir John Frederick, 1661," gives the following as the dressed procession of this company:

1. The master, warden, and assistants, in their gowns fac'd with foyns, with their hoods.
2. The livery, in their gowns fac'd with budge, and their hoods.

* There have been no less than *eleven* of the Grocers' pageants printed, viz.

1613. Sir Thomas Middleton.	The Triumphs of Truth; a solemnity unparralled for cost, art and magnificence, at the confirmation and establishment of that worthy and true nobly-minded gentleman, Sir Thomas Middleton, Knight, in the honourable office of his Maiestie's Lieutenant, the Lord Mayor of the thrice famous Citty of London; taking beginning at his lordship's going, and proceeding after his returne from receiving the Oath of Maioralty at Westminster, on the morrow next after *Simon* and *Judes* day, October 29, 1613. All the Shows, Pageants, Chariots, Morning, Noon, and Night Triumphs, directed, written, and redeemed into forme from the ignorance of some former times, and their common writer. By Thomas Middleton. London: printed by *Nicholas Okes*, dwelling at the signe of the Hand, near Holbourne Bridge. 1613.	City Library.
1617. Sir George Bolles.	The Triumphs of Honour and Industry; a solemnity performed through the City at the confirmation and establishment of the Right Honorable George Bolles in the office of his Majestys Lieutenant, the Lord Mayor of the famous City of London; taking beginning at his lordship's going, and proceeding after his returne from receiving the Oath of Mayoralty at Westminster, on the morrow next after Simon and Jude's day, October 29. *London, printed by Nicholas Okes.* 1617. 4to.	Purchased, with others, at the sale of the Garrick Collection, 1823.
1659. Sir Thomas Alleyn.	London Triumphs; celebrated October 29, 1659, in honour of the much-honoured Thomas Allen, Lord Mayor of the said City; presented and personated by an European, an Egyptian, and a Persian, and done at the cost and charges of the ever-to-be-honoured Company of Grocers. By J. Tatham. 4to.	Unknown.

In the British Museum is to be found "The Citie's New Poet's Mock Show, 1659." This is in one folio page on a broadside, and is to be found in the fifteenth volume of the collection (in 24 vols.) of that description of publication which was presented to the National Library by King George the Third. It is a ballad of one hundred and forty-four lines, in triplets, and ridiculing the last Lord Mayor's Show. It is signed M. T. (probably Matthew Taubman, afterwards City Poet.) In the "Rosary of Rarities in a Garden of Poetry," by Thomas Jordan, (afterwards City Poet,) 8vo. no date, but printed about 1662, is "A Comical Entertainment made for Sir Thomas Allen, Lord Mayor, and the Aldermen, in 1659."—*Nichols' Pageants.*

3. The batchellours, part thereof in gowns fac'd with budge, and both of them with damask hoods.

4. Fifty gentlemen ushers, in plush coats, each of them a gold chain about his shoulder, and a white staff in his hand.

1662. Sir John Frederick. — London's Triumphs; presented in several delightful scenes, both on the *water* and *land*, and celebrated in honour to the deservedly honored Sir John Frederick, Knight and Baronet, Lord Mayor of the City of London, at the costs and charges of the worshipful Company of Grocers. John Tatham: (arms of the Grocers' Company.) London: printed by Thomas Mabb, living on *Pauls Wharf*, next doore to the signe of the Ship. 1661. 4to. pp. 28. — City of London Library and British Museum.

Evelyn, (the author of Sylva,) was a spectator of this "Water Triumph, being the first solemnity of this nature after twenty yeares," (since 1641.) The procession was witnessed in Cheapside by the king. His majesty had condescended to become one of the Grocers' company, (as already mentioned,) being the *first* monarch, W. Tatham says, who had "ever set such an estimation upon them."

1672. Sir Robert Hanson. — London Triumphant, or the City in Jollity and Splendour; expressed in various pageants, shapes, scenes, speeches, and songs, invented and performed for congratulation and delight of the well-deserving governor Sir Robert Hanson, Knight, Lord Mayor of the City of London, at the cost and charges of the worshipful Company of Grocers, his Majesty gracing the triumph with his royal presence. Written by Tho. Jordan: (three wood-cuts, viz. Grocers' arms, City arms, Grocers' arms.) London: printed by W. G. for Nath. Brook and John Playford. 1672.

1673-4. Sir William Hooker. — London in its Splendour; consisting of Triumphing Pageants, whereon are represented many persons richly arrayed, properly habited, and significant to the design; with several speeches, and a song suitable to the solemnity: all prepared for the honour of the prudent magistrate, Sir William Hooker, Knight, Lord Mayor of the City of London, at the peculiar expences of the worshipful Company of Grocers. As also a description of his Majesty's Royal Entertainment at Guildhall by the city in a plentiful Feast and a glorious Banquet. Written by Thomas Jordan. 4to. — At the Bodleian Library, Oxford.

1678-9. Sir James Edwards — The Triumphs of London; performed on Tuesday, October xxix. 1678, for the entertainment of the right honorable and truly noble pattern of prudence and loyalty Sir James Edwards, Knight, Lord Mayor of the City of London; containing a true description of the several Pageants, with the speeches spoken on each Pageant, together with songs sung on this solemnity; all set forth at the proper costs and charges of the worshipful Company of Grocers. Designed and composed by Thomas Jordan, Gent.

Quando magis licuit spectaro Triumphos?

London: printed for John Playford, at the Temple Church. 1678. — At the Bodleian Library and British Museum.

5. Twelve other gentlemen for carrying banners and colours, nine of them in plush coats, each of them a crimson scarf about his shoulders. The banners borne by them consisted of, viz. King Charles II., the Duke of York, and Monk Duke of Albemarle, all at this time members; St. George's, the Lord Mayor's, Sir John Frederick's, Sir Thomas Foote's, Sir Thomas Allen's, Sir William Wilde's, recorder, the City's, the Grocers', and four others. The "set out," or order of marshalling the procession, is given as follows:

Foot marshal,
with a crimson scarf about his shoulders, followed by his
six attendants,
without scarfs.

1600-1. Sir John Moore.	London's Joy, or the Lord Mayor's Show, triumphantly exhibited in various representations, scenes, and splendid ornaments, with diverse pertinent figures and movements, performed on Saturday, October xxix. 1682, at the inauguration of the Right Honorable Sir John Moore, Knight, Lord Mayor of the City of London; with the several speeches and songs which were spoken on the Pageant in Cheapside, and sung in Guildhall during dinner: all the charges and expenses of the industrious designs being the sole undertaking of the worshipful Company of Grocers. Designed and composed by Thomas Jordan, Gent. Omne tulit puretum qui miscuit utile dulci. *London: printed for John and Henry Playford*, 1681. 4to. pp. 16.	
1683-4. Sir Henry Tulse.	The Triumphs of London; performed on Monday, October xxix, 1683, for the entertainment of the right honorable and truly noble pattern of prudence and loyalty Sir Henry Tulse, Knight, Lord Mayor of the City of London; containing a description of the whole solemnity, with two new songs set to music, (Grocers' arms, City arms, Grocers' arms.) London: printed for *John* and *Henry Playford*. 1683.	City of London Library.
1691-2. Sir John Fleet.	The Triumphs of London; performed on Saturday, October 29, 1692, for the entertainment of the Right Honourable Sir John Fleet, Knight, Lord Mayor of the City of London; containing a true description of the several pageants, with the speeches spoken on each pageant; all set forth at the proper costs and charges of the worshipful Company of Grocers: together with an exact relation of the most splendid entertainment prepared for the reception of their sacred Majesties. By E. S. Published by authority. London: printed by *James Orme*; and are to be sold by *Randal Taylor*, near *Stationers' Hall*. 1692.	In the Bodleian Library.
1695-6. Sir John Houblon.	The Triumphs of London; performed on Tuesday, October 29, 1695, for the entertainment of the Right Honourable Sir John Houblon, Knight, Lord Mayor of the City of London; containing a true description of the several Pageants, with the speeches spoken on each Pageant: all prepared at the costs and charges of the worshipful Company of Grocers. To which is added, a new song on his Majesty's return. By Elkanah Settle. 4to.	A copy sold at Mr. Bindley's sale, 1819.

Master of defence,
with a crimson scarf about his shoulders.
Ten attendants
without scarfs.
The Company's ensigns.
Four drums and a fife.
Ninety poor pensioners,
in red gowns, flat caps, and white sleeves, each a javelin in one hand, a target of arms in the other.
Six drums and a fife.
Forty-five pensioners or porters,
in red coats and coped caps,
carrying banners, standards, and streamers.
Six trumpets.
The Griffin and Camel
(being the Company's crest and supporters.)
Six gentlemen ushers,
in plush coats, with gold chains, and each a white staff.
The budge batchellors,
in gowns faced with budge and damask hoods, &c.
Six trumpets.
Two gentlemen banner-bearers,
in plush coats, with crimson shoulder-scarfs, bearing
the City's and Recorder's (Sir William Wilde) arms.
Eight gentlemen ushers, as before.
The foynes batchellors,
in gowns faced with foynes and damask hoods.
The king's drum major,
with a crimson scarf about his waist, and bearing his staff.
Fourteen of the king's drums and fifes,
with banners.
Two gentlemen ushers, as before,
with banners of Sir Thomas Foote's, and Sir Thomas Allen's arms.
Two gentlemen ushers, as before.
The livery,
in their gowns faced with budge, and their hoods.
Eight trumpets,
of the Duke of York and Duke of Albermarle.
Two gentlemen ushers, as before,
with the Lord Mayor's and duke of Albermarle's banners.
Twelve gentlemen ushers, as before.
The court of assistants,
in gowns faced with foynes and their hoods.
Serjeant trumpet,
in a shoulder-scarf of the Lord Mayor's colours and crimson mixed.
Sixteen trumpets and kettle-drums.
Three gentlemen ushers,
with the King's, Duke of York's, and St. George's banners.

Fourteen gentlemen ushers.
Four pages,
(in plush coats,)
bearing truncheons and targets, with the arms of the master and wardens.
The master and wardens,
in their gowns faced with foynes, with their hoods.*

The "Device," by Tatham, presented, amongst other pageants, "the Temple of Janus, flank'd by two griffins, and on those griffins sat two persons, each bearing a banner in one hand, in the other a shield; opposite Bow church his lordship was entertained with "a scean of drollery," in which were *Americians*," (Americans,) "some of them pruning, others gathering, others planting several sorts of *grocery;* others disporting and throwing their fruit about, to show the abundance or profit of labour; others making music (after their labour) on the *tongs and other antique instruments.*"

Of this Island, or Grocers' Trade pageant, mentioned in Middleton's procession, we learn additional particulars, as well as of other of their pageants, at the installation as mayor of Sir George Bolles, grocer, 1617.

On that occasion there was collected from the company for their share of the pageant 884*l.* 12*s.* 6*d.*

The paraphernalia of the show were got up by Thomas Middleton, poet, and a relation to the previous lord mayor Middleton, who received "For the ordering, overseeing, and writyng of the whole *devyse*, for the making of the "*Pageant of Nations*," the *Island*, the *Indian Chariot*, the *Castle of Fame*, trymming the *Shipp*, with all the severall beastes which drew them; and for all the carpenter's work, paynting, guylding, and garnyshing of them, with all other things necessary for the apparelling and finding of all the personages in the said showe, and for all the porterage and

* The following notice shows some variation in the livery of the company from the above. 1562: At the inauguration of Sir Thomas Lodge, it was ordered that the batchelors have foins and budge in their gowns, and not to have any guards of velvet, but only welts, nor to use any unreasonable ruffs in their shirts, but only black and white; their doublets to be of black satin, and their coats or jackets of satin or damask, and of no other colour; and the "wardeyns to weare russet satten in their doubletts. The wardeyns of the grocers, and the wardeyns of the batchellors to cess, (assess) both the livery of the batchellors, and all the companie of the yeomanry, for the furniture of the poor mens gownes, the pageant the first, and other great charges that must be done when my lord mayor elect shall go to Westminster, as to them shall be thought meet."

carryage, both by land and by water; for paynting a banner of the lord mayor's armes; and also in full for the *green-men, dyvells*, and fyer works, with all charges thereunto belonginge, according to his agreement, the some of 282*l.* 6*s.*"

The nature of these pageants is not explained, but the island was evidently of the kind already mentioned, abounding in fruits, spice, and other groceries, and the others strictly in character, as we find amongst the expenses 5*l.* 7*s.* 8*d.* for "50 sugar-loaves, 36lbs. of nutmeggs, 24lb. of dates, and 14lb. of ginger, which were throwen about the streetes by those which sate on the *gryffins* and *camels*." The "shipp" or foist, and its expense, has been mentioned.

Twenty-eight almsmen wore azure-coloured gowns, with sleves of crimson mechados, and which latter material was used to face the beadles, streamers, and banner-bearers' coats. The beadles of the four royal hospitals wore blue coats with long caps and ribbons.

Sixteen poor men bore banners and streamers.

A fee of 12*s.* was paid to Mr. Harman, the Guildhall-keeper, for hanging the Guildhall with "Mercers' hangings;" and, amongst other expenses incurred, are the costs for 24 dozen of white staves for the whifflers, the marshals and their men, a payment for the porters "which *carried the pageant*," and also payments for 124 javelins, which were hired for the javelin-men.

The ancient banner was new gilt and the staff coloured.

Eight drums and four fifes, including their attendance, and for furnishing themselves with black hats, white doublets, black hose, and white stockings, and scarfs of the company's colours, 12*l.* 11*s.*

The company printed 500 books of their pageant, which were published by Nicholas Oaks, stationer. Blackwell-hall was hired for the children in the pageant who were dined there, and the porters of the hall were paid for watching the pageant and shows whilst they were at dinner.

The city marshal and his men attended, and were paid.

The custom as to feasting at these and other festivals was to elect two or three individuals from the company as stewards, who had a number of assistants appointed:—at the feast of the lord mayor, 1562, (who was a grocer,) twelve of the livery were appointed to be waiters at the feast, whereof "three were to welcome guests, and two to stand at the dressers and see meat served in, two to receive in victuals, two to provide plate for the same feast, two to see the company served, and one to see the hall garnished, and the tables set in order."

CHANTRIES.

	£	s.	d.
Sancti Anthonij—Cantaria in ecc'lia paroch.' pred'ca ex fundacone artis le grocers, per annu' clare valet	vii	—	—
x^{a} inde	—	xiiij	—

The furniture of the altar of the above chantry, and the engagement of a chantry-priest, it has been seen, were principal objects with the grocers at their first foundation. The priest's wages, originally fixed at 4*l.* 15*s.* 4*d.* a year, was increased subsequently, and with the expenses of worship are regularly entered in the wardens' accounts. The annual payment in 1401 to the priest "p^{or} payn, vyn and chaundell, p^{or} chaunter messe," was 2*s.*

The plate and vestments, as early as 1346, consisted of "a chalice with the cover, made of silver, which weighed 12 ounces goldsmiths' weight, and an holy vestment for the priest, an alb, manuple, stole, and chesible, a corpus, and a little missal. These in 1349 were increased by "a chalyce, weighing 15 ounces troye w^{t} and a gode missale which costen 3*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*" The list, including this and other articles delivered by the wardens in 1398 to "the priest," will be seen below.* Their second chantry, in St. Stephen's, Walbrook, is similarly described and rated in the Valor Ecclesiasticus. The company finally got rid of their church ornaments, and with them of all traces of the Catholic religion, in 1563, by ordering "sale to be made of all the vestyments, copes, albes, and other ornaments belonginge to churche stuffe, now remaininge in this house (hall) for the most commoditie."

HALL AND BUILDINGS.

The Grocers' fraternity met at five several places previously to building a hall. The first was the town mansion of the abbot of Bury, in St. Mary Axe, now Bevis Marks. Here they held their

* *Furniture and Ornaments belonging to the Altar of the Grocers, in Saint Anthony's Church.*

1349. A chalyce weighe 15 ownces troie; w^{th} a gode myssale which costen 3*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*, given by Sir Symon de Wy, parson of Barnes.

1398. One missale; 1 gr^{t} portarie; 1 chalyce sylver gylte; 1 other sylver chalyce, parcell gylte; 1 p^{r} of viales of sylver; 1 p^{r} ditto of tinne (stannoo) 1 latyn candelstyke; 2 large chests with 4 boltes of yron, 1 rydolle of red bawdkyn, with crosses to hang before y^{e} altare; 1 crucyfix and 2 images; 1 vestyment with a corpus of redele bawdkyn for a preste; 1 vestyment of white for a preste, 2 whyte curtens for y^{e} chappel, 1 long whyte curten, with crosses for the same; 2 old presteses vestyments, 2 altare towelles, 2 surplices.

The above are enumerated as being delivered to the priest, Sir John Whytaby, by the wardens, Robert Pap and Henry Halton.—*Account of Grocers' Company.*

meetings in 1345, 1346. In 1347 they met at "the abbot's place of St. Edmund." In 1348 they met at "the house of one Fulgham, called the Ryngdehall," near Garlick-hythe, where, and at the hotel of the abbot of St. Cross, they continued till 1383. They then took up their temporary residence in Bucklersbury, at a place called the Cornet's Tower, which had been used by Edward III. at the beginning of his reign, as his exchange of money and exchequer.

In 1411 they purchased of the lord Fitzwalter the chapel of the Fratres du Sac, in the Old Jewry, which had originally been a Jewish synagogue; and having some years afterwards made further purchase of that nobleman's town mansion, which adjoined the said chapel, raised money for building their hall on its present site. The 8th of May, 1427, say their records, "was the furste stoon leyd of the Grocers' place in Conyhoope lane, in the warde of Chepe, there being present our worshipful Alderman Thomas Knolles, William Cambridge, John de Wellys, Rogere Oteley, and many others; and fro' the seide viij. day of May to the v. day of Juyn next following was maade the foundement of the west gablyhende of the hall." The cost of doing this, with the ground, amounted to 290*l.* 15*s.* 3*d.*, which, as well as the money for continuing the building, was raised by a subscription of sixty-three persons named. The work must have proceeded most rapidly, for June 5, the next year, (1428,) an entry states, "alle the foundement of the hall" to have been "fully made, except the foundement of the west gabill ende, alle the dores in the halle fully maad, set up and iclosed, the walle atte seid west gabilhende maade x. fote in heyghte above the watir table." The gable end wall was also raised, and the wall north of the parlour carried to its full length, "with the dore into the parlore and ij. wyndowes into the *chapele;* also the foundement of the boterye and pantrye was take and maad;" and the same year "was beginne and full maade the foundement of the parlore and chamber, with the vawte, chemeneys, and previes, and the seide parlore and the tresance lattised, glazed, selyd, with other necessaries as it aperith." The entire completion of this work was celebrated by a dinner, February 5, 1428, which cost 5*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*, and is said to have been "the fyrste dynner imade in the parlore to our aldermen and other many worthe men of the fellishipp."

From the above entry we find the old Grocers' Hall to have retained the friary "*chapele*," and to have possessed as subordinate buildings, a buttery, pantry, vault or cellar, parlour and chamber. In addition to these, after accounts mention a kitchen,

tower or turret, a clerk's residence and offices, a garden, and a set of *almshouses in the front yard*, for the company's almsmen and women.

Many of the items of expense of completing these buildings afford curious illustrations of the great difference between the prices of ancient and modern times.

"For chalk, stoon, and cartage, lyme, and sand, and loom," the cost was only 41*l.* 2*s.* 7½*d.* The other materials consisted of "tymber with the coste and cariage," 48*l.* 5*s.* 6*d.*; and "unwroughte Stapylton stone, reidy hewe for the same for wyndowes, wyndow jambes, and sills, Crestable mesth in stoon, hewn for the sowth side of the halle, ashler, coyne, skew ragge, chalke, flintyles and estriche boarde," 32*l.* 2*s.* 11*d.* The "mason's weages, with maistre mason's rewarde," was 5*l.* 9*s.* 2*d.* "Carpenter's weages, with the maistre carpenter's rewarde," 59*l.* 8*s.* 4½*d.* *The price* of "makyng of the celour, the batements, and kervyng of the keyys in the parlore and treasure withouten, and in the baye wyndowe of the chambre, with werie boards and lattices in the seyde parlore and chambre," was 10*l.* 8*s.* 8*d.* The "*dawbers*" or white-washers did all their work for 2*l.* 18*s.* 3*d.*

Though so far finished as to be habitable, the hall and its appendages, it appears, were little more than shells at this period; for it was not till 1594 that the wardens were ordered "to confere with a joynere of abilitie and skilfull workmen how the hall might be wainscotted, upon the view and sight of convenient patterns." The business was afterwards done by a Mr. Stickells, who "was to oversee the worke at the weages of 20*d.* a daie, his two chiefe workmen 18*d.*, and the rest 16*d.* a daie, and two boys 8*d.* a daie."

In 1607 it was recorded that "the offere of Sir Stephen Soame to new ceil the hall, though it should cost him 500*l.*, is thankfullie and lovynglie accepted by the courte and companie," and 20*l.* was ordered to be contributed towards it by the wardens. The great parlour was not boarded till 1631, before which the floor had been strewed with rushes, according to the old English fashion, already noticed. On the second of September in that year, the court, "takyng into consideracyon the inconveniencie and noysomeness of the rushes in the parlore, especially in the summer time, and alsoe how subject they were to the great danger of fyre in the wyntere," had the same boarded, and furnished with three dozen of chairs, "beinge of the best Raushe (Russia) leathere."

Its furniture, at the above early dates, was of the same rude character which has been described, the tables being merely boards on stands; for an entry of January 1583 states (and it

shews the simplicity of the times), that "the two long tables in the parlour, with the tressels and tablecloth belonging to them, were lent to the *chancellor*, at his request, for the celebration of the marriage of his daughter." This tablecloth it is probable was the same mentioned in an entry of 1575, when the court, "beinge put in remembrance by the wardens of the lacke of napery that is in this house," directed the wardens to provide "one tablecloth of damaske, and two tablecloths of diapere, together with napekins, as they should thinke needefull." In point of plate the company made ample amends for other deficiencies, as will be seen in the list below. It must have been most splendid and valuable.*

The company's *armoury* is not mentioned before 1558, when their records state "that 12*d.* a day shall be allowed to John Edwin, the armourer, for every daie's worke which he shall doe in byrnyshing and dressing of alle the harnesse then remaining in the house, over and above the 13*s.* 4*d.*, his yearly salary."

The *garden* is mentioned at the first building of the hall in 1427, when sums amounting to nearly 12*l.* are stated to have been laid out on it. They prove, with other evidence, that it must have been an extremely pleasant retreat, considering its situation in the heart of the town, for we also learn that it had vines spreading up before the parlour-windows, and in other parts was defended by "new rayling." It had also an arbour; and in 1433, (on purchasing for 31*l.* 17*s.* 8*d.* "the remaynder of the voide grounde sumtyme the lord Fitzwalter's halle,") this rural appendage was so far enlarged as ultimately to become a place of recreation for the neighbouring inhabitants, as well as the citizens generally; several petitions from whom to the company, for this liberty, are recorded. It is described as containing "alleys, hedge-rows, and a bowling alley, with an antient tower of stone and brick at the

* It consisted, exclusively of what is mentioned in p. 89, Hist. Essay, and afterwards much accumulated, of ij. galon pottis chared and half gylte, weyen xvj. marks and iij. ounces of troye weyghte, the gift of *Thomas Huskins*, grocer, in 1465; (same date,) ij. basens and ij. ewers of sylver parcell gylte, with foldis in the printis, and the basens weyinge viij. lbs. of troye weight safe half an ounce, and the ewers weyinge xliij. ownces, whiche *Nicholas Wyford*, grocer and alderman, gaff unto this fraternite; a houdynge cappe, cover of sylver, p'cell gilte, weyinge of troye weyght xxxj. ownces, and iij. grs. of an ownce, which *Robert Garstang*, grocer, gaff unto this fraternite; a stondynge cuppe, cover of sylver, and alle gilte, pownsed, weyinge of troye weyght xxxj. ownces and a half, which *Margeri Burton*, late wedow, and a *sister of this felliship*, gaff unto this fraternite." There were, besides the above, four other large standing cups and covers, the gifts of different persons, all of them of great weight, and two "chased and alle gilte," together with "two nutts, garnyshed with sylver gylte," six goblets, weighing 116 ounces, a silver salt, of nine ounces, &c.—*Acc. of Grocers' Company*, p. 324.

north-west corner," called *the turret;* which, if part of the lord Fitzwalter's mansion, as is probable, must have been nearly one of the oldest buildings within the city walls. The garden remained unchanged till the construction of a new hall, in 1798, when it was contracted by the increased size of the buildings; and was again nearly severed in half, in 1802, for enlarging Prince's-street. For this latter slice, just mentioned to have cost the grocers 31*l.* 17*s.* 8*d.* in 1433, the company is stated to have received for it from the Bank of England *more than* 20,000*l.*, a most astonishing instance of the immense rise in the value of property on this spot!

Frequent entries occur of the letting of Grocers' Hall for festivals and other purposes, which embody interesting portions of its history, as well as acquaint us with the style of its ancient fittings-up and furniture:

In 1564, "Mr. Mallorie, sonne to the lord mayor, and others, praied the wardens to have the use of common hall, parlore, and kitchen of Grocers' Hall, on Friday, 9 Febuarye, to make a supper to divers gentlemen of Gray's Inne, for the great amitie between them and the Middle Temple gentlemen;" which was agreed to, the same not to be taken as a precedent. In the course of time abuses appear to have arisen in this system of letting, for, A.D. 1610, it was ordered "that for the future the company's hall shall not be let or made use of by strangers for burials, county feasts, and the like, without leave of the wardens." And in 1678, the company's officers making complaint that they were excluded, on the hall being let to strangers "for dinners, funerals, county feasts, or weddings," it was forbid to be let unless *they* were employed.

The chief use* made of Grocers' Hall, was before and during the

* The "*Continuation of the True Diurnall of Passages in Parliament,*" for January, 1716, says, "All the votes at the committee in *Grocers' Hall,* which were after voted in the house, were drawn into several declarations at Grocers' Hall. Those that concerned the House of Commons alone were voted, and ordered to be printed; those that concerned the Lords and Commons, as the providing a guard for the parliament; and that, for declaring those enemies to the Commonwealth that have endeavoured or advised aught that should put a dissention betwixt the king and parliament, if they come not in and yield themselves; there are sent unto the lords to joyne; and so to be printed by order of both houses."

At the same date it announces "that the Parliamentary committee is to meet at *Grocers' Hall,* at 8 o'clock the next morning, "to treat of the *safety* of the kingdomes of England and Ireland," (from whence their summons issued,) "and to give them a large power. And that the Irish committee shall sit there also if the lords think fit. To which the lords agreed, and made the same adjournment and committee." The next day, (18th January,) "the house of peers and the commons house met in a committee at Grocers' Hall," in further prosecution of this business. The same committee sat there again on the Monday and Saturday following, with the like intent; on Friday, Jan. 21, again; and on Saturday 22, at the

Interregnum. In 1641, the "Grand Committee of Safety" removed its sittings from Guildhall here, and continued them at intervals for several years afterwards. In 1648, they were obliged to get rid of an intended intrusion of the Parliament troops, under Fairfax, by a similar petition to that of the Merchant Tailors.* The next year (1649) a grand entertainment was made by the grocers' at their hall to Cromwell and Fairfax, when the latter was presented by the company with a bason and ewer of gold, and Cromwell with three hundred pounds-worth of plate, and two hundred pieces of gold. An account of the feasting and ceremonies is given in a highly caustic and happily satirical contemporaneous tract, reprinted in Lord Somer's tracts.† They afterwards entertained Cromwell, as lord protector, in a still superior style; and finally, at the Restoration, General Monk,

same place, both houses met to treat of an intended voyage to *Argier*, (*Algiers*,) to select able ministers for settling the church government, and to allow a relaxation in the use of the common prayer.

1644, March 8, "the committee of the house of commons met at Grocers' Hall, according to a former order, and made some progress in providing of monies for the army, and to that end elected a sub-committee to make propositions to the City concerning the same."—*Perfect Diurnall.*

* See Historical Essay, p. 181.

† The Perfect Diurnall for June 7, 1649, gives a particular account also of this entertainment, and affords at the same time a good idea of the party constituting the then parliament. "This day, according to an invitation from the lord mayor and City of London, the speaker of the house of commons, with the representative members now sitting in parliament, His Excellency and the officers of the army now in town above the degree of lieutenant, the lord president and counsel of state, (after hearing two sermons at Christ's church, preached by the reverend divines, Mr. Goodwin and Dr. Owen,) went to Grocers' Hall, the place appointed for their entertainment, where a sumptuous feast was prepared for them. Mr. Speaker, the lord general, the lord president, earl of Pembroke, earl of Salisbury, lieutenant-general Cromwell, and other members of the parliament and council of state, sate at the *upper board*; the other members of the house at two tables on each side of the hall. Major-general Lambert, and some other officers of the army, sate at a table in the *middle of the hall.* The lords cheefe justices and lords cheefe baron, and other judges of both benches, dined in a spacious room *over the parlour*, and the lord mayor, aldermen, and some councillmen, at another table in the same roome. Other officers of the army, some gentlemen and attendants to Mr. Speaker, earl of Pembroke, the lords general, &c. sate in the parlour. The entertainment was very free and cheerfull. "Welcome," in capitall letters, written in a banneret upon most of the dishes, were in very greate number. No drinking of healths nor other uncivill *concomitants*, formerly of such great meetings, nor any other musick but of the drum and trumpet. A feast indeed of Christians and cheefftaines, whereas others were rather of *Chretiens* and *cormorants*. And *what* is to be remembered, the poore were not forgotten at this feast; for, besides the overplus of victualls left at dinner sent to severall prisons in London, 40li. were given and distributed amongst the poore of the severall parishes in and about London." The same paper of the next day adds, that "Sir John Woollaston, and other aldermen, and some of the common council of the said city, came to his excellency the lord general Fairfax, at his house in *Queen-street*, and in the name of the City presented him with a large and weighty bason and ewer of *beaten gold*, and sent to the general Cromwell a great present of plate, value 300li. and 200 pieces in gold."

when they expended two hundred and fifteen pounds on the feast, and enrolled him, as we have seen, a brother of the company.

The London Gazette of May 14, 1666, states the "Prize Office" to be at Grocers' Hall, and announces the sale there of 150 tuns of French wine.*

The fire of London, some of whose effects in melting their plate, and committing other ravages, have been stated, only destroyed the roof and woodwork of Grocers' Hall, for, on collecting their first subscription of 700*l.* from the members, and to which they added the produce of the melted silver, it was found "*that the walls of the old hall had resisted the fire, and were sound*, and it was determined to new roof them, and proceed with the funds in hand." The work languished, however, for many months, and would probably have been wholly suspended but for the liberality of Sir John Cutler. This gentleman, whose generous deeds prove him to have been the reverse of the miser described by Pope, rebuilt the parlour and dining-room, in 1668-9, and was gratified by "a strong vote of thanks," and the resolution of the court, "that his statue and picture should be placed in the hall, as memorials of the company's esteem and gratitude." The first meeting and festival held in the hall after the fire were on lord mayor's day this year. The hall is stated, two years afterwards, to have been granted to the parishioners of St. Mildred's as a chapel, till their own church could be rebuilt. The "turret" or tower, in the garden, it should be observed, had also escaped the fire, and with it all the company's ancient records of which it was the manuscript room. The building was fitted-up for the clerk's residence, and a meeting-place for the court. A court-room for the latter purpose is mentioned as part of the hall buildings, near the above date, when complaint being made of "the unseemliness and disturbance of taking tobacco and having drink and pipes in the court-room during courts sitting," it was agreed that thenceforward, "for the better order, decorum, and gravity to be observed, and readier dispatch and minding of debates and business of the court, and avoiding this occasion of offence and disgust," that "there should be no taking of tobacco or drinking used or permitted in the court-room during the sitting of the court, under a fine of 5*l.*;" and if any person have "a desire to refresh himself by a pipe of tobacco or cup of drink, at a convenient time or interval of serious

* "Gazette, May 14, 1666: Prize Office, May 12. At *Grocers' Hall* are to be set to sale the 17th inst. 150 tuns of French wine. The particulars will appear by a bill upon the Exchange."

business," he was "to withdraw into some retiring room more suitable and fit for the purpose."

The hall, which in 1681 is spoken of as being "in ruins," probably from its not having been suitably repaired in the first instance, was in that year renovated at an expense of 500*l.*, by Sir John Moore, a rival benefactor with Sir John Cutler, in order, it is said, that others by his example might "contribute their assistance to re-edify and augment it, so as to make it the most commodious seat for the chief magistrate of the city, or a *mansion house*, as well as with a view to other benefits;" and a model for one "such additional building as might make the hall commodious, both for ornament and use," being adopted, Sir John Frederick, and other eminent members, became also liberal contributors, and the whole was completely repaired and beautified. Moore was the first who kept his mayoralty in the new hall, and he paid the company a net rent of 200*l.* for it. It continued to be let for the same object for many years; till, in 1735 as the company's circumstances had much improved, the hall was forbid to let it thenceforward, but to a mayor attached to the company. In 1694 it was let to the Bank of England, who held their courts there till the building of the Bank, in 1734.

The company's present hall was built in 1802, but so insecurely, that in 1827 a thorough repair was obliged to be commenced; since which, the whole interior has been beautified, the statue of Sir John Cutler renovated and removed from its weather-beaten situation in the garden, and the arms put up of all the eminent and illustrious members of the company, through the intervention and exertions of the late respected master, J. B. Heath, esq.*

* The Harl. Manuscripts mention the following to have been the old arms remaining in Grocers' Hall before 1666. (S. stands for sheriff, and M. for mayor.)

"These arms following are Collers about the hall, in the Grossers' Hall, taken anno 1683. Andrew Bockerell, m. seven years, 1272. Sir John Gisors, 1241, m. 1246. Rhaphe Ashure, s. 1243, m. 1244. Laraunce Frowick, s. 1449, m. 1251. Henry Frowick, twice m.; s. 1215. Hamond Chickwell, s. 1313. John Grantham, s. 1322, m. 1329. Andrew Auberie, s. 1331, m. 1339. — Dolsbie, John Nott, John Ward, J. Philpot, N. Brembre, W. Hadley, W. Barrett, Adam Carkitt, aldermen. J. Langer, 1383. Thomas Hoo, 1383. Godfrey Greenford, 1383. William Budbey, 1383. Richard Alesbury, 1383. John Furneux, 1383. William Evesham, 1383. Richard Preston, 1383. John Churcham or Churchman, 1585. Sir W. Sandon, alderman 1386, m. 1400. Richard Venor, alderman 1389. Sir Wm. ditto, m. 1390. Sir Hugh Fastalfe, alderman 1387."

TRUST-ESTATES AND CHARITIES

WITHIN THE PATRONAGE OR SUPERINTENDANCE, AND OF THE PENSIONS, GIFTS, &c., THROUGH VARIOUS BENEFACTORS, AT THE DISPOSAL OF THE COMPANY OF GROCERS; WITH THE COMMISSIONERS' ACCOUNT OF CHARITIES FOR THEIR ENDOWMENT AND SUPPORT.

SCHOLASTIC APPOINTMENTS.

LAXTON.—The master of the free grammar school of Oundle. The usher of do.

WALWYN.—The master of the free school at Colwall, in Herefordshire.

BOX.—The master of the free grammar school of Witney, Orfordshire.

The usher of do.

LIVINGS.

KNOLLES.—The third presentation to the rectory of St. Mary le Bow, Cheapside.

MIDDLETON.—The rectory of Austell, in the county of Cornwall.

SLANEY.—The rectory of Norhill, in Bedfordshire.

The rectory and patronage of the vicarage of Bucknall, in Shropshire.

The rectory and patronage of the vicarage of Ugborough, in Devonshire.

CHURCHMAN—The rectory of St. Stephen's, Walbrook.

The alternate presentation to the rectory of St. Mildred's, Poultry.

The following is the account of the Grocers' Trust Estates and Charities, as given in Strype's Stow, from the Table furnished by the company's clerk for that work, before 1720.

"GIFTS AND CHARITIES ENTRUSTED WITH THE WORSHIPFUL COMPANY OF GROCERS, OF LONDON.

Their Free Schools, Almshouses, Exhibitions, and Advowsons.	*By whom founded or maintained.*
FREE SCHOOLS.	
One at Oundle, in Northamptonshire.	Sir William Laxton, knight.
Another at Colwall, in Herefordshire.	Mr. Humphrey Walwyn.
Another at Topcliffe, in Yorkshire.	Mr. William Robinson.
Another at Witney, in Oxfordshire.	Mr. Henry Box.
ALMSHOUSES.	
An almshouse at Oundle, in Northamptonshire.	Sir William Laxton, knight.
Another at Lullingstone, in Kent.	Sir John Peachy.
EXHIBITIONS.	
For four scholars in Jesus College, Oxon.	Mrs. Mary Robinson.
For four scholars in each university.	Mrs. Emma Bachus.
ADVOWSONS.	
One at Northill, in Bedfordshire.	These two livings were purchased by the company, pursuant to the will of the Lady Margaret Slaney, deceased.
Another at Allhallows Steyning, in Mark lane, London.	
Another advowson of St. Stephen's, Walbrook, London.	Sir Henry Keble, knight.

Benefactors' Names.	
† Sir Henry Keble.	Edmund Elmer.
† Sir William Butler.	Thomas Farmer.
† John Maldon.	Lettice Deane.
† Thomas Gore.	Richard Lambert.
† Thomas Billesden.	† Humphrey Walwyn.
† Sir William Laxton.	† Lady Anne Middleton.
† John Wardal.	Edward Jakeman
† Thomas Kolles.	Catherine Hall.
† Emme Bachus.	Roger Knott.
† Sir Thomas Middleton.	John Haydon.
	Sir Thomas Ramsey.
† William Robinson.	Peter Houghton.
† Elizabeth Barrel.	Thomas Ridge.
† Peter Blomdel.	John Grove.
† Sir John Hart.	William Pennefather.
† Lady Catharine, Viscountess Cornay.	John Dawkins.
	Robert Brooke.
† Gilbert Keate.	John Holman.
William Robinson.	Mary Robinson.
Alderman Saunders.	Richard Hall.
† Francis Tirrel.	Thomas Westraw.
† Edmund Turvill.	Robert Bowyer.
John Heydon.	John Hudson.
Robert Lambert.	Sir Robert Napper.
Nicholas Stiles.	William Pennyfather.
† Sir John Peachye.	Thomas Moulston.
Richard Hayle.	Stephen Abberley.
Thomas Wheatley.	John Mevill.
† Mary Robinson.	Thomas Gamull.
† Lady Margaret Slaney.	Constantine Wrightman.
Henry Anderson.	
John Newman.	Sir Edward Wright.
Sir John Lyon.	Thomas Freeman.

N. B. Those persons whose names have a dagger before them gave 500*l.* or more.

The sum of all the charitable donations yearly expended by this Company amounteth to 700l. or thereabout.

Drawn by MR. RAVENHILL, *Clerk of this Company.*"*

* In 1686 proceedings were had, under *a commission of charitable uses*, respecting the charities under the managemment of the Grocers' Company, which it will be expedient to notice previously to entering on the statement of their several charities.

By an *inquisition*, taken under the commission, on the 27th of August, 1686, it was found that the Grocers' Company were entitled to divers estates, therein enumerated, derived from different benefactors, and charged with various charitable uses, (which will be adverted to in the following statement;) and also to certain other estates in Eng-

SCHOOLS.

LAXTON'S—At Oundle, Northamptonshire. "For all boys of Oundle who will come thither to learn." The admission in the company, and obtained through application to the court.

Scholars are admitted as soon as they can begin the Latin accidence.

PARTICULARS.

This school was founded by Sir William Laxton, who by a codicil to his will, dated 27th July, 1556, directed it to be called "The Free School of Sir

land and Ireland, not so charged, viz. in Ireland, to the manor of Grocers, near Londonderry, to an equal share with the other eleven chief companies of London, in certain lands and tenements purchased in the name of the Vintners' Company; and to their proportion of the Royal Fishery of the kingdom of Ireland, held by the City of London; and in England, to two tenements in the parish of St. Michael, Queen-street, London, by the devise of Elizabeth Burrell; to two tenements in the parish of Shoreditch, by grant from Sir John Hart; and to a messuage in Botolph-lane, London, by the devise of John Maldon; the rents of all which estates then produced an annual sum of 879*l.* 10*s.*; and that the said company had also received divers legacies and gifts in money, amounting to 6784*l.* in trust to make thereout certain annual payments to charitable uses (therein enumerated, and which will be also detailed in the following statement;) which several charges on the estates, and the money charities, amounted to the sum of 538*l.* 17*s.* 8*d.* It was also found that there were arrears due from the said company upon divers of the said charities, to the amount of 2316*l.* 14*s.* And further, that the company had received from various benefactors, therein mentioned, divers sums of money, amounting in the whole to 4620*l.* to be lent out in different portions, on security, to poor members of the company, to set up in their trades. And it was further found, that the said estates were charged by the company, over and above the yearly charities, for security of a sum of 4500*l.* taken up by them at interest, for the purposes therein mentioned.

By *a decree of the commissioners*, founded on this inquisition, and dated 3d of September, 1686, after reciting, amongst other things, that the company having several other great debts upon them besides the arrears of the said charities, and their estate, consisting almost wholly of houses in London, having been consumed in the late dreadful fire in that city, and other accidents having befallen them, to the almost utter impoverishment of the said company, had prayed that considerable time might be given them for the satisfying of the said arrears;—it was, with the consent of the company, ordered and decreed, that all and every parcel of the said real estate of the said company, in the said inqusition mentioned, should from thenceforth for ever stand and be charged with all and singular the growing charitable uses (and other uses) in the said inquisition mentioned, and with the arrears of the said charities; and that the said company should, on or before the 29th of November then next, convey all the aforesaid estates to twelve trustees, and their heirs, therein named, who should receive the rents and profits thereof, and should pay the said yearly growing payments to the several charitable uses in the inquisition mentioned; and in case the rents, fines, or other profits of the estates, should at any time exceed the said payments, that the overplus should be applied proportionably in payment of the arrears of the said annual charities; and when such arrears should be paid off, that such overplus should be

William Laxton, knight, and alderman of London;" appointing it to be kept in a house called "The Guild or Fraternity House of Oundle," and which was to be employed as the school-house, and for an habitation of certain almsmen, (of whom a separate account will be found presently.) To maintain these establishments, the testator devised and gave all his messuages, lands, tenements, rents, and hereditaments, in the parish of St. Swithin, London Stone, and in Sherborne-lane, Nicholas-lane, Abchurch-lane, Candlewick-street, and Eastcheap, or elsewhere in the city of London, which he purchased of Edward Weldon, to the Grocers' company, upon trust; first, that they should make suit to obtain the said guild-house from the king and queen, and apply it to the purposes mentioned; and then, that the said company should provide "an honest, virtuous, and learned schoolmaster, being a master of arts, to teach grammar freely within the said school-house to all such as shall come thither to learn; and shall provide an honest learned person to be usher, to teach the scholars under the said master." For their services the company were to pay the schoolmaster 18*l.* per annum, and to the usher 6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* And he directed that the said school (with the admission) should be called "The Free Grammar School of Sir William Laxton, knight," and the schoolmaster, usher, and beadman, called "The Schoolmaster, Usher, and Beadman of Sir William Laxton." And, for want of convenient time further to explain the erection aforesaid, he directed that all other things touch-

paid to the said company, to be disposed of according to intent of the donors of the said gifts of money, to be lent to members of the company; and that when all such charities were fulfilled, the residue should be paid to the said company for their own use. And it was ordered, that when any four or more of the said trustees should die or remove, the company should choose as many others in their room, not being members of the company, so as to complete the number of twelve, to be trustees as aforesaid for ever.

The conveyance to trustees was made according to the direction of the decree; but the company have long resumed the management of their estates and the administration of their charities, regulating themselves therein by the binding of the decree.

The company are now in possession of all the real property mentioned in the inquisition, except a small piece of ground forming part of the garden of *Grocers' Hall*, which was some years ago sold, under the provisions of an act of Parliament, to the company of the Bank of England, for the purposes of enlarging the bank and the street adjoining thereto, called Prince's-street, and a house in Steyning-lane, given by Mrs. Backhouse, as will be noticed in the account of her gift. The annual revenue received from these estates, which has been greatly improved since the taking of the inquisition, far exceed the amount of the sum annually payable under the several charities.

"These facts," the commissioners add, "having been proved to our satisfaction, and each charity being now, by the operation of the decree, secured, not merely on the property originally given for its maintenance, but on all the estates of the company, we shall not think it necessary, in the following account of the several charities, to enter into any detail of the present condition of the respective premises originally appropriated to each, except in those instances where the whole produce of such premises, and not merely fixed payments out of them, is dedicated by the donor to the purposes of the charity.

"We shall however, in such case, notice the finding of the inquisition with respect to it, in order to mark such variations from the original foundation as stand upon the authority of the inquisition and decree."

ing the erection and continuance of the said school should be considered and done as by the good discretion of his executrix and the overseers of his will should be thought convenient.

APPLICATION.

In the inquisition the property derived from Sir William Laxton is stated to have consisted of eleven messuages in *Candlewick-street*, two in *Abchurch-lane*, one in *Nicholas-lane*, one in *Eastcheap*, one in *Sherborne-lane*, four in St. Swithin's-lane, and five in Bush-lane, London, and to have yielded altogether an income of 170*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*

The founder's school-house and premises at Oundle have been considerably enlarged by purchases made of late years by the Grocers' company, to the amount of 1500*l.*, for additional buildings, and for a play-ground for the boys of the school. Improvements have been made in the schoolmaster's house, for the purpose of enabling him to take boarders. The sums expended in repairs and improvements since 1809 amount to more than 1200*l.*, exclusively of an annual sum of 5*l.* allowed for incidental repairs. It appears, from the before-mentioned decree, that at the date of it the company had augmented the schoolmaster's salary to 30*l.*, and the usher's to 10*l.*; the annual sums paid in respect to the school being:

	£	*s.*	*d.*
To the schoolmaster, as the stipend for himself and his usher	40	0	0
An additional gratuity	60	0	0
	100	0	0

The schoolmaster is a clergyman and master of arts, and is appointed by the company, who leave the nomination of the usher to him. The number of free scholars in May 1821 was eight, admitted from the town of Oundle. No application for the admission of any boy appears to have been refused. They receive a classical education. N.B. A deputation of the Grocers' company occasionally visit this establishment.*

* LURCHYN'S GIFT.—All the property which the company now have in Cannon-street, (formerly Candlewick, or Canwick-street,) is stated in the inquisition to be derived from the above-mentioned gift of Sir William Laxton; but in an index to the company's old book of wills, which index appears to have been made in 1762, it is stated that two of the tenements in Canwick-street, described as the gift of Sir William Laxton, were given by John Lurchyn.

The will of John Lurchyn is dated the 5th of July, 1459, by which he gave his two great tenements, situate in Canwick-street, in the parish of St. Mary Bothaves, "for the relief, aid, and support of the poor almspeople of the Grocers' company for ever." The whole of the premises in Cannon-street were destroyed by the fire of London. The gift of John Lurchyn is not mentioned in the decree, and no specific distribution is now made in respect of it.

WALWYN'S.—At Colwall, in Herefordshire. For all poor children of Colwall parish, and seven children of the parish of Little Malvern, in Worcestershire, nominated by the company. The education is English, consisting of reading and writing, and the scholars receive religious instruction from the master, who is a clergyman; but no classical instruction is now given. The Grocers' Company are visitors.

PARTICULARS.

Humphrey Walwyn, the founder of this school, by his will, dated the 6th of December, 1612, left the sum of 600*l.* to be bestowed in buying houses in the city of London, the rent of which he appointed to be paid as follows: To the company of Grocers 5*l.* yearly, and two of the wardens, with the clerk and some one learned man, to be chosen by them once in three years, to visit and examine the scholars at the school, which by his will he appointed to be erected at Colwall, in Herefordshire; to the parish of St. Martin Ongars, 5*l.*; and the remainder of the rents of the houses to be purchased he gave for the support of this school, directing that the poor children of Colwall, and seven children of Little Malvern, of the poorest in that parish, should be taught freely, without payment of anything for their schooling; and also, that those in the parish of Colwall who were able to pay should not pay above 10*s.* for their schooling in a year. He also directed that the Grocers should choose the schoolmaster, and should have care that he be honest, learned, godly, and fit every way for instructing youth in learning, and in the fear of God; that the schoolmaster should observe that there be prayers in the school twice a day at least; and that the company should have power to remove him, in case of neglect of duty. And he willed that the schoolmaster should have the value of the houses and tenements which should be bought, the value of 10*l.* before mentioned being first deducted; and that the said schoolmaster should be a preacher, and should make four sermons every year, one every quarter; and one every year at Little Malvern, wherein he should repeat in brief the sum of his will concerning the school, and the order he took therein for teaching all the children, as before mentioned.

APPLICATION.

It does not appear that any houses were bought with the money bequeathed by Humphrey Walwyn; but, by the inquisition, the sum of 30*l.* a year, to be paid to the school at Colwall, is mentioned to have been charged upon eight houses, in the parishes of St. Michael and St. Peter, Cornhill, devised to the company by John Billesdon; and it appears, from the books of the company, that this charge had originally been made by the consent of Humphrey Walwyn's executors.

The sum of 30*l.* a year is paid to the schoolmaster as his salary, and the company have made liberal additions to this in favour of the present master,

as an encouragement and remuneration for his exertions to benefit the school. Some mismanagement of the establishment appears to have taken place in the time of the preceding master, whose ill state of health occasioned him to remove, first to Gloucester, and afterwards to London, leaving another person in charge of it. The company sent down a deputation to inquire into the state of it; and at last induced the master to resign, on giving him an allowance of 50*l.* a year.

The school-house, which is inhabited by the master, was rebuilt by the company in 1795, and is kept in repair by them at considerable expense. It does not appear when, or by whom, the original building was erected.

There are, at present, 52 free boys in the school, all of them from the parish of Colwall, except one, which is from Little Malvern. The reason why there are no more from the latter place, which is entitled to send seven scholars, was stated to the commissioners to be, that there was but this one boy born of Protestant parents in that parish. A deputation of the company occasionally visit the school. The schoolmaster of Colwall school, in addition to his 30*l.* receives an annuity of 5*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* from the crown out of the land revenues.

Box's.—At Witney, in Oxfordshire, for 30 boys, natives of Witney, who are admitted at six years of age, and may continue during the pleasure of their parents. The master has the power of appointment. The education is classical, together with the English language and writing.

PARTICULARS.

Witney Grammar School was founded by *Henry Box*, Esq. citizen and grocer, of London, in 1663, and a native of Witney, and who endowed it with a rent-charge of 60 guineas, issuing out of his estates at Longwork, in Berkshire. He ordained that the teachers should consist of a master and usher, the master to be a graduate of one of the Universities, and a master of arts, and that the usher should be also a graduate. The application for admission is made to the master, by certifying, "boy born in Witney," and paying 2*s.* 6*d.* as an admission-fee. The Eton Latin and Greek grammars are chiefly used. There are no exhibitions or scholarships belonging to the school. The master's salary is 30*l.* per annum, with the school-house and garden, for which he pays parochial rates; these amounted, in 1816, to 20*l.*, leaving the master a salary of only 10*l.* Parlour boarders are taken at 30 guineas per annum.

The usher's salary was 15*l.* but the office, Mr. Carlisle says, has long been vacant," and the governors *retain the salary*."* There is a writing-master, with a stipend of 10*l.* a year, and 2*s.* 6*d.* a quarter for each free boy. The four wardens of the Grocers' Company are governors. The visitors are the provost and two senior fellows of Oriel College, Oxford.

* Endowed Grammar Schools, II. p. 320.

EXHIBITIONS OR TEMPORARY PENSIONS TO POOR SCHOLARS AT THE UNIVERSITIES OF OXFORD AND CAMBRIDGE.

BACKHOUSES.—Two of 5*l.* per annum each, for poor scholars, (her own kin, where eligible, to be preferred,) appointed by the master, wardens, and company, to one of the Colleges in Cambridge.

ROBINSON'S.—Four of 7*l.* 10*s.* per annum each, to be given to poor scholars of Jesus College, Oxford, nominated by the company.*

ALMSHOUSES.

LAXTON'S.—For seven poor men of Oundle, each of whom has 5*s.* per week, with an allowance for clothing, fuel, and medicines. The appointment is in the company, the consent of the vicar and churchwardens thereof being first obtained.

This charity has been noticed in the account of Oundle school. The testator directed by his will that there should be, as part of the foundation of his Free Grammar School at Oundle, "seven poor men perpetually found, each of them to have weekly 9*d.* towards their maintenance, together with a convenient lodging and house-room" in the guild or fraternity-house, in which his grammar school was to be kept. The annual sums now paid in respect of

* In the before-mentioned inquisition, Emma Backhouse's endowment was found to have consisted of two houses in Wood-street, London, and a house in Staying-lane, in the occupation of the Haberdashers' Company, bequeathed in 1587. This property was charged with the yearly payment of 25*l.* to four scholars at Oxford, whom the assistants agreed should be all of Jesus College; and also with 10*l.* a year to two scholars at Cambridge. But, on further investigation, it seems the four Jesus College scholarships were derived from a legacy of 500*l.*, given by Mary Robinson, and said to have been charged upon houses in Wood-street, by order of the court of assistants, reducing, by this means, Mrs. Backhouse's establishment to two Cambridge scholars only: the commissioners state themselves to have been unable to find the reason for this reduction.

Mrs. Robinson's donation, it will be seen, was "a money legacy" of 500*l.*, given in 1617, with which land was to be bought to produce 25*l.* yearly, and that produce was to be given "to four poor scholars of Jesus College, Oxford," at the nomination of the company. No land, however, appears to have been bought, and the commissioners refer to Mrs. Backhouse's gift, to explain "the manner in which 25*l.* per annum, in respect of Mrs. Robinson's gift, was charged upon the property given byMrs. Emma Backhouse." The premises bequeathed by Mrs. Backhouse for her scholarships now consist of warehouses, &c. being No. 104, in Wood-street, let in three divisions, to Mr. Green, Mr. Wilson, and Mr. Hunter, at net rents amounting to 133*l.* 17*s.* 6*d.* The house in Staying-lane only produces 20*l.* a year, being considered as a fee-farm rent, from the Haberdashers' Company, (or 16*l.* deducting the land-tax.) This estate for many years previously to 1805 produced only 51*l.* 14*s.* 2*d.* per annum. Vide Commissioners' Reports, and Endowed Charities of London, 234.

these almshouses are: "To the seven almsmen, and the woman who attends them, 5*s.* each per week, making 104*l.*; for clothing for the almsmen, 30*l.*; for medicines for ditto, 15*l.*; for fuel for ditto, 10*l.*, and for incidental repairs 5*l.*; making a total of 109*l.* per annum. The sums for the almspeople and incidental repairs is said, at the time of the commissioners making their reports, to have been paid to William Walcott, Esq., a resident at Oundle, and who kindly undertook to superintend the establishment. The almsmen are poor, and generally old men, of the parish of Oundle, appointed by the company upon recommendations transmitted by Mr. Walcott.

BEQUESTS AND GIFTS OF ESTATES FOR DIFFERENT PURPOSES.

Date of Bequest.	*Donor's name, and object of the gift.*	*Estates, and where situate.*	*Commissioners' Remarks on Application.*
1432, July 12.	Alderman *Thomas Knolles.* Gave to the Grocers' company, "for a pure and perpetual alms, for the support and relief of the said company.	"A messuage, situate in the parish of St. Antholin's, in London."	This messuage is now a warehouse, near St. Antholin's church, Budge row, built in pursuance of a 71 years' lease from 1774, and brings in a rent of 33*l.*, which is not specifically applied, but comprised in a general distribution to the company's poor.
1514, March 20.	Alderman *Sir Henry Kebyll.* Devised by will to the company to pay 6*d.* weekly to each of seven poor members of the company. The appointment in "the wardens and associates." They were to be such as had been "leaseholders, or occupiers of the same mystery, and had fallen to decay and poverty."	Two houses "in the parish of our Lady, in Bow, in the ward of Cheap; two ditto, with a garden and appurtenances, in Broad court, Lothbury; that great messuage, with the garden and appurtenances, in the parish of St. Peter le Poor; and a piece of ground, with stables and other houses thereon, in St. Olave, Old Jewry.	The inquisition states these premises to have consisted of Sir Robert Clayton's mansion, in the Old Jewry; "a messuage, then called *Grocers' Hall*, near the Poultry, occupied by Sir Robert Jeffrey, lord mayor; the hall-wall, demised for 40*s.* per annum; and a messuage, (then several messuages,) in St. Peter le Poor, charged with the yearly payment of 9*l.* 2*s.* to seven widows of decayed members of the company. 9*l.* 2*s.* is paid yearly in respect of the above gifts, about Christmas, to poor members or their widows, in sums of 26*s.* each, being at the rate of 6*d.* per week.
1529, Aug. 6.	Alderman *Sir Wm. Butler.* To pay 40*s.* yearly, to repair the highways of Biddenham, Bedfordshire; to pay 20*s.* yearly to the poor there; and to pay 12*s.* yearly for charcoal, to be given on All Saints' Day to the poor of St. Mildred, Poultry, London.	A house called the *Basket*, in Thames street; two messuages, five cottages, a garden, and a shed; three shops in Tower street, St. Dunstan, east; and a quit-rent of 5*s.* from St. Bride, Fleet street.	The inquisition describes these premises as two messuages in Mincing lane, one messuage in Thames street, another messuage in Bowyer row, a quit-rent of 12*s.* from three houses in Fleet street, and 20*s.* quit-rent from three shops on Ludgate hill. The sums of 2*l.* and 1*l.* are annually given to St. Mildred, Poultry.

Date of Bequests.	*Donor's name, and object of the gift.*	*Estates, and where situate.*	*Commissioners' Remarks on Application.*
1655, May 20.	Dame *Anne Middleton.* To the Grocers' company, in trust, to distribute as under: £ s. d. Towards relief of prisoners in London about Christmas, sums not exceeding 40*s.* each, or 3*l.* if known by the wardens to be special objects . . . . 40 0 0 To Christ's Hospital, for the children . . . . . 10 0 0 To the poor of Westham parish, Essex; for apprenticing one boy, 3*l.*; and to divide amongst 20 of the poorest people there, to each 2*s.* on Christmas eve . . . 5 0 0 To ten poor ministers' widows, 40*s.* each . . . . . 20 0 0 To ten poor aged men and women, at Christmas . . 10 0 0 To the company for their pains . 2 0 0 To the clerk . . 2 0 0 To the seven almoners of the company, 10*s.* each . 3 10 0 5*l.* each for life to two persons named in her will . . . 10 0 0 104 10 0 The surplus profits to be given to such aged poor as the company should think fit.	The rectory and tithes of Fordam, in Montgomeryshire, and a fee-farm rent of 27*l.* per annum from the rectory of Austell, in Cornwall; both being then of the yearly value of 105*l.* N.B. By a codicil to her will, testatrix declared that, in consequence of Fordam having no endowed rectory or vicarage for payment of the officiating minister, there should be 30*l.* paid him yearly, for ever, out of the property conveyed to the company, and which her executors might deduct from such charitable bequests as might seem most convenient. But if Parliament should afterwards endow such parish of Fordam, the said annuity of 30*l.* to cease. By the forementioned decree it appears that these charges were confirmed, (including the 30*l.* per annum,) and reducing the prisoners' allowance from 40*l.* to 10*l.*, probably with the consent of the testatrix's executor.	The Grocers hold this property, and have leased the tithes of Fordam for twenty-one years from 1802, at 273*l.* per annum, which the commissioners thought to be their full value. This rent, with the annuity of 27*l.* a year from the rectory of Austell, made up an annual payment of 300*l.*; out of which was paid: £ s. d. To the minister of Fordam . . . . 30 0 0 To release debtors from the prisons in London . . . 10 0 0 N.B. The wardens give this relief as they think proper, on recommendations from the keepers. To Christ's Hospital . . . . . 10 0 0 To Westham . . 5 0 0 To ten clergymen of the Church of England's widows, 4*l.* each, instead of the 40*s.* directed. In all . . . 40 0 0 The petitioners are selected by the court of assistants, who appoint from a number usually amounting to twenty; the successful ten receivingas above, and the unsuccessful (or second class) 40*s.* To twenty poor men and women of the company, 10*s.* each . . . 10 0 0 105 0 0 N.B. The residue of this gift is not specifically distributed, but carried to the company's account.

Date of Bequest.	*Donor's name, and object of the gift.*	*Estates, and where situate.*	*Commissioners' Remarks on Application.*
1656, Aug. 29.	*John Wardall.* To pay to St. Botolph, Billingsgate, 4*l.*, to provide "a good and sufficient iron and glass lantern, with a candle, for the direction of passengers to go with more security to and from the water side, all night long. To be fixed at the N.E. corner of St. Botolph's church, from Bartholomew-day to Lady-day, and 1*l.* to the sexton, to take care of the said lantern. Also to pay to the parish of East Greenwich, Kent, 6*l.* 10*s.* yearly, in bread. The surplus, (if any,) equally amongst the company's poor almsmen at Christmas eve.	A tenement known by the name of the White Bear, at Walbroke, London. N.B.—By a codicil to his will, testator, reciting that he had given the aforesaid tenement, then in lease at 16*l.*, which, if it were out of lease, was worth a greater sum, orders the rent to be raised at the expiration of the lease, "to the best value," and that the whole thereof shall be applied to the use and profit of the said almsmen of the Grocers' company.	The tenement at Walbroke, formerly the White Bear, is now a public-house, known by the sign of the Black Bull, let to John Brown, for 21 years, from Lady-day, 1814, at the rent of 65*l.* 16*s.* per annum, subject to a deduction of 6*l.* 2*s.* for land-tax and insurance. 4*l.* is annually paid to St. Botolph, Billinsgate, and 6*l.* 10*s.* to East Greenwich. The only additional sum charged by the decree is 1*l.*, which is specifically given away to two poor freemen of the company at 10*s.* each. But the commissioners consider the residue amounting to 45*l.* 4*s.* as forming part of the company's general distributions to the poor, hereafter mentioned.
Undated.	Sir *Thomas Middleton.* To pay the sum of 7*l.* to the poor of the Grocers' company.	Two tenements, situate near Baynard's Castle, London.	The sum of 7*l.* is now paid by the company, under the name of Richard Phillips's gift. Supposed to be so called from its having been incorrectly entered by the company's clerk.
1661, Aug. 9.	*William Robinson*, (of St. Dunstan's East,) To the company, after his wife's decease, to raise certain sums, amounting to 55*l.* per annum, for the maintenance of the school of Penrith, in Cumberland, and other charitable purposes in that parish. And likewise to pay yearly To Christ's Hospital . . . . . 5 0 0 To St. Bartholomew's Hospital . 5 0 0 To St. Thomas's Hospital, (Southwark) . . . . 5 0 0 To Bridewell . . 5 0 0 The remainder to the Grocers' company.	All his lands, tenements, and hereditaments, with the appurtenances, situate in Grub-street, London.	The different annuities are paid to the respective hospitals. The premiums given by Mr. Robinson are not particularized in the inquisition, but are described only as "several messuages and tenements, situate in Grub-street, producing the clear yearly rent of 75*l.*

PENSIONS, GIFTS, LOANS, &c.; OTHERWISE CALLED "MONEY LEGACY CHARITIES."

Date of Bequest.	*Donor's name.*	*Sum given.* £	s.	d.	*To pay yearly.* £	s.	d.	*Commissioners' Remarks on Application.*
1533, June 29.	Sir *John Peche.* . . .	500	0	0				Sir Thomas Dyke, of Lullingstone castle, receives from the company in respect of this gift, on account of poor, 1*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*; rector of Lullingstone, 2*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*; for the three almsmen, 5*l.* 4*s.*; and for the prisons named 15*s.* The company were, besides, to repair the almshouses, but there are none now existing; the 6*s.* 8*d.* deficit in the 1*l.* 10*s.* mentioned, is thought to have been for priests, &c. at the obit.
	To pay to priests and the poor at his obit . .				1	10	0	
	The rector of Lullingstone . . .				2	13	4	
	Peche's three almsmen at ditto . . .				5	4	0	
	Newgate, Ludgate, and the Malshalsea prisons, 5*s.* each . .				0	15	0	
1574.	*Henry Cloker* . . .	2	0	0				Two pounds yearly is paid by the Coopers' company, who are charged with this gift, the whole of which is paid over to the schoolmaster of Gibson's school, who gives a receipt.
	To pay to the master and wardens of the Grocers' company to see to the trusts of his will				1	0	0	
	Gibson's almshouses at Ratclyffe . . .				0	14	0	
	—— school at ditto .				0	6	0	
1599, June 9.	*Peter Blundell.*	150	0	0				The sum of 40*s.* is paid yearly to the receiver of Bethlem hospital by the company.
	To buy landed property or rents, and from the issues pay to the poor "of Bedlam, in London," yearly .				2	0	0	
	The surplus to the company's wardens for their pains.							
1607, Oct. 20.	Dame *Margaret Slaney* .	40	0	0				The company pay 3*l.* yearly to the churchwardens of West Wickham.
	To pay 3*l.* yearly to the poor of West Wickham, Kent, to apprentice their children							
1616, Dec. 10.	*John Grove* . . .	100	0	0	3	0	0	Six pounds is specifically distributed to poor freemen and their widows, who receive the same during life. N.B. Before the great fire, the Grocers had seven almsfolks, living as stated; but have had none there since.
	To pay yearly in equal portions amongst the company's almsfolks at Grocers' hall .				6	0	0	

Date of Bequest.	*Donor's name.*	*Sum given.*	*To pay yearly.*	*Commissioners' Remarks on Application.*
		£ s. d.	£ s. d.	
1633, July 14.	*William Robinson* . .	400 0 0		No landed property appears to have been bought as directed by the donor, and the only sum paid (as charged by the aforementioned decree on the company's lands,) is the 16*l.* to the schoolmaster of Topcliffe.
	To buy landed property in London or elsewhere, and to pay from the issues yearly toward maintaining a school at Topcliffe, Yorkshire . . .		16 0 0	
	The surplus to be given to the company's poor freemen.			
1636, Jan. 26.	*William Pennefather* . .	233 6 8		It does not appear how this donation was laid out, but by the chancery decree, the company are charged with the yearly payment of 11*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*, and it is distributed to seven freemen and their widows, who receive the same during life.
	To buy land worth 11*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* a year, in order to distribute equally (by 5 nobles a piece) amongst the company's seven almsfolks in their almshouses at Grocers' hall		11 13 4	
	The surplus to be employed at the company's discretion.			
1637, Mar. 29.	*Catharine Viscountess Conway*	200 0 0		It appears, from the company's books, that Mary Harrison, the executrix, gave 3*l.* in addition to the 200*l.* mentioned in Lady Conway's will, in respect of which, the company were to pay 8*s.* per annum in addition to the 10*l.* mentioned in the will. It further appears by a memorandum in these books, that, of the 400*l.* mentioned in the codicil to Lady Conway's will, the company received no more than 41*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*
	To pay yearly to Acton parish from the profits, for providing 20 aged, lame, or sick poor, every Sunday with a 2*d.* loaf each, and also to appropriate 12*d.* weekly for the teaching of six poor children resident there . . .		10 0 0	
	She appointed Mary Harrison and Mrs. Hooker, her executrixes, and left all the rest of her money and debts to the company, subject to the future directions of her will.			
	By a codicil to her will afterwards she left .	1 0 0		The sums charged upon the company's estate by the decree, in respect of these gifts, amount to 72*l.* 9*s.* 8*d.*; of this sum 22*l.* 9*s.* 8*d.* is paid to the churchwardens of Acton parish, being made up of the 10*l.* mentioned in the will; the 10*l.* mentioned in the codicil; the interest of the above-mentioned sum of 41*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*; and 8*s.* the interest of 8*l.* given by Mary Harrison.
	To pay to the ministers and churchwardens of Acton, to be distributed by them amongst the poor of the said parish, who should be most aged, lame, or impotent; 5*l.* thereof at Whitsuntide, and 5*l.* at Christmas . . . 10 0 0			

Date of Bequest.	*Donor's Name.*	*Sum given.*	*To pay yearly.*	*Commissioners' Remarks on Application.*
		£ s. d.	£ s. d.	
	To the ministers and churchwardens of St. Dunstan in the East, to be distributed in like manner . . .		10 0 0	
	To the ministers and churchwardens of Loddington, in the county of Warwick, to be distributed in like manner . .		5 0 0	
	For the freeing and releasing of two poor persons, freemen of the city, lying for debt in Ludgate prison .		5 0 0	
	For releasing two prisoners, one in the Poultry compter and one in Wood-street compter . . .		5 0 0	The other payments to the different parishes, and to Christ's Hospital, are made according to the directions of the codicil. The 10*l.* to St. Dunstan in the East parish is regularly paid by the Grocers' company.
	To five poor widows of freemen of the said company 20*s.* each . .		5 0 0	
	To the governors of Christ's Hospital, for them to place out four poor children of freemen of the city, from the said hospital . .		20 0 0	
	And also the further sum of . . .	400 0 0		
	To pay certain annuities for the lives of persons in her will mentioned, amounting in the whole to . . .		20 0 0	The sums for releasing debtors are paid by the court of wardens of the company, upon petitions from the above-mentioned prisons, in the same manner as is pursued with Lady Middleton's gift, (presently mentioned,) for the same purposes; but the sum paid for the release of each, instead of 2*l.* 10*s.* has been confined to 2*l.*, which has enabled the company to apply the fund to the annual release of five prisoners instead of four.
	And after their deaths, the same to be paid to Acton parish, to apprentice poor fatherless or other distressed children, and the residue of her monies and debts she left to the company, in trust, after the death of her niece, to pay 5 per cent. interest for every 100*l.* to Acton parish, for the like purpose as the above 20*l.*			

Date of Bequest.	*Donor's Name.*	*Sum given.* £ s. d	*Paid.* £ s. d.	*Commissioners' Remarks on Application.*
1657, June 10.	*Gabriel Keate* . . .	750 0 0		The sums of 16*l.* and 8*l.* are yearly paid to each of the parishes mentioned in the will. No specific sum is distributed by the company in respect of 50*l.* left for the company's poor, but the interest of this sum may be considered as forming a part of the general distributions of the company before noticed.
	To lend 100*l.* gratis to two young freemen of the company, and 50*l.* to remain as a stock for the company's poor for ever. And out of the profits of the other 600*l.* to pay yearly to the parish of Bishop's-stone, Wilts. for four aged parishioners during life . . .		16 0 0	
	To St. Hearne parish, near Truro, Cornwall, yearly, to be distributed in like manner between two poor aged parishioners .		8 0 0	
No date.	*Edmond Turville* . .	100 0 0		The company acknowledge to have received 1000*l.* from Frances Turville, widow of the said Edmond Turville, pursuant to his will, and a further sum of 100*l.* given to the company by the said Frances, as a recompense for their trouble, the interest whereof was to be divided between the four wardens and the clerk.
	To be lent gratis to two young freemen of the company on good security.—Also . .	1000 0 0		
	To pay yearly to St. Dunstan East parish, to 13 of the poorest parishioners, every Sunday, a twopenny loaf each, and 2d. in money . . .		11 0 0	
	To the parish of Kyrewyard, Worcestershire, amongst the poorest parishioners yearly .		3 0 0	The payment of 11*l.* to St. Dunstan East, and the other sums given by the will are paid to the respective parishes therein mentioned, but the yearly sum of 10*l.* for the preparation sermon at St. Stephen's, is not charged on the company's estates by the decree, and is not now paid. "We are not enabled to state the reason of this omission."
	To Allhallows Barking parish, London, amongst the poorest parishioners ditto .		4 0 0	
	To the parson of St. Stephen, Walbroke, for a preparation sermon every Friday month, before communion .		10 0 0	
	Amongst the poorest members of the company, every Michaelmas .		7 0 0	The yearly sum of 7*l.* is distributed in different sums by the wardens, to poor freemen and their widows, whom they select for the purpose.
	To the poor of St. Olave, Southwark, yearly .		5 0 0	
	To the poor of St. Leonard, Shoreditch, do.		5 0 0	
1612, Dec. 10.	*Humphrey Walwyn.*	5 0 0 *p. ann.*		This 5*l.* a year, (which was directed to be paid out of houses directed to be bought by the donor's will,) is stated in the inquisition to be charged on houses in St. Michael's and St. Peter's, Cornhill, parishes, and is paid as directed. See "Colwell's school."
	To pay to St. Martin Ongars, on Midsummer-day, for sea coals, for poor parishioners .		4 10 0	
	To a preacher, to preach at the same parish church, on the 5th of November . .		0 10 0	

Date of Bequest.	*Donor's Name.*	*Sum given.*	*Paid.*	*Commissioners' Remarks on Application.*
		£ s. d.	£ s. d.	
No date.	——— *Saunders* . .	210 0 0		No application has been made for several years for this charity. The last payment on the company's books was in 1794. The annual 10*l.* has not been carried to a separate account. The commissioners think the arrears under the will claimable by Christ's Hospital.
	To pay yearly for apprenticing a boy of the parish of Upton Warren, Worcestershire; or, if not performed, to go to Christ's Hospital.		10 0 0	
	To the company's clerk, per annum . .		0 10 0	
No date.	Alderman *Robert Lambert* .	100 0 0		The yearly sum of 12*l.* is charged by the decree to be paid in respect of these gifts, which is distributed the 1st Thursday in January amongst the poor of each City ward in rotation, comprising 5 wards each year, taken alphabetically, and 4 poor persons from each receive 12*s.* a piece, by tickets from the aldermen. The company decline any interference.
	To be distributed after 21 years, amongst the poor inhabiting in the 25 wards of London, at the company's discretion.			
No date.	*Nicholas Stiles*,			
	By will also gave, upon the same trusts as his master, Alderman Lambert . .	100 0 0		
No date.	*Richard Hale* . .	100 0 0		A yearly sum of 1*l.* 4*s.* is charged by the decree to be paid for faggots to the poor of St. Mildred, Poultry, and is now paid to the same. Nothing is charged in the decree as payable to St. Dunstan's, nor is anything paid to that parish; why, does not appear. The alleys called Harp Alley, and Lilly Alley, no longer exist.
	To be lent to two young freemen of the company, on security; and for buying 400 Kentish or Essex faggots, against winter, for the poor of St. Dunstan East, (and chiefly in Harp Alley and Lilly Alley,) and the poor of St. Mildred, Poultry, parish.			
No date.	*Francis Tirrell* . . .	1000 marks		By the decree the sums charged as payable by the company, in respect to this gift, are, to Bermondsey parish 6*l.*, and to St. Giles, Cripplegate, St. Sepulchre, St. Olave, Southwark, and St. Botolph, Aldgate, 5*l.* each, and these sums are paid to the churchwardens.
	As a stock in Grocers' hall to provide 40 chaldrons of sea coals yearly with the increase thereof, 26 of them to be distributed at Christmas to the poor of St. Giles's, Cripplegate, St. Sepulchre's Without Newgate, St. Olave, Southwark, St. Mary Magdalen's, Bermondsey, and St. Botolph, Aldgate, viz. to Bermondsey six, and to the other parishes five chaldrons each. The overplus to the poor of the Grocers' company . .		26 0 0	No specific distribution takes place to the company's poor, "but it may be considered that they are entitled, at least, to 7*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*, (the difference between the 26*l.* charged, and 33*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* the full interest at 5 per cent. on the 1000 marks given by Tirrel.)

DISTRIBUTION TO THE POOR OF THE COMPANY.

The sums which, under the foregoing benefactions, are appropriated to general distribution among the poor of the company are as follows:

	£	s.	d.
From Knolles' gift	33	0	0
Lady Middleton's	191	0	0
Wardall's	45	4	0
Keates's	2	10	0
Tirrell's	7	6	8
	279	0	8

To which should be added the rent of the houses given by Larchyn, if it were possible to ascertain what part, if any, of the property now possessed by the company in Cannon-street, was derived from his benefaction.

A sum of 300*l.* is annually distributed among the poor of the company about Christmas. Distributions of bread and provisions are also made to them three times in the year; and, throughout the year, special applications for relief are received by the company from their poor members, and such pecuniary assistance is afforded them as, upon investigation, may appear proper. "It seems fair to conclude," the commissioners add, "that these various distributions would cover any addition that ought to be made to the above fund in respect of Larchyn's benefaction."

Date of Bequest.	*Donor's name.*	*Sum given.*	*Paid.*	*Commissioners' Remarks on Application.*
No date.	*John Kirby* . . . To be lent "to four young men, *retailers* of the company," for two years, they sending to Grocers' hall each year 30 sacks of coals, to be given amongst the poor thereabouts, the Poultry compter to have 6 sacks.	£ s. d. 200 0 0	s. d.	"Nothing more is known of this benefaction. It is not mentioned in the inquisition or decree, and no loan of money or distribution of coals now takes place, as directed by the donor."

GIFTS FOR LOANS.

"The following sums are found by the inquisition to have been given to the Grocers' Company, to be lent on security to poor members of the company, in different proportions, to set them up in their trades. It is now many years since such loans have been made, or applied for."

	£	s.	d.
Lady Slaney . .	100	0	0
Edmond Turville .	100	0	0
Henry Anderson .	100	0	0
John Norman .	100	0	0
Gilbert Keate . .	100	0	0
Thomas Wheatley	50	0	0
Sir John Lyon .	200	0	0
Edward Elmer .	50	0	0
Thomas Farmer .	100	0	0
Lettice Dean .	200	0	0
Richard Lambert .	200	0	0
Ditto . .	100	0	0
Edward Jakeman .	200	0	0
Katherine Hawes	100	0	0
Roger Knott . .	100	0	0
John Heydon .	100	0	0
Sir Thomas Ramsey	200	0	0
Peter Haughton	400	0	0
Thomas Rudge .	100	0	0
Thomas Hawkins	20	0	0
Robert Brooke .	100	0	0
Mary Robinson	200	0	0
George Holman .	100	0	0
Ditto . .	50	0	0
Richard Hale . .	100	0	0
Thomas Westran	100	0	0
Robert Bowyer .	50	0	0
John Hodgson	100	0	0
Sir Richard Napper .	100	0	0
William Pennefather	100	0	0
Thomas Moulston .	200	0	0
Stephen Abberley	250	0	0
John Merill . .	100	0	0
Thomas Gannell	200	0	0
Constance Wrightman	100	0	0
Sir Samuel Wright	50	0	0
Thomas Freeman	100	0	0
Sum total	4,670	0	0

CHARTERS.*

*P' Hõib3 Mistere * * * * ocerie London de * * firmacõe.*

Regina om'ib3 ad quos, &c. salt'm Inspeximus L'ras Patentes Dñi *P.* & Dñe *M.* nup' Regis & Regine Angl' de confirmacõe f'c'as in hec verba: Philippus & Maria Dei Gra' Rex & Regina Angl' Hispaniar' Franc' utriusq' Sicilie Jerl'm & Hib'n Fidei Defensores Archiduces Austrie Duces Burgundie Mediolani & Brabancie Comites Haspurgi Flandrie & Tirolis Om'ib3 ad quos p'sentes L're p'ven'int sal'tm Inspeximus L'ras Patentes Dñi *H.* nup' Regis Angl. Sexti p'genitoris ñri f'c'as in hec verba Henr' Dei Gra' Rex Angl' & Franc' & Dñs Hib'n Om'ib3 ad quos p'sentes L're p'ven'int salt'm Sciatis q'd de Gra' ñra sp'iali & de avisamento & assensu Concilij ñri Concessimus dil'c'is nob' Liberis Homib3 Mistere Grocerie Civitatis ñre London q'd Mistera prdca & om'es ho ies ejusdem de cetro sint in re & no'ie unu' Corpus & una Co'itas p'petua. Et q'd eadem Co'itas sing'lis annis eligre possit & facre de se ipsa tres Custodes ad sup'vidend' regend' & gub'nand Misteram & Co'itatem prdcas & om'es ho'ies & negocia ear'dem imp'p'm. Et q'd ijdem Custodes & Cõitas h'eant successionem p'petuam & c'õe sigillum p' negocijs d'ce Co'itatis srvitur. Et q'd i'pi & successores sui imp'pm sint p'sone habiles & capaces in lege ad p'quirend' & possidend' in Feodo & p'petuitate T'ras Ten' Reddit & alias possessiones quascunq'. Et q'd i'pi p' nomen custodum Cõitatis Mistere Grocerie, London, impl'itare possint & impl'itari coram quibuscunq' Judicib3 in cur & accoib3 quibuscunq' Et ult'ius

The Queen: To all to whom, &c. Greeting. We have inspected the letters patent of confirmation of the lord Philip and the lady Mary, late king and queen of England, made in these words: Philip and Mary, by the grace of God king and queen of England, France, the two Sicilies, Jerusalem and Ireland, Defenders of the Faith, Archdukes of Austria, Dukes of Burgundy, &c. To all to whom these present letters shall come greeting: We have inspected the letters patent of the lord Henry the Sixth, late king of England, our progenitor, made in these words: Henry, by the grace of God, king of England and France, and lord of Ireland, To all to whom these present letters shall come greeting: Know ye that we of our special grace, and with the advice and assent of our Council, have granted to our beloved the Freemen of the Mystery of Grocery of our City of London, That the aforesaid mystery and all the men of the same from henceforth, may be in deed and name one perpetual body and community, and that the same community may have power every year to elect and make from themselves three wardens, to oversee, rule, and govern the mystery and community aforesaid, and all the men and affairs of the same for ever. And that the same wardens and community may have perpetual succession and a common seal for the use of the affairs of the said community. And that they and their successors for ever may be persons able and capable in law to purchase and possess in fee and perpetuity, lands, tenements, rents, and other possessions whatsoever. And that by the name of Wardens and Commonalty of the Mystery of Grocery of London, they may have power to implead and be impleaded before whatsoever justices and in all courts and actions whatsoever. And moreover, of the abundance of our grace and with the advice and assent of our Council, we do grant that the Wardens

* Prima pars Confirmac'on de anno Re. Elizabeth secundo.

de u'biori Gra' n'ra & de avisamento & assensu Concilij n'i concessim^s q'd Custodes & Coitas d'ce Mistere T^r. as Ten' & Reddit infra civitatem, London, & suburbia ejusdem que de nob' tenent' ad valorem viginti marcar' p' annu adquirere possint H'end' & tenend' sibi & succ' suis imp'pm in auxilia sustentaco'is t'm pauperum hom' d'ce Cõitatis q'm unius Capellani Divina cotidie p' statu n'ri dum vix'im^s ac ai'a nr'a cum migraverim^s necnon p' statu & animab3 o'im ho'im dicar' Mistere & Cõitatis ac o'im fideliu' defunctor' juxta ordinac'oem ip'or' Custod'm & Coitatis in hac parte faciend' celebraturi imp'p'm statuto de T'ris & Ten' ad manu-mortuam non ponend' edit' seu eo q'd T're Ten' & Redditus sic adquirend' iū de nob' teneant in lib'um Burgagi sicut' tota Civitas London non obstant'. Dum tamen p' Inquisic'oes inde capiend' & in Cancellar' n'ra rite retornand'comp'tum sit q'd id fieri possit absq' damno vel p'judicio' n'ri vel hered' n'ror' aut alior' quorcunq'. In cujus rei testimoniu' has l'ras n'ras fieri fecim^s Patentes T. me ip'o apud Westm' sextodecimo die Februarij Anno Regni n'ri Septimo' Nos autem cartas & l'ras p'd'cas ac õia & sing'la in eisdem contenta rata h'entes & grata ea p' nob' hered' & succesorib3 n'rm p^rd'ce Regine quantum in nob' est acceptam^s & approbam^s ac eo Joh'i Lyon, militi, Aldermanno Civitatis n're London, Edwardo Fouler & Petro Bristowe custodib3 nunc Mistere Grocerie p'd'ce & successorib3 suis Ratificam^s & Confirmam^s p'ut carta & l're p^rd'ce r'onabilit^r testant' In cujus rei testimoniu' has l'ras n'ras fieri fecim^s patentes T. nob' ip'is apud Westm' vicesimo primo die Junij annis R. n̄. quarto & quinto Nos autem cartas & l'ras p'd'cas ac o'ia & singula in eisdem contenta rata h'entes & grata ea p' nob' hered' & succ' n'ris quantum in nob' est acceptam^s & approbam^s ac ea dil'cis nob' Thome Lodge Aldermanno Civitatis n're London Edwardo Jackeman & Joh'i Ryvers nunc custodib3 Mistere

and Commonalty of the said Mystery may have power to purchase lands, tenements, and rents, within the City of London, and the suburbs of the same, and to hold the samè from us to the value of twenty marks. To have and to hold to them and their successors for ever, in aid of sustaining as well the poor men of the said commonalty, as of a chaplain to celebrate divine services daily for ever for our estate whilst we live, and for our soul when we go hence; and also for the state and souls of all the men of the said Mystery and Community, and for all the faithful deceased according to the ordination of them, the said Wardens and Commonalty to be made in this behalf, the statute of mortmain, or that the lands, tenements, and rents so to be acquired, be not held of us in free burgage, as all the City of London is notwithstanding; provided nevertheless that inquisition thereof be taken and account duly returned to us in our Chancery, that the same will not be to the damage of us or our heirs, or of other persons whatsoever. In witness whereof we have caused these our letters to be made patents. Witness myself at Westminster, the 16th day of February, in the 7th year of our reign. Now we the said Queen, ratifying and allowing the aforesaid Charters and Letters patent, and all and singular in them contained, do for us and our successors as much as in us is accept and approve, and the same do ratify and confirm unto John Lyon, knight, alderman of our City of London; Edward Fowler and Peter Bristowe, now Wardens of the Mystery of Grocery aforesaid, as by the charters and letters aforesaid are reasonably testified. In witness whereof we have caused these our Letters to be made patents. Witness ourselves at Westminster, the 21st day of June, in the 4th and 5th year of our reigns. Now we ratifying and allowing the charters and letters aforesaid, and all and singular in them contained, do for us and our heirs and successors, as much as in us is accept and approve, and the same to our beloved Thomas Lodge, alderman of our City of London; Edward Jackeman and John Ryvers, now Wardens of the Mystery of Grocery aforesaid, and their successors, do ratify and confirm as the charters and letters aforesaid do rea-

Grocerie p'd'ce & successorib3 suis Ratificam^{s} et Confirmam^{s} p'ut carte & litere p'd'ce in se r'onabilit' testant' In cujus rei &c. T. R. apud Westm' xix$_{o}$ die Junij Anno Regni sui sc'do.

P' decem lib'ris solut' in Hanap'io.

sonably testify. Witness the Queen, at Westminster, the 19th day of June, in the second year of her reign.

For 10*l.* paid into the Hanaper.

Quarta pars Paten' de Anno R. Caroli' quintodecimo. *D. Con' sibi & successorib3 p' Mister' Grocers London.*

Rex om'ib3 ad quos &c. salt'm. Sciatis q'd Nos ad humilem Petic'oem dil'cor' & fideliu' subditor' n'ror' custod' & Cõitatis Mister' Grocer' Civitatis London de gra' n'ra spi'ali ac ex c'ta sciencia & mero motu n'ris Volum^{s} Ordinavim^{s} Declaravim^{s}. Ac p' p'sentes p' nob' heredib3 & successorib3 n'ris Volum^{s} Ordinam^{s} & Concedim^{s} q'd om'es & singulis libi hõies Mister' Grocer' Civitatis London & successores sui de cet'o imp'p'm p' meliori ordine gub'nacõe & regimine hoi'um Mister' Grocer' Civitatis London ac p' utilitate com'odo & relevamine bonor & p'bor ac formidine & correccõe malor' dolosor' sint & improbor' sint & erunt vigore p'sencui' unu' Corpus Corporatum & Politicum in re f'co & no'i'e p' no'en Custod' & com'unitat' Mister' Grocer' Civitatis London & eos p' no'en Custod' & Com'unitat' Mister' Grocer' Civitatis London unu' Corpus Corporatum & politic' in re f'co & no'io realit' & ad plenum p' nobis heredib3 & successorib3 n'ris erigim^{s} facim^{s} ordinam^{s} constituim^{s} & declaram^{s} p' p'sentes et q'd p' idem no'en h'eant successionem p'petuam et q'd i'pi & suc' sui p' no'en Custod' & Coitat' Mister' Grocer' Civitatis London suit & erunt p'petui futur' temporib3 p'sone habiles & in Lege capaces ad habend' p'quirend' recipiend' Maneria Mesuagin Terr' Tenemen' Lib'tat Privileg' Franches' Jurisdiccões & Hereditamen' quecunq' cujuscunq' fuer' gener' natur' vel' spi'ci sibi & successorib3 suis in Feod' & p'petuitat' sive p' p'mino vit' vitar' anni vel' annor' aut ab' quocunq' modo Ac etiam Bona & Catalla & quiscunq' alias res cujuscunq' no'is nature qualitatis vel spi'ei

The King: To all to whom, &c. Know ye that we at the humble petition of our beloved and faithful subjects, the wardens and commonalty of the Mystery of Grocers of the City of London, of our special grace, and of our certain knowledge and mere motion, have willed, ordained, declared and granted, and by these presents for us and our successors, do will, ordain, declare and grant, that all and singular the freemen of the mystery of Grocers of the City of London and their successors, from henceforth for ever, for the better ordering, government, and rule of the men of the Mystery of Grocers of the City of London, and for the utility, advantage, and relief of the good and honest, and the terror and correction of the evil, wicked, and dishonest, may be and shall be by force of these presents, one body corporate and politic, in deed, act, and name, by the name of the Wardens and Commonalty of the Mystery of Grocers of the City of London, and them by the name of Wardens and Commonalty of the Mystery of Grocers of the City of London, one body politic and corporate, in deed, fact, and name, really and fully for us and our successors we do erect, make, ordain, constitute and declare by these presents, and that by the same name they may have perpetual succession. And that they and their successors by the name of Wardens and Commonalty of the Mystery of Grocers of the City of London, may and shall be for ever hereafter persons able and capable in law to have, purchase, and receive manors, messuages, lands, tenements, liberties, privileges, franchises, jurisdictions, and hereditaments whatsoever, and of whatsoever kind, nature, or sort, they may be to them and their suc-

fuerint. Necnon ad dand' concedend' dimittend' alienand' assignand' & disponend' Maner' Terr' Tenemen' & Hereditamen' & ad o'ia & singula alia f'ca & res faciend' & exequend' p' no'en prd'cm. Et q'd p' idem no'en Custod' & Cõitat' Mister' Grocer' Civitatis London placitare & implacitare respondere & responderi defendere & defendi valeant & possint in quibuscunq' Cur' Placeis & Locis & coram quibuscunq' Judicib3 & Justiciar' ac al' prsonis & Officiar n'ris heredum & succ' n'ror' in oib3 & singulis accoib3 Plitis Sectis Querel' Causis Mater' & Demand' quibuscunq' cujuscunq' sint & erunt generis qualitat' sive spi'ei eisdem modo & forma put aliqui alij Ligei n'ri hujus regni n'ri Anglie prsone habiles & in lege capaces sive aliquod' aliud Corpus Corporatum & Politicu' infra Regnu' n'rm Anglie hrere p'quirere recipe possidere gaudere retinere dare concedere' dimittere alienare assignare & disponere p'litare & imp'litari respondere & responderi defendere & defendi facere prmittere & exequi possint & valeant. Et q'd ijdem Custod' & Cõitas Mister' Grocer' Civitatis London prdict' imp'p'm h'eant C'oe Sigill' p' causis & negotijs suis & successor' suor' quor'cunq' agend' deservitur.' Et q'd bene liceat eisdem Custod' & Cõitat' Mister' Grocer' Civitatis London & successorib3 suis Sigill' illud ad Libt'm suu' de tempore in tempus frangere mutare & de novo facere p'ut eis melius fieri & fore videbit'. Et ULT'IUS volums ac p' prsentes p' nob' heredit3 & successorib' n'ris concedim' prfat Custod' & Cõitat' Mister' Grocer' Civitatis London & successorib3 suis q'd de cet'o imp'p'm p'petius futur' temporib3 sint & erunt quatuor de Cõitat' Mister' prdict' in forma in hijs prsentib3 menc'onat' eligend' & noi'and' qui erunt & noi'abunt' Custodes Mister' prdict Aceciam q'd similit' sint & erunt quidam de Coitat' prd'ca informa inferius in hijs prsentib3 menc'onat eligend' qui erunt & noi'abunt assistentes prdict Mister' Grocer' Civitatis London & de tempore in tempus erunt assisten' & auxiliantes eisdem Custod' pr tempore existen' in causis mater' & negocijs dict' Custod' & Coitat' tangen' sive concernen'. Et q'd bene liceat et licebit eisdem Custod' Mister' Grocer' Civitatis London prdict & successorib3 suis h'ere retinere & appunctuare quandam Aulam sive Doum' Conciliaram infra Civitatem n'ram London

cessors in fee and perpetuity, or for term of life or lives, year or years, or otherwise in any manner whatsoever; and also goods and chattels, and other things of whatsoever name, nature, quality or sorts they may be. Also to give, grant, admit, alienate, assign, and dispose of their manors, lands, tenements, and hereditaments; and to do and execute all and singular other acts and things by the name aforesaid. And that by the same name of Wardens and Commonalty of the Mystery of Grocers of the City of London, they shall and may be able to plead and be impleaded, answer and be answered, defend and be defended, in whatsoever courts and places, and before whatsoever judges and justices, and all other persons and officers of us our heirs and successors, in all and singular actions, pleas, suits, quarrels, causes, and demands whatsoever, and of whatsoever kind, quality, or sort they may be, in the same manner and form as any other our leige people of this our kingdom of England, persons able and capable in the law, or any other body corporate and politic within our kingdom of England, can and may be able to have, purchase, receive, possess, keep, retain, give, grant, admit, alienate, assign, and dispose of; plead and be impleaded, answer and be answered, defend and be defended, do permit and execute. And that the same wardens and commonalty of the mystery of Grocers of the City of London aforesaid, for ever shall have a common seal to serve for their causes and business, and of their successors whatsoever to be done; and that it shall and may be lawful for the same master and wardens of the mystery of Grocers of the City of London and their successors, the same seal for the time being, at their pleasure to break, change, and make anew as to them shall seem meet. And further we will, and by these presents do grant for us and our successors, to the aforesaid wardens and commonalty of the mystery of Grocers of the City of London and their successors, that from henceforth, for ever at all times hereafter, there may and shall be *four* of the commonalty of the mystery aforesaid, in form in these presents mentioned, elected and nominated, and who shall be and shall be named *wardens* of the mystery aforesaid; and also that in like

p^rdict aut Lib^rtat ejusdem. Q'dq' ijdem Custod' vel aliqui duo' eor' p' tempore existen' quoties eis opportunu' & necessariu' fore videbit' convocare & tenere infra eandem Domum sive Aulam quandam Curiam sive convocaco'em de eisdem custod' & assistentes ad numerum tresdecim p'sonar' vel pluriu' (quor' duos Custod' Mister' p^rdict p^r tempore existen' duos esse volum^s) possint & valeant p^rpetuis futuris temporib3. Q'd q' in eadem curia sive convocacõe ijdem custodes & assistentes ad numeru' tresdecem vel plurin' (quor' duos Custod' Mister' p^rdict p^r tempore existen' duos esse volum^s) tractare conferre consultare consulere & descernere de statutis articulis & ordinacoib3 p^rdict' Custod' & Cõitatem & bonu' regimen statum & gub'naco'em eord' tangen' & conc^rnen' possint & valeant juxta eor' sanas discreco'es. Et ult'ius volum^s ac p^r p^rsentes p^r nob' heredib3 & successoribz n'ris concedim^s p^rfat' Custodib3 & Coitat' Mister' Grocer' Civitatis London & successorib3 suis. Q'd custod' & assisten' Mister' p^rdict' p^r tempore existen' ad numerum tresdecem vel pluriu' (quor' duos custodes p^r tempore existen' duos esse volum^s sup' summonico'em publicam inde f'iend' ad hoc congregat' h'eant & h'ebunt plenam potestatem & authoritatem condendi constituendi ordinandi & faciendi de tempore in tempus leges statut' ordinacões decret' & constitucões ro'nabilia in script' quecunq' que eis tresdecem vel plur' eor' (quor' duos costod' p^r tempore existen' duos esse volum^s) bona salubria utilia honesta & necessaria juxta eor' sanas discrecões fore videbunt' p^r bono regimine & gub'nacõe custod' & coitat' mister' p^rdict & o'ium aliar' p^rsonar' existen' liber' p^rdict' Mister' Grocer' p_r tempore existen' ac p^r declaracõe quo modo & ordine ijdem custod' & cõitas ac omnes & singuli p^rson' existen' liber' Mister' Grocer' in exercitio & occupacõe Offic' & Mister' p^rdict se h'ebunt geren' & utent' p^r ult'iori bono publico & cõi utilitate eord' custod' & cõitat' ac alijs reb3 & causis quibuscunq' mister' p^rdict tangen' sive quoquomodo conc^rnen.' Q'dq' ijdem custod' & assisten' mister' p^rdict p^r tempore existen' ad numerum tresdecem' vel pluriu' quos' duos custodes mister' p^rdict' p^r tempore existen' duos esse volum^s) quotiescunq' h'moi leges jura statuta institucõnes ordinacões & constitucões in forma p^rdict' fecerint condid'int ordinav'int

manner there may and shall be certain of the commonalty aforesaid in form hereunder in these presents mentioned elected, who shall be and shall be named *assistants* of the said mystery of Grocers of the City of London, and from time to time they shall be assisting and aiding to the same wardens for the time being, in the causes, business, matters and things touching or concerning the said wardens and commonalty. And that it may and shall be lawful for the same wardens of the mystery of Grocers of the City of London aforesaid and their successors, to have, retain, and appoint a certain hall or council house within our City of London aforesaid, or the Liberties of the same; and that the same wardens, or any two of them, for the time being, as often as to them it may seem to be convenient and necessary, shall and may be able to call together, and hold within the same house or hall a certain court or convocation of the same wardens and assistants, to the number of *thirteen* persons or more, (of whom two of the wardens of the mystery aforesaid for the time being, we will to be two at all times hereafter.) And that in the same court or convocation of the same wardens and assistants, to the number of thirteen or more, (of whom two of the wardens of the mystery aforesaid for the time being, we will to be two at all times hereafter) shall and may be able, to treat, consult, advise and decree concerning the statutes, articles and ordinances touching and concerning the aforesaid wardens and commonalty, and the good rule, state, and government of the same, according to their sound discretions. And further, we will and by these presents for us, our heirs and successors, do grant to the aforesaid wardens and commonalty of the mystery of Grocers of the City of London, and their successors, that the said wardens and assistants of the mystery of grocers for the time being, to the number of thirteen or more, (of whom two of the wardens of the mystery aforesaid for the time being, we will to be two at all times hereafter,) upon public summons thereof to be made thereto assembled, may and shall have full power and authority to frame, constitute, ordain, and make from time to time all such reasonable laws, statutes, ordinances, decrees, and constitutions in

vel stabiliv'int h'moi & tales p'enas p'unicões & penalitates pr imprisonament' corporis vel pr fines & amerciamen' vel eor' utrumq' erga & sup' omnes delinquentes cont' h'moi leges jura statut' insticucões ordinancões & constitucões sive eor' aliquod' vel aliqu' qual' & que eisdem custod' & assisten' mister' prdict' pr tempore existen' ad numer' tresdecem vel pluriu' (quor' duos custod' mister' prdict' pr tempore existen' duos esse volums) necessar' oportun' & requisit' pr observacõe eard' legu' ordinac'on' & constituc'on' melius fore videbit' facere limitare & prvidere possint. Ac q'd ijdem custod' & cõitas mister' prdict' & succ' sui eadem fines et amerciamen' h'ere & levare possint & valeant ad usum p'fat' custod' & cõitat' & successor' suor' absq' impedimen' u'ri heredum vel successor' n'ror' aut alicujus vel aliquos' officiarior' vel ministror' & absq' aliquo comp'o nob' heredib3 vel successorib3 n'ris inde reddend'. Que omnia & singula jura ordinac'oes leges statut' & constituc'oes sic ut prfert' f'iend' observari volums sub penis in eisdem continend.' Ita tamen q'd leges statut' ordinacões constitucões imprisonamen' fines & amerciamen' h'moi sint ro'nabil' & non sint contrar' nec repugnan' legib3 statut' constitucoib3 sive jur' regni n'ri Anglie. Et p' meliori execucõe voluntatis & concessionis n're in hac parte assignavims no'iavims creavims constituis & fecims ac pr prsentes pr nob' hered' & success' n'ris assignams noi'ams creams constituims & facims dil'cos nob' Erasmum Greenway, Edr'm Ticher, Rob'tum Edwards, & Ed'm Hale, custod' mister' prdict continuand' in eodem officio a' dat' p'senciu' usq' decimu' quartum diem Julij p'r' sequen' post dat' prsencui' & exinde quousq' quatuor alij ad offic' custod mister' p'dict' debito modo' electi & p'fect' fuerint juxta ordinacões & p'visiones inferius in hijs p'sentib3 express' & declarat' si ijdem Erasmus Greenway, Edr'm Ticher, Rob'tum Edwards, & Ed'us Hale, vel eor' aliquis tam diuvixer'. Et assignavims noi'avims creavims constituims & fecims ac pr prsentes pr nob' heredib3 & successorib3 n'ris assignams noi'ams creams constituims & facims dil'cos nob' Ed'm Wright, Ar' Thomam Soam, Ar' Aldermanos Civitatis London, & Hen' Parkehurst, Rob'tum Mildmay, Will'm Gilley, Ed'm Tarvile, Georgiu' Scott, Rob'tum Walthewe, Stephanu' Streete, Nathaniel Deardas, Thomam Nicholls,

writing whatsoever, which to them, thirteen or more of them, (of whom two of the wardens of the mystery aforesaid for the time being, we will to be two at all times hereafter,) shall seem to be good, wholesome, useful, honest, and necessary, according to their sound discretions, for the good rule and government of the wardens and commonalty of the mystery aforesaid, and of all other persons being free of the aforesaid mystery of grocers, or exercising and using the aforesaid mystery, and shall behave, bear, and use themselves for the further public good and common utility of the same wardens and commonalty, and other things and causes whatsoever, touching or in any wise concerning the mystery aforesaid. And that the same wardens and assistants of the mystery aforesaid for the time being, to the number of thirteen or more, (of whom two of the wardens of the mystery aforesaid for the time being, we will to be two,) so often as they shall make, frame, ordain, or establish such laws, oaths, statutes, institutions, ordinances and constitutions, in form aforesaid, shall and may be able to make, limit and provide such, and so many pains, punishments, and penalties by corporal imprisonment, or by fines and amerciaments, or by either of them, against and upon all delinquents, against such laws, oaths, statutes, institutions, ordinances or constitutions, or any or either of them, and which to the same wardens and assistants of the mystery aforesaid for the time being, to the number of thirteen or more, (of whom two of the wardens of the mystery aforesaid for the time being, we will to be two,) shall seem to be most necessary, proper, and requisite for the observance of the same laws, ordinances, and constitutions. And that the same wardens and commonalty of the mystery aforesaid, and their successors, shall and may be able to have and levy the same fines and amerciaments to the use of the said wardens and commonalty, and their successors, without the hindrance of us, our heirs or successors, or of any or either of the officers or ministers of us, our heirs or successors, and without any account thereof to be rendered to us, our heirs, or successors. All and singular which rights, ordinances, laws, statutes, and constitutions, so as aforesaid to be made, we will to be ob-

Ric'm Moorer, Will'm Bateman, Thomam Morris, Simon Gearing, Erasmu' Greenway, Joh'em Gearing, Ric'm Wright, Joh'em Wrightman, Ric'm Piggott, Ruben Bourne, Nathaniel Wright, Humfridum Atkins, Thomam Thomlinson, Thomam Freeman, Joh'em Ball, Joh'em Wardall, Georgiu' Strowd, Thomam Sone, Rob'tum Grymes, Ed-'m Tither, Joh'em Langham, Rob'tum Edwards, Thomam Northey, Ed'm Hale, Ric'm Walcott, Daniel Harvey, Joh'em Banister, Georgiu' Bromley, Roger' Clerke, Affabell Fairclough, Jasper Draper, Joh'em Pemberton, Ric'm Middleton, Georgiu' Clerk, Ric'm Addams, Michael Nicholson, Joh'em Harrison, Ric'm Harris, Henr' Box, & Will'm Allen, cives & lib'os homines mister' p^{r}dict' fore & esse modernos assistentes ejusdem Mister' Grocer' Civitatis London continuand' in eisdem officijs durantib3 vitis suis n'ralib3 respective nisi interim p' male gubernac'oe seu male se gerend' in ea parte aut p^{r} aliqua alia causa ro'nabil' amoti fuer' aut eor' aliqui vel aliquis amotus erit vel amoti erunt. Et ult'ius volum^{s}. Ac p^{r} p^{r}sentes p^{r} nob' heredib3 & successorib3 n'ris concedim^{s} p^{r}fat' Custod' & Cõitat' Mister' Grocer' Civitatis London & successorib3 suis q'd custod' & assistentes mister' p^{r}dict' p^{r} tempore existen' ad numerum tresdecem vel pluriu' de tempore in tempus p^{r}petuis futuris temporib3 p^{r}tatem & authoritatem h'eant & h'ebunt an'uatim & quol't anno imp'p'm in & sup' decimu' quartum diem Julij vel infra octo dies ante d'cm decimu quartum diem Julij vel infr' octo dies p^{r}x' post d'cm decimu' quartu diem Julij eligend' & no'iand'. Et q'd eligere & no'iare possint de lib'is hominib3 cõitat^{r} p'dict' qui erunt Custod' Mister' Grocer' Civitatis London p' uno anno integro tunc p^{r}x' sequen' & deinde quousq' quatuor alij li'bi ho'ies mister' p^{r}dict' electi aut p'fecti fuerint juxta ordinacões & p^{r}visiones in hijs p^{r}sentib3 express' & menco'nat.' Et insup' volum^{s}. Ac p^{r} p^{r}sentes p^{r} nob' heredib3 & served under the pains in the same to be contained. So nevertheless that such laws, statutes, constitutions, imprisonments, fines, and amerciaments shall be reasonable, and shall not be contrary nor repugnant to the laws, statutes, customs, or rights of our kingdom of England; and for the better execution of our will and grant in this behalf, we have assigned, nominated, created, constituted and made, and by these presents for us, our heirs and successors do assign, nominate, create, constitute, and make our beloved Erasmus Greenway, Edrick Ticher, Robert Edwards, and Edmond Hale, wardens of the mystery aforesaid, to be continued in the same office from the date of these presents, until the 14th day of July next following the date of these presents, and from thence until four others shall be in due manner elected, preferred, and sworn according to the ordinances and provisions hereunder in these presents, expressed and declared, if the same Erasmus Greenway, Edric Ticker, Robert Edwards, and Edward Hale, shall so long live. And we have assigned, nominated, created, constituted, and made and by these presents for us, our heirs and successors, do assign, nominate, create, constitute, and make our beloved Edmund Wright, esq., Thomas Soam, esq., alderman of the City of London; and Henry Parkehurst, Robert Mildmay, William Gilley, Edmund Tarvile, George Scott, Robert Walthew, Stephen Streete, Nathaniel Deards, Thomas Nicholls, Richard Moorer, William Bateman, Thomas Morris, Simon Gearing, Erasmus Greenway, John Gearing, Richard Wright, John Wightman, Richard Jiggott, Ruben Bourne, Nathaniel Wright, Humphrey Atkins, Thomas Thomlinson, Thomas Freeman, John Ball, John Wardall, George Strowd, Thomas Sone, Robert Grymes, Edward Tither, John Langhams, Robert Edwards, Thomas Northey, Edward Hall, Richard Walcott, Daniel Harvey, John Banister, George Bromley, Roger Clerke, Affabell Fairclough, Jasper Draper, John Pemberton, Richard Middleton, George Clerk, Richard Addams, Michael Nicholson, John Harrison, Richard Harris, Henry Box, and William Allen, citizens and freemen of the aforesaid mystery, to be the first and present assistants of the

successorib3 n'ris concedim^{s} p^{r}fat' Custod' & Cõitat' Mister' Grocer' Civitatis London p^{r}dict' & successorib3 suis q'd si contigerit custod' mister' p^{r}dict aut eor' aliquem vel aliquos aliquo tempore infra unu' annu' post q'm ad offic' custod' mister' p^{r}dict' sic ut p^{r}fert' elect' & p^{r}fect' fuerint aut eor' aliquis vel aliqui p^{r}fect' fuerit vel fuerint obire aut' al offic' ill' amoveri. Quosquidem custod' & eor' queml't p' mala gubernacõe aut p^{r} aliqua causa rac'onabli p^{r} aliquos custod' non delinquentes vel offendentes & assisten' mister' p^{r}dict' p$_{r}$ tempore existen' ad numerum tresdecem vel pluriu' de tempore in tempus amobil' esse volum^{s} q'd tunc & toties bene liceat & licebit tant' & tot' eord' custod' & assisten' qui adhtunc sup' vixerint & remanserint ad numerum tresdecem aut pluriu' ad libitum suu' unu' al' vel plur' al' in custod' vel custod' mister' p$_{r}$dict' eligere & p^{r}ficere sed'm ordinacõem & p^{r}visionem in hijs p^{r}sentib3 declarat' exequend' & exercend' p^{r}dict' offic' custod' mister' p^{r}dict' usq' ad decimu' quartum diem Julij tunc p^{r}x' sequen' vel infra octo dies ante decimu' quartum diem Julij vel infra octo dies p^{r}x' post dc'm decimu' quartum diem Julij & exinde quousq' quatuor alij li'bi homines mister' p^{r}dict' in offic' custod' mister' p^{r}dict' elect' & nominat' erunt juxta ordinacões & p^{r}visiones in hijs p^{r}sentib3 declarat' & express' & sic toties quoties casus sic acciderit. Et ult'ius volum^{s}. Ac p$_{r}$ p^{r}sentes p' nob' hered' & successorib3 n'ris concedim^{s} p^{r}fat' custod' & cõitat p^{r}dict' & successorib3 suis q'd quandocunq' contigerit aliquem vel aliquos assisten' mister' p^{r}dict' p^{r} tempore existen' obire aut ab offic' ill' amoveri (quos quidem assistentes mister' p^{r}dict' & eor' queml't p' male se' gerend' in ea parte aut p^{r} aliqua alia causa rac'onabil' de tempore in tempus p^{r} custod' & assistentes ad numerum tresdecem vel plurin' mister' p^{r}dict' amrobil' & amrobilem esse volum^{s}) q'd tunc & toties bene liceat & licebit p'fat' custod' & assisten' ad numerum

same mystery of Grocers of the City of London, and to be continued in the same offices during their natural and respective lives; unless in the mean time for bad government or misbehaving themselves in that behalf, or for any or other reasonable cause they, or any, either of them shall be removed. And further, we will and by these presents, for us, our heirs and successors, do grant to the said wardens and commonalty of the Mystery of Grocers of the City of London, and their successors, that the wardens and assistants of the mystery aforesaid for the time being, to the number of thirteen or more, from time to time, and at all times hereafter, may and shall have power and authority yearly, and every year for ever, in and upon the 14th day of July, or within eight days before the said 14th day of July, or within eight days next after the said 14th day of July, to elect and nominate, and that they shall and may be able to elect and nominate from the freemen of the commonalty aforesaid who shall be wardens of the Mystery of Grocers of the City of London, for one whole year thence next ensuing; and from thence until four other freemen of the mystery aforesaid may be elected or preferred, according to the ordinances and provisions in these presents expressed and mentioned. And moreover, we will and by these presents for us, our heirs and successors, do grant to the said wardens and commonalty of the Mystery of Grocers of the City of London aforesaid and their successors, that if it shall happen the wardens of the mystery aforesaid, or any or either of them at any time within one year next after they shall be preferred or elected to the office of wardens of the mystery aforesaid, shall die or be removed from the same offices, (which same wardens and each of them for bad government, or for any other reasonable cause from time to time, we will to be removable by the remainder of the wardens not delinquents or offending; and the assistants of the mystery aforesaid for the time being, to the number of thirteen or more) that then and so often it shall and may be lawful for such and so many wardens and assistants who shall then survive, or remain to the number of thirteen or more, at their pleasure, to elect and prefer one or more other warden or wardens of the mystery

tresdecem vel plur mister' p^{r}dict' qui adtunc remanserint vel sup'-vixerint ad libitum suu' de tempore in tempus unu' aliu' vel plur' alios de cõitat' mister' p^{r}dict' in locum vel locos ipi'us assistentis vel ip'or' assistenciu' sic mori vel amoveri contingen' vel contingent eligere & nominare. Q'dq' ille sive illi postquam sic ut p^{r}fert' elect' & nominat' fuerit vel electi & no'iati fuerint antequam ad execucõem p^{r}dict' offic' assisten' vel assistent' mister' p^{r}dict' admittant' sive eor' aliquis admittat' sacrament' corporale coram custod' mister' p^{r}dict' p^{r} tempore existen' vel duob3 vel plurib3 eor' ad offic' ill' recte bene fidelit' & honeste exequend' & ad ea omnia secreta tenend' que in cur' assisten' in p$_{r}$encia ipi'us vel ipor' erint com'unicat' vel collat' p^{r}stabit & prestabunt & sic toties quoties casus sic acciderit. Et q'd custod' mister' p^{r}dict' vel eor' duo vel plures p^{r} tempore existen' h'eant & h'ebunt plenam potestatem & authoritatem ad t'dend' & ministrand' sacramen' corporal' tam oib3 officiar' mister' p^{r}dict' p^{r} debita execucõe officior' suor' recte bene & fidelit' in oib3 sep'al' offic' suo tangen' sive conc^{r}'nen' quam oib3 apprenticijs & al' lib'is hoib3 cõitat' p$_{r}$dict' p'ut antehac usitatem fuit. Ac INSUP' volum^{s} ac p' p'sentes p' nob' heredib3 & successorib3 n'ris concedim^{s} p^{r}fat' custod' & cõitat' & successorib3 suis. Q'd ijdem custod' & assisten' mister' p^{r}dict' p^{r} tempore existen' ad numerum tresdecim vel plurin' (quor' duos custodes mister' p^{r}dict' p^{r} tempore existen' duos esse volum^{s}) ro'nabiles taxacões & denar' sum'as de tempore in tempus sup' quodlibet memb' & quel^{r}' membrl't mister' p^{r}dict' p^{r} tempore existen' ad & v'sus armor' frument' vel' al' gran' p^{r}visiones ac al' usus publicos li'ttime assidere imponere & levare valeant & possint. Q'dq' p^{r}dict' custod' & assisten' ut p^{r}fert' p^{r} tempore existen' p^{r} meliore supportacõe societat' p^{r}dict' de tempore in tempus ron'abil' denar' sum' p' recepc'on & admission' aliquor' vel alicujus aforesaid, according to the ordinances and provisions in these presents, declared to execute and exercise the said office of warden of the said mystery, until the 14th day of July then next following, or within eight days before, or eight days after the said 14th day of July, and from thence until four other freemen of the aforesaid mystery shall be elected and nominated according to the ordinances and provisions in these presents declared and expressed, and so as often as such case shall happen. And further, we will and by these presents, for us, our heirs and successors, do grant that the aforesaid wardens and commonalty aforesaid and their successors, whensoever any or either of the assistants of the mystery aforesaid for the time being shall happen to die, or be removed from office, (which assistants of the aforesaid mystery and each of them for bad conduct in this respect, or for any other reasonable cause from time to time, we will to be removed and removable by the wardens and assistants of the mystery aforesaid, to the number of thirteen or more,) that then and so often it shall and may be lawful for the said wardens and assistants of the mystery aforesaid, to the number of thirteen or more, who shall then survive or remain, at their pleasure from time to time, whenever it shall so happen to elect and nominate one other or others of the commonalty of the mystery aforesaid, in the place or places of the same assistant or assistants so dying or being removed; and that he or they after they shall be so preferred, elected and nominated, shall before he or they, or any or either of them shall be admitted to execute the said office or offices of assistant or assistants of the mystery aforesaid, take their corporal oath before the wardens of the mystery aforesaid for the time being, or two or more of them, well, uprightfully, faithfully, and honestly to execute the same office, and to keep all the secrets which in the Court of Assistants in the presence of him or them may be communicated or conferred on, and so when and as often as it shall so happen. And that the wardens of the mystery aforesaid, or any two or more of them for the time being, may and shall have full power and authority to tender and administer corporal oaths

membr' vel membror' in lib'atur' & vestitum Anglice the Livery and cloathing vel alia officia & loca ejusdem societatis recipere & p^rcipere valeant & possint & hoc absq' impeticõe molestacõe vel impedimento n'ri heredum vel successor' nror' quor' cunq' aliquo actu statuto ordinacõe p^rvisione vel restricõe in contrar' inde in aliquo non obstan'. Et ULT'IUS de ub'iori gra' n'ras pi'ali ac ex c'ta scienc' & mero motu n'ris p^r meliore regimine & gub'nacõe o'im p'sonar' qui modo exercent aut imposterum exercebunt mister' grocer' p^rdict' infra d'cam Civitatem London seu suburbia ejusdem seu infra tria milliaria ejusdem civitatis dedim^s & concessim^s. Ac p^r p^rsentes p^r nob' heredib3 & successorib3 n'ris dam^s & concedim^s p^rfat' custod' & cõitat' mister' grocer' civitatis London & successorib' suis. Q'd p^rdict' custod' mister' p^rdict' & successores sui p^r tempore existen' vel eor' duo vel plur' p^rpetuis futur' temporibz imp'p'm h'eant & h'ebunt sup'vision' scrutin' correccõem & gub'nacõem oi'm & singlar' p^rsonar' Mister' Grocer' infra civitatem n'ram London & suburbia ejusdem & infra tria milliaria ejusdem civitatis & infra o'es lib'tates franchesias jurisdiccões & loca tam exempt' q'm non exempt' scituat' jacen' & existen' infra d'com Civitatem London seu infra tria milliaria ejusdem civitatis seu infra aliquem locum locor' p^rdict' occupan' exercen' sive uten'. Et potestatem & authoritatem ad e'os delinquentes in fals' indebit' seu insufficien' occupac'on' sive execuc'on' mister' sive art' p^rdict' grocer' pumiend' juxta eor' sanas discrec'oes & ordinac'oes p^r ip'os & successorib' suos sic ut p^rfert' faciend' volentes & p^r p'sentes p^r nob' heredib' & successorib' n'ris firmit' injungend' p'cipien' & mandari' oib' & singulis Majorib' Justiciar' Ballivis Custabular & oib' al' officiar' mister' & subditis n'ris quibuscunq' q'd sint auxiliantes assistentes & confortan' p^rfat' Custod' & Assisten' Mister' Grocer' Civitatis London p^rdict' & eor' cuilt ad faciend' habend' gau-

to all the officers of the mystery aforesaid for the due execution of their offices, rightly, well, and faithfully, in all their separate offices, touching or concerning as well all apprentices, and all other freemen of the commonalty aforesaid, as heretofore hath been used. And moreover we will and by these presents for us, our heirs and successors, do grant unto the said wardens and commonalty and their successors. That the same wardens and assistants of the mystery aforesaid, for the time being, to the number of thirteen or more, (of whom we will that two shall be wardens, for the time being, of the aforesaid mystery,) shall and may be able to assess, impose, and levy, from time to time, reasonable taxes and sums of money on all and every member and members of the mystery aforesaid, for the time being; for, and towards provision of arms, corn, and grain, and other public uses; and that the aforesaid wardens and assistants, as before mentioned, shall and may be able, from time to time, to receive and perceive for and towards the better support of the society aforesaid, reasonable sums for the reception and admission of any and every member or members for the freedom and vesture, (in English livery and clothing,) or other offices or places of the same society, without hindrance, molestation, or impediment of us, our heirs, or successors, whatsoever, any act, statute, ordinance, provision, or restriction, to the contrary thereof, in anywise notwithstanding. And further, of the abundance of our special grace, and from our certain knowledge and mere motion for the better rule and government of all persons now exercising, or who hereafter shall exercise the Mystery of Grocers, aforesaid, within the said City of London, or the suburbs of the same, or within three miles of the same City, we have given and granted, and by these presents, for us, our heirs and successors, do give and grant unto the said wardens and commonalty of the Mystery of Grocers of the City of London, and their successors, that the said wardens of the mystery aforesaid, and their successors, for the time being, or two or more of them, for the time being, at all times hereafter, may and shall have the oversight, scrutiny, correction and government of all and singular persons of the said Mystery of Grocers, or occupying, exercising, or

dend' & exequend' ea omnia & singula pr nos prfat' custodz & cõitat' mister' psdict' & successorib' suis pr l'ras n'ras paten' prconcess' & q'mlt sive aliquam inde part' & prcell'. Et ult'ius de uberior' gra' n'ra spi'ali ac ex c'ta scienc' & mero motu n'ris pr nob' heredib' & successorib' n'ris concedims & confirmamus prfat' Custod' & Cõitat' Mister Grocer' Civitatis London & successorib' suis O'es & o'ird' librtat' Franches, Exempcões Consuetudines Privileg' p'fic' Im'unitates Quietancias & Jurisdicões Maner' Messuag' Terr' Tenemen' & Hereditamen' Bona & Catall' que Custod' Mister' prdict' seu Custod' & Cõitas Mister' Grocer' London seu eor' aliqui modo h'abent tenent gaudent & utant' aut h'ere tenere uti & gandere debent aut eor' aliquis vel aliqui vel prdecessores sui p' quecunq' no'ia sive p' quodcunq' no'en vel p' quamcunq' incorporacõem vel prtextu cujuscunq' incorporacõis antehac h'uerunt usi vel gavisi fuerunt aut h'ere tanere uti vel gaudere debuerunt' h'uit tenuit usus vel gavisus fuit debuit aut debuerunt ro'ne vel prtextu aliquar' chartar' aut l'rar' paten' pr aliquem prgenitor' vel antecessor' n'ror' nup' regum' vel reginar' anglie quomodo antehac fact' confirmat' vel concess' seu quocunq' alio legali prscripcõe usu' seu consuetudine aut aliquo alio legali modo jure seu titulo antehac habit' & usutat' licet eadem & eor' aliquod vel aliqu' forisfact' aut dep'dit' sunt vel fuerunt. Habend' tenend' & gaudend' eisdem custod' & cõitat' mister' prdict' & successorib' suis imp'p'm. Reddendo inde nob' heredib' & successorib' n'ris tal' hum'oi & consimil' Reddit' Firm' Denanor' Sum'as & Demand' que p'inde nob' antehac reddere seu solvere consueverunt aut de jure debuerunt. Volentes & pr prsentes p' nob' heredib' & successorib' n'ris conceden' prfat' Custod' & Cõitat' Mister' Grocer' Civitatis London & successorib' suis q'd h'eant teneant utant' & gaudeant ac h'ere tenere uti & gaudere valeant & possint using the same, within our City of London, and the suburbs of the same, and within three miles of the same City, and within the liberties, franchises, jurisdictions, and places, as well exempt as not exempt, lying and being within the said City of London, or within three miles of the same city, or within any the place or places aforesaid, and power and authority to punish all offences, in falsely, unduly, or insufficiently occupying or executing the mystery or art of grocery, aforesaid, according to their sound discretions and the ordinances of them and their successors, so as before mentioned, to be made, Willing, and by these presents, for us, and our heirs, and successors, firmly enjoining, ordering, and commanding all and singular, mayors, justices, bailiffs and constables, officers of the mystery, and all other our subjects whatsoever, that they be aiding, assisting, and comforting to the said Wardens and Assistants of the Mystery of Grocers of the City of London aforesaid, and each of them in the making, having, keeping, and executing of all and singular by us to the said Wardens and Commonalty of the Mystery aforesaid, and their successors, granted by these our letters patent, and every part and parcel thereof whatsoever. And further of the abundance of our special grace, and from our certain knowledge and mere motion, we have granted and confirmed, for us, our heirs, and successors, unto the said Wardens and Commonalty of the Mystery of Grocers of the City of London, and their successors, all and all manner of liberties, franchises, exemptions, customs, privileges, profits, immunities, acquittances and jurisdictions, manors, messuages, lands, tenements, and hereditaments, goods and chattels, which the wardens of the mystery aforesaid, or the Wardens and Commonalty of the Mystery of Grocers of London, or any of them, now have, hold, enjoy, and use, or ought to have, hold, use, and enjoy, or which they, or any of them, or any of their predecessors, by whatsoever name or names, or by whatsoever incorporation, or by pretext of any incorporation, heretofore had, used, or enjoyed, or ought to have, hold, use, or enjoy, or ought to have had, held, used, or enjoyed, by reason or pretext of any charters or letters patent, by any of our progenitors or ancestors, late Kings or Queens of England, in any-

imp'p'm o'es lib'tates lib'as consuetudines privileg' p^rfic & quietanc' p^rdict' sed'm tenorem har' l'rar' n'rar' paten' sine occasione n'ra heredum vel successor' n'ror' quor' cunq'. Nonentes q'd ijdem Custodes & Cõitas ro'ne p^rmissor' sive eor' alicujus p' nos heredes vel successores n'ros Justiciar' Vicecom' Escaetores aut alios Balli'os vel Ministros n'ros heredum vel successor' n'ror' quor'cunq' inde occasionent' molestent' vexent' seu g'vent' occasionet' molestet' vexet' seu in aliquo p^rturbet'. Volentes & p^r nob' heredib' & successorib' n'ris firmit' Mandantes & p^rcipientes tam Thesaurar' Cancellar' & Baronibus n'r' s'ccij n'ri heredum & successor' n'ror' ac o'ib' & singulis alijs. Justiciar' n'ris ac heredum & successor' n'ror' q'm. Attornat' n'r' General' p^r tempore existen' & eor' cuilt & o'ib' ab' Officiar' & Ministris n'ris heredum & successor' n'ror' quibuscunq' q'd nec i'pi nec eor' aliquis sive aliqui aliquod B're sive sum'onicõem de Quo Warranto seu aliquod aliud B're vel p^rcess' n'r' quecunq' v'sus p^rdict' Custod' & Cõitat' Mister' Grocer' Civitatis London vel eor' aliquem vel aliquos p' aliquib' reb' causis vel mater' offens' clameo aut usurpacõe aut eor' aliquo p^r ip'os aut eor' aliquos clamat' attempt' usitat' habit' seu usurpat' ante diem confeccõis p^rsenciu' p^rsequant' continuant' aut p'sequi aut continuari faciant aut causabunt seu eor' aliquis faciet & causabit. Volentes etiam q'd p^rdict' Custod' & Cõitas Mister' Grocer' Civitatis London vel eor' aliqui p^r aliquem vel aliquos Justiciar' Officiar' vel Minister' p^rdict' in aut p^r debit' usu' clam' vel' abusu aliquar' Lib'tat' Franches' & Jurisdiccõn' infra Civitatem n'ram London p'dict' Lib'tates Suburbia & p^rcinct' ejusdem ante diem confeccõnis har' l'rar' n'rar' paten' nimina molestent aut impediant' aut ad ea vel eor' aliquod respondere compellant. Volum^s etiam' ac p^r p^rsentes concedim^s p'fat' Custod' & Coitat' Mister' Grocer' Civitatis London q'd h'eant & h'ebunt has l'ras wise heretofore made, confirmed, or granted, or by whatsoever other lawful prescription, usage, custom, or by any other lawful manner, right, or title heretofore, had or used, although the same, or any, or either of them may be forfeited or lost. To have, hold, and enjoy to them the said Wardens and Commonalty of the Mystery aforesaid, and their successors for ever. Rendering therefore to us, our heirs and successors, the like, such, and the same rents, farms, sums of money, and demands, as for the same to us hath heretofore been accustomed, or of right ought to be rendered or paid. Willing, and by these presents for us, our heirs and successors, granting to the aforesaid Wardens and Commonalty of the Mystery of Grocers of the City of London, and their successors, that they shall have, hold, use, and enjoy, and that they shall and may be able to have, hold, use and enjoy for ever, all liberties, free customs, privileges, profits, and acquittances aforesaid, according to the tenor of these our letters patent, without the hindrance of us, our heirs, or successors, whomsoever. Being unwilling that the same Wardens and Commonalty by reason of the premises or any of them should be therefore hindered, molested, vexed, or aggrieved, or in any ways disturbed by us, or by the justices, sheriffs, escheators, or other bailiffs of us, our heirs, or successors, whomsoever. Willing also, and for us, our heirs, and successors, firmly ordering and commanding, as well our treasurer, chancellor, and barons of the Exchequer, of us, our heirs and successors, as all and singular other the justices of us, and our heirs and successors, or our attorney and solicitor-general, for the time being, and every of them, and all other officers and ministers of us, our heirs and successors, whomsoever, that neither they nor any or either of them shall prosecute or continue, or make, or cause to be prosecuted or continued any writ or summons of quo-warranto or any other our writ or process whatsoever against the said Wardens and Commonalty of the Mystery of Grocers of the City of London, or any or either of them, for any things, causes, or matters, offence, or occupation, or any of them, claimed, attempted, used, had or usurped, before the day of making these presents. Willing also that the said Wardens and

n'ras Paten' sub Magno Sigillo n'ro Anglie debito modo fact' & sigillat' absq' fine seu feodo magno vel parvo nob' in Haniperio n'ro seu alibi ad usum n'rm prinde quoquomodo reddend' solvend' seu faciend'. Ac deniq' volums. Ac pr prsentes intenco'em n'ram regalem declarams. Q'd he l're paten' vel aliquod in eisdem content' nulla tenus extendent vel extendere reputant' ad infringend' quasdam L'ras Paten' Incorporac' ois Mag'ro Custod' & Societat' Art' & Mister' Pharmacopa' Civitatis London pr p'charrissimu' nup' Pre'm n'rm nup' fact' aliquo in l'ris prsentib' in contrar' inde non obstan'. Eo q'd expressa menc'o &c. In cujus rei &c. T. R. apud Westm' decimo quinto die Aprilis.

P' B're de Privato Sigillo.

Commonalty of the Mystery of Grocers of the City of London, or any or either of them shall not in anywise be molested or impeded by any or either of our justices, officers or ministers aforesaid, in or for the due use, claim or abuse of any liberties, franchises, and jurisdictions, within our City of London aforesaid, the liberties, suburbs, and precincts of the same, before the day of the making of these our letters patent or be compelled to answer to them or any of them. We will also, and by these presents do grant unto the Wardens and Commonalty, &c. that they may and shall have these our letters patent in due manner, made to them under our great seal of England, without fine in the hanaper, &c. And lastly, we will, &c. that these letters patent, or any thing in them contained, shall not extend to nullify or be taken to extend to the infringement of any letters patent of incorporation to the Master, Wardens, and Society of the Art and Mystery of Apothecaries of the City of London, of late made by our most dear father, any thing in these presents contained to the contrary thereof, in anywise notwithstanding. In witness, &c. Witness the King at Westminster, the 15th day of April.

By Writ of Privy Seal.

Undecima pars Paten' de Anno R. Re. Jacobi secundi quarto.

D. Cart' Custodz & Coitat' Mister' Grocer' London sibi & success'.

Rex, &c. om'ib' ad quos &c. salt'm. Sciatis q'd Nos. ad humilem Petic'onem dil'cor' & fide' subdit' n'ror Custod' & Coitat' Mister' Grocer' Civitat' n're London de gra' n'ra spi'ali ac ex crta scientia & mero motu n'ris Concessims Restituims Ratificavims & Confirmavims. Et pr prsentes p' nob' hered' & successorib' n'ris Concedims Restituims Ratificams & Confirmams prfat' Custod' & Coitat' Myster' Grocer' Civitat' London & success' suis oium' & singul' Jurisdicc'on' Potestat' Lib'tat' Privileg' & Profic' in vel pr chartam sive l'ras paten' Henrici Sexti quondam Regis Angl' Antecessor' n'ri *quibusdam* Willo' Westnale Ri'co Hakedy & Thome Gibbs adtunc

Eleventh part of Patents in the fifth year of King James the Second, of a Charter to the Wardens and Commonalty of the Mystery of Grocers of London, to them and their successors.

The King, &c.: To all to whom, &c. Greeting. Know ye that we at the humble petition of our beloved and faithful subjects the Wardens and Commonalty of the Mystery of Grocers of our City of London, of our special grace, and from our certain knowledge and mere motion have granted, restored, ratified and confirmed, and by these presents for us, our heirs and successors, do grant, restore, ratify, and confirm unto the aforesaid Wardens and Commonalty of the Mystery of Grocers of the City of London, and their successors, all and singular jurisdictions, powers, liberties, privileges and profits

Custod' Myster' Grocer' Civitat' London & successorib' suis Custod' Myster' p^rd' imp'p'm concess' geren' dat' octavo die Martij anno Regni ejusdem Regis Henrici vicesimo sexto ac in vel p^r chart' sive l'ras paten' p'charissimi Patris n'ri Caroli Primi nup' Regis Angl' &c. Custod' & Coitat' Myster' Grocer' Civitat' London & successorib' suis concess' geren' dat' decimo quinto die April' anno regni sui quintodecimo. Acetiam Oium' & om'iod' lib'tat' franches' exempco'n' consuetudin' privileg' profic' im'unitat' quietanc' & jurisdicc'on' maner' messuag' terr' & hereditamen' bona & catalla que custod' myster' p'd' seu Custod' & Coitas Myster' Grocer' Civitat' London seu eor' aliqui modo habent tenent gaudent & utunt' aut h'ere tenere uti & gaudere debent aut eor' aliquis vel aliqui vel p^rdecessor' sui p^r quecunq' no'ia vel p^r quod cunq' no'en vel p' quecunq' incorporac'oem vel p^rtextu cujuscunq' Incorporac'onis ante decimu' octavum diem Decembr' qui fuit anno D'ni Millesimo sexcentesimo octogesimo quarto l'itime h'uer' usi vel gavis' fuer' aut h'ere tenere uti vel gaudere debuer' h'uit tenuit usus vel gavis' fuit debuit aut debuer' rac'one vel p^rtextu aliquar' chart' aut l'rar' paten' p' aliquem p'genitor' vel antecessor' n'ror' nup' Regu' vel Reginar' Angl' quoquo modo ante p^rd'cm decimu' octavum diem Decembr' anno D'ni Millesimo sexcentesimo octogesimo quarto p^rd' fact' confirmat' vel concess' seu quocunq' al' legal' modo p^rscripc'one usu seu consuetudin' aut aliquo al' legal' modo jure vel titulo ante p^rd'cm decimu' octavum diem Decembr' in anno millesimo sexcentesimo octogesimo quarto p^rd' habit' & usitat' licet eadem vel eor' aliqu' rac'one Non usus vel abusus aut alit'cunq' sursumreddit' forisfact' aut dep'dit' sunt vel fuer'. Habend' tenend' & guadend' ijsdem Custod' & Coitat' Mister' Grocer' Civitat' London & successorib' suis imp'p'm Reddend' inde nob' & successorib' n'ris *tal' ejusmodi & consil'* Reddit' Firm' Denar' sum'as & demand' que p'inde nob' antehac reddere seu solvere consuever' aut de jure debuer' Volen' & p^r p^rsentes p^r nob' hered' & successorib' n'ris conceden' p'fat' Custod' & Coitat' Myster' Grocer' Civitat' London & successorib' suis q'd h'eant teneant utant' & gaudeant & h'ere tenere uti & gaudere valeant' & possint imp'p'm omniu' lib'tat'

in or by the Charter or Letters patent of Henry the Sixth, late king of England, our ancestor, granted unto a certain William Westmale, Richard Hakedy and Thomas Gibbs, then Wardens of the Mystery of Grocers of the City of London, and to their successors, Wardens of the said Mystery for ever, bearing date the 8th day of March, in the 26th year of the reign of the same King Henry VI.; and in or by the Charter or Letters patent of our most dear father Charles I., late king of England, &c. granted to the Wardens and Commonalty of the Mystery of Grocers of the City of London, and their successors, bearing date the 15th day of April, in the 15th year of his reign, and also all and all manner of liberties, franchises, exemptions, customs, privileges, profits, immunities, acquittances, and jurisdictions, manors, messuages, lands, tenements, and hereditaments, goods and chattels, which the Wardens of the Mystery aforesaid, or the Wardens and Commonalty of the Mystery of Grocers of the City of London, or any of them, now have, hold, enjoy, and use, or ought to have, hold, use and enjoy, or which any of them or any of their predecessors, by whatsoever name or names, or by any incorporation or pretext of any incorporation before the 18th of December, 1684, had used or enjoyed, or which they ought to have, hold, use, or enjoy, or ought to have had, used, or enjoyed, or ought, by reason or pretext of any Charters or Letters patent by any of our progenitors or ancestors, late kings or queens of England now or before the 18th day of December, 1684, aforesaid, made, confirmed or granted, or by whatsoever other lawful prescription, use, or custom, or which, by any other lawful manner, right or title, before the said 18th day of December, 1684, they had and were allowed to use, or any of them, although the same by reason of non-use or abuse are or may be forfeitured or lost. To have, hold and enjoy, to the same Wardens and Commonalty of the Mystery of Grocers of the City of London, and their successors, for ever. Rendering therefore to us and our successors, the like, such, and the same rents, fermes, sums of money and demands, as for the same hath heretofore been accustomed or of right ought to be rendered or paid. Willing, and by these presents for us, our heirs and suc-

lib'as consuetudin' privileg' profic' & quietanc' p^{r}d' scd'm tenorem har' l'rar n'rar' paten' sive occac'one n'ri hered' vel successor' n'ror' quoscunq.' Cumq' Confecc'onar' Dragiste (Anglice Druggists) Nicotian' Venditor (Anglice Tobacconists) & Nicotian' Sector' (Anglice tobacco-cutters) p^{r} lib'os ho'ies societat' sive Myster' Grocer' Civitat' London p^{r}d' olim & nup'ime educat' fuer' ac eor' artes sive myster' de Groc'ia estamat' & reputat' fuer' & sic adhuc existunt nec aliqua distincta Corporaco' eordem infra Civitat' n'ra London admodum existit. Sciatis ult'ius q'd Nos p' melior' regimine & gub'nac'one o'ium p^{r}sonar' Art' sive Myster p^{r}d' sive aliqu' eor' infra Civitat' London suburb' p'cinct' sive lib'tat' ejusdem vel infra tria milliar' circum Civitat' p^{r}d' ex'cen' vel imposter' ex'citur' de gra' n'ra spi'ali ac ex c^{r}'ta scientia & mero motu n'ris Voluim^{s} Ordinavim Declaravim^{s} & Concessim^{s}. Ac p' p^{r}sentes p^{r} nob' hered' & successorib' n'ris Volum^{s} Ordinam^{s} Declaram^{s} & Concedim^{s} p'd'cis Custod' & Coitat' Mister' Grocer' Civitat' London Q'd om'es & oi'mod' p^{r}sona & p^{r}sone Myster' sive Art' Grocer' Art' sive Myster' Confecc'onar' Dragiste Nicotian' Venditor' & Nicotian' Sector' de & in Civitat' p^{r}d'ca p^{r}cinct' sive lib'tat' ejusdem vel infra tria milliar' circa Civitat' p^{r}d' vel Art' p^{r}d'cas sive aliqu' ear' infra Loc' p^{r}d'cos sive aliqu' eor' ex'cen' vel imposter' ex'citur' de cet'o imp'p'm sint & erunt vigore p^{r}sentiu' pars corporis politic' p^{r}d'cor' Custod' & Coitat' Myster' Grocer' Civitat' London & sint & erunt p^{r}petuis futur' temporib' annexat' Corpori Politic' p'd'co Custod' & Coitat' Myster' Grocer' Civitat' London Q'd'q' Custod' & Co'itas Myster' Grocer' Civitatis London. Qdq' Custod' et Coi'tas Myster' Grocer' Civitat' London. Ac om'es & oi'mod' p^{r}sona vel p^{r}sone Myster' sive Art' Grocer' & Myster' sive Art' Confecc'onar' Dragiste Nicotian' Venditor' & Nicotian' Sector' de & in Civitat' p^{r}d'ca suburbijs p^{r}cinct' sive lib'tat' ejusdem vel infra tria milliar' circum Civitat' p^{r}d' vel art' p^{r}d'cas sive aliq'm ear' infra loc' p^{r}d'cas sive aliquem eor' ex'cen' vel imposter' ex'citur' de cet'o imp'p'm sint & erunt vigore p'senciu' unu' corpus corporat' & politic' in re f'co & no'ie p^{r} no'en Custod' & Coitat' Myster' Grocer' Civitat' London. Et eas unu' corpus corporat' & politic' in re f'co & no'ie

cessors, granting to the aforesaid Wardens and Commonalty of the Mystery of Grocers of the City of London, and their successors, that they may have, hold, use and enjoy, and shall and may be able to have, hold, use and enjoy for ever, all liberties, free customs, privileges, profits and acquittances aforesaid, according to the tenor of these our Letters patent, without hindrance of us, our heirs or successors whomsoever. And whereas confectioners, druggists, tobacconists and tobacco-cutters, by the freemen of the Society or Mystery of Grocers of the City of London aforesaid, both now and of late were educated, and their arts esteemed and reputed to be of the mystery of grocery, and so have hitherto continued, neither has any distinct incorporation of the same existed. Know ye further, that we, for the better rule and government of all persons of the arts or mysteries aforesaid, or any of them within the City of London and the suburbs, precincts, and liberties of the same, or within three miles around the same city, of our special grace, and of our certain knowledge and mere motion, have willed, ordained, declared and granted, and by these presents for us, our heirs and successors, do will, ordain, declare and grant to the said wardens and commonalty of the mystery of Grocers of the City of London; that all and all manner of person and persons of the mystery or art of grocery, or of the arts or mysteries of a confectioner, druggist, tobacconist, and tobacco-cutter, of and in the city aforesaid, and the precincts and liberties of the same, or within three miles around the said city, exercising the arts aforesaid, or any of them, within the places aforesaid, or any of them, or who shall hereafter exercise the same, may and shall be henceforth and for ever by force of these presents, part of the body politic of the said wardens and commonalty of the mystery of Grocers of the City of London; and may and shall be for ever hereafter annexed to the body politic of the said wardens and commonalty of the mystery of Grocers of the City of London. And that the said wardens and commonalty of the mystery of Grocers of the City of London, and all and all manner of person and persons of the mystery or art of grocery, and of the mysteries or arts of a confectioner,

realit' & ad plenum p' nob' hered' & successorib' n'ris erigim^{s} facim^{s} ordinam^{s} constituim^{s} & declaram^{s} p^{r} p^{r}sentes p' idem no'en. Et q'd h'eant successionem p^{r}petuam. Et ult'ius de gra' n'ra spi'ali ac ex c^{r}ta scientia & mero motu n'ris volum^{s}. Ac p^{r} p^{r}sentes condecim^{s} p^{r}fat' Custod' & Coitat' Myster' Grocer' Civitat' London & successorib' suis Q'd i'pi & successores sui imp'p'm h'eant & recipiant h'ere & recip'e valeant & possint de om'ib' et om'iod' p^{r}sona et p^{r}sonis Myster' Grocer' p^{r}d' in aliqua specier' inde p^{r}d' quocunq' modo uten' vel ex'cen' vel qui imposter' sic utent vel usi fie'int' vel ex'cebunt infra Civitat' loc' vel p^{r}cinct' p^{r}d' Et q'd quel't tal' p^{r}son' (licet i'pe vel i'pi non sit nec sint liber seu li'bi de aliqua sociatat' infra civitat' p^{r}d') solv'int ac solvere debeant p^{r}fat' guardian' et Coitat' Societat' Myster' Grocer' p'd' tant' et tal' denar' summ' annuatim p' equal' quart'ial' soluc'on' (Anglice Quarteridge,) qual' et quant' solubil' sint & erint ac solvi debent vel debet eisdem Guardian' et Societat' p^{r} lib'os Ho'ies p^{r}d' Societat' Myster' Grocer' p^{r}d' p^{r} tempore existen' vigore vel colore alicujus chart' ordinac'on' vel usus jam concess' fact' et usitat' vel imposter' concedend' vel faciend' p^{r} melior' Regimine Supportac'one et Regulac'one ejusdem Myster' Grocer' et p^{r}son' idem Myster' uten' et ex'cen' infra loc' et p^{r}cinct' p^{r}d' Et ult'ius de gra' n'ra spi'ali ac ex c^{r}ta scientia et mero motu n'ris volum^{s}. Ac p' p^{r}sentes p^{r} nob' hered' et successorib' n'ris concedim^{s} p^{r}fat' Custod' et Coitat' Myster' Grocer' Civitat' London' et successorib' suis q'd i'pi et successores sui imp'p'm h'eant tot' tal' eadem et ejusmodi lib'tat' privileg' potestat' authoritat' jurisdicc'on' et franches' p^{r} gub'nac'oe et regimine societat' p^{r}d' et o'ium p^{r}sonar' infra Civitat' London suburb' p'cinct' seu lib'tat' ejusdem vel infra tria milliar' circum civitat' p^{r}d' ex'cen' vel ex'citur' Myster' Grocer' vel Art, sive Myster' Confecc'onar' Dragiste Nicotian' Venditor' et Nicotian' Sector' drnggist, tobacconist, and tobacco-cutter, of and in the city aforesaid, or the suburbs, precincts, or liberties of the same, or within three miles of the city aforesaid, exercising, or who shall hereafter exercise the arts aforesaid, or any of them within the places aforesaid, or any of them, may and shall be by force of these presents one body politic and corporate, in deed, fact, and name, by the name of the Wardens and Commonalty of the Mystery of Grocers of the City of London, and them one body politic and corporate, really and fully for us, our heirs and successors, we do erect, make, ordain, constitute, and declare by these presents, and that by the same name they may have perpetual succession. And further, of our special grace, and from our certain knowledge and mere motion, we will and by these presents do grant unto the said wardens and commonalty of the mystery of Grocers of the City of London and their successors, that they and their successors may and shall for ever hereafter have and receive, and shall and may be able to have and receive from all and all manner of person and persons of the mystery of grocery aforesaid, in any sort or manner whatsoever, using or exercising, or who henceforwards may or shall exercise or use the same within the city, places, or precincts aforesaid, and that it shall be lawful for such persons (he or they not being free, or freemen of any other society within the city aforesaid,) to pay, and they shall have power to pay to the said wardens and commonalty of the Society of the Mystery of Grocers aforesaid, so much and such annual sums of money by equal quarterly payments, in English (*quarteridge,*) in kind and amount, as may and shall be payable, and ought to be paid to the same wardens and society by the freemen of the aforesaid Society of the Mystery of Grocers aforesaid for the time being, by force or color of any charter, ordinance, or usage, now granted, made, used, or henceforth to be granted, made, or used, for the better rule, support, and regulation of the same Mystery of Grocers, and the persons using and exercising the same mystery within the places and precincts aforesaid. And further, of our special grace, and from our certain knowledge and mere motion we will, and by these presents for

ad om'es eff'cus quoscunq' quot' qual' quant' et que Custod' et Coitat' Mysster' Grocer' Civitat' London h'uer' gavis' fuer' aut potuer' rac'one vel p^{r}textu aliquar' Chartar' aut L'rar' Paten' p^{r} aliquem Progenitor' vel Antecessor' n'ror' nup' Regum vel Reginar' Angl' quoquo modo ante p^{r}d'cm decimu' octavum diem Decemb^{r} in anno millesimo sexcentesimo octogesimo quarto p^{r}d' fact' confirmat' vel concess' seu quacunq' al' legal' p^{r}scripc'oe usu seu consuetudine aut aliquo al' legal' modo jure seu titulo ante p^{r}d'cm decimu' octavum diem Decembr' in anno p'd'co habit' et usitat'. Et ult'ius p^{r} meliori regimine et gub'nac'one o'ium p^{r}sonar' qui modo ex'cent vel imposter' ex'cebunt Myster' Grocer' p^{r}d' sub quacunq' deno'iac'one sup'dict' infra d'cam Civitat' n'ram London suburb' lib'tat' sive p^{r}cinct' ejusdem vel infra tria milliar' circum Civitat' p^{r}d' dedim^{s} et concessim^{s}. Ac p^{r} p^{r}sentes p^{r} nob' hered' et successorib' n'ris dam^{s} et concedim^{s} p^{r}fat' Custod' et Coitat' Myster' Grocer' Civitat' London et successorib' suis Q'd custod' Myster' p^{r}d' et successores sui p^{r} tempore existen' p$_{r}$ se vel p^{r} sufficien' deputat' suos in et p^{r} cur' assistentium myster' p^{r}d'ci p tempore existen' approband' et appunctuand' p^{r}petuis futur' temporib' h'eant et h'ebunt sup'visionem scrutin' correcc'onem et gub'nac'oem o'ium et singul' p^{r}sonar' Myster' Confecc'onar' Dragiste Nicotian' Venditor' et Nicotian' Sector' infra Civitat' n'ram London suburb' ejusdem et infra tria milliar' circum Civitat' p^{r}d' Et infra om'es lib'tat' franches' jurisdicc'on' et loc' tam exempt' q'm non exempt' scituat' jacen' et existen' infra d'cam Civitat' London et infra tria milliar' circum Civitat' p^{r}d' seu infra aliquem loc' p^{r}d'cor' (in aliqua specie sive aliquib' specieb' p^{r}d' occupan' ex'cen' sive uten$_{r}$) Et potestat' et authoritat' ad om'es delinquen' in falsa inde'ba seu insufficien' occupac'one sive execuc'one

us and our successors, do grant unto the said wardens and commonalty of the mystery of Grocers of the City of London and their successors, that they and their successors for ever may have all such and the same kind of liberties, privileges, powers, authorities, jurisdictions, and franchises, for the government and rule of the aforesaid society, and of all persons within the City of London and the suburbs, precincts or liberties of the same, or within three miles around the city aforesaid, exercising or who shall hereafter exercise the mystery of grocery, or the art or mystery of confectioner, tobacconist, or tobacco-cutter, to all purposes whatsoever, so many and of such kind and quality as the wardens and commonalty of the mystery of Grocery of the City of London have had, enjoyed, or been possessed of, or which they ought by reason or means of any charters and letters patents by any of our progenitors or ancestors, late kings or queens of England, in any manner before the said 18th of December, 1684, made, confirmed or granted, or by whatever other legal or prescriptive use, custom, or any other legal means, right or title, before the said 18th of December 1684, to have had and used. And further, for the better rule and government of all persons who now exercise or hereafter shall exercise the mystery of grocery aforesaid, under whichsoever of the above mentioned denominations within our said City of London or the suburbs, liberties, or precincts of the same, or within three miles circuit of the said city, we have given and granted, and by these presents for us, our heirs and successors, do give and grant to the said wardens and commonalty of the mystery of Grocers of the City of London and their successors, that the wardens of the said mystery for the time being by themselves, or by their sufficient deputies, to be approved of by the Court of Assistants of the said mystery for the time being, may for ever and at all times hereafter have the oversight, scrutiny, correction, and government of all and singular persons of the mysteries of confectioners, druggists, tobacconists, and tobacco-cutters, within the City of London and the suburbs of the same; and within three miles circuit of the said city, and within all

Myster' sive Art' p^{r}d' Grocer' et al' Art' sive Myster' p^{r}d' puniend' juxta eor' sanas discrecc'ones et ordinac'ones p^{r} ip'os et successores suos sic (ut p^{r}fert') faciend' Volen' et p^{r}sentes p^{r} nob' hered' et successorib' n'ris firmit' injungend' p^{r}cipien' et mandan' om'ib' et singulis Major' Justiciar' Ballivis Constabular' et om'ib' al' Officiar' Ministris et subdit' n'ris quib'cunq' Q'd sint auxilian' assisten' et conforten' p^{r}fat' Custod' et Assisten' Myster' Grocer' Civitat' London p^{r}d' Deputat' ac Ministris suis et eor' cui'lt' ad faciend' habend' gaudend' et exequend' ea om'ia et singula p'nos p^{r}fat' Custod' et Coitat' Myster' p^{r}d' et successorib' suis p^{r} l'ras n'ras paten' p'concess' et quam'lt seu aliquam inde partem et parcell'. Et ult'ius de gra' n'ra spi'ali ac ex c^{r}ta sciencia et mero motu n'ris Dedim^{s} et Concessim^{s}. Ac p^{r} p^{r}sentes p^{r} nob' hered' et successorib' n'ris Dam^{s} et Concedim^{s} p^{r}fat' Custod' et Coitat' Myster' Grocer' Civitat' London et successorib' suis Q'd om'es et singul' p^{r}sona et p^{r}sone modo ex'cen' sive uten' aut qui imposter' utent' vel ex'cebunt Myster' Grocer' vel Art' sive Myster' Confecc'onar' Dragist' Nicotian' Venditor' et Nicotian' Sector' infra Civitat' n'^{r}' London suburb' p^{r}cinct' sive lib'tat' ejusdem vel infra tria milliar' circa Civitat' et Lib'tat' p^{r}d' (qui ad p^{r}sens non sint Liber' vel Libi' de aliqua al' Societat' vel Myster' infra Civitat' p^{r}d' de hac Societat' sive Myster' Grocer' Civitat' London de cet'o libi' fact' sint et erunt Et q'd imposter' om'es et singul' Apprenticoes suos ad Aulam Membrisq' hujus Societat' obligabunt' seu obligari causabunt et ip'os de eadem Societat' Lib'os facient aut

liberties, franchises, jurisdictions, and places, as well exempt as not exempt, situate, lying, and being within the said City of London, or within three miles around the aforesaid city, or within any of the places aforesaid, or occupying, exercising, or using the like trades, in whatsoever other places and streets; and that they shall have power and authority to punish all offenders for deceits and incompetent occupation or execution of the mystery or art of grocery aforesaid, and the other arts or mysteries aforesaid, according to their sound discretions and the ordinances so to be made as aforesaid by them and their successors. And we will and for us our heirs and successors, do firmly enjoin, decree, and commend by these presents, all and singular, mayors, justices, bailiffs, constables, and all other our officers, ministers, and subjects whatsoever, that they be aiding, assisting, and comforting to the said wardens and assistants of the mystery of Grocers of the City of London aforesaid, and their deputies and ministers, and others in the performing, assisting, keeping, and execution of all and singular by us our letters patent, granted as aforesaid to the said wardens and commonalty of the mystery aforesaid and their successors, and every part and parcel thereof whatsoever. And further, of our special grace, and from our certain knowledge and mere motion, we have given and granted, and by these presents for us, our heirs and successors, do give and grant unto the said wardens and commonalty of the mystery of Grocers of the City of London and their successors, that all and singular person and persons now exercising or using, or which shall in future use or exercise the mystery of grocery or the arts or mysteries of confectioners, druggists, tobacconists, or tobacco-cutters, within our City of London or the suburbs, precincts, or liberties of the same, or within three miles around the city and liberties aforesaid, and who at this time may not be free or freemen of any other society or mystery within the city aforesaid, that they may and shall be from henceforth made freemen of this society or mystery of Grocery of the

fieri causabunt. Et q'd ip'i vel aliquis eor' non foret vel forent alit' incorporati vel incorporatus. In cujus rei, &c. T. R. apud' Westm' decimo quinto die Novembr'.

P' ip'm Regem.

City of London, and that hereafter all and singular their apprentices shall be, and shall by such members be compelled, to be made freemen at the hall of the same society, and that in future neither they or any of them shall otherwise be incorporated or a corporation. In testimony, &c. Witness the King at Westminster the 27th of November, (1688.)

Tertia pars Paten' de Anno R. R. Jacobi Secundi quarto. *D. Conc' Grocer' London Concess'.*

Rex omnibus ad quos &c. cum p' charissim^s Frater et predecessor noster Carolus Secundus nuper Rex Anglie et p^r l'ras suas patentes sub Magno Sigillo Anglie confect' et geren' dat' apud Westm' decimo nono die Decembris anno Regni sui tricessimo sexto pro meliori gubernac'one et regimine o'ium personaru' qui tunc exercebunt vel imposter' exercebunt Mister' Grocer' vel Artem sive Mister' Confecc'onaru' Dragiste Anglice Druggists Nicotian' Venditor' Anglice Tobacconists et Nicotian' Sector' Anglice Tobacco-cutters infra Civitat' London suburbia precinct' sive libertat' ejusdem vel infra tria milliar' circa Civitat' p^rdict' concessit Custodib' et Com'unitat' Mister' Grocer' Civitat' London et successoribus suis diversas Jurisdicc'on' Potestat' Lib'tat' et Privilegia in eisdem l'ris patentibus expressis Sciatis modo quod Nos ad humil' Petico'em Custod' et Coitat' Mister' p^rdict' et pro melior' regimine et gubernac'oe o'ium Personaru' Artes sive Misteria p^rdict' sive aliqua eorum infra loca p^rdict' vel aliquod eoru' exercent vel imposteru' exercitur' ac pro milior' execuc'one Potestatu' per' p^rdictas l'ras Patentes p^rdict' nuper Regis p^rdict' Custodibus et Coitat' Mister' Grocer' Civitat' London p^rdict' concess' de gra' nostra spi'ali ac ex certa scientia et mero motu nostris Volumus Ordinavim^s Declaravim^s et Concessimus. Ac p^r p^rsentes p^r nobis hered' et successoribus nostris volumus ordinam decla-

Third part of Patents in the fifth year of King James the Second, of *a Charter granted to the Grocers of London.*

The King: To all to whom, &c. Whereas our most dear brother and predecessor Charles the Second, late King of England, &c. by his Letters patent, under the great seal of England, made and bearing date at Westminster, the 19th day of December, in the 36th year of his reign, for the better government and rule of all persons who then exercised, or who should thenceforth exercise the Mystery of Grocery, or the Arts or Mysteries of Confectioners, Druggists, Tobacconists, and Tobacco-cutters, within the City of London, the suburbs, precincts, or liberties of the same, or within three miles around the City aforesaid, did grant to the Wardens and Commonalty of the Mystery of Grocers of the City of London, and their successors, divers jurisdictions, powers, liberties and privileges in the same Letters patent expressed. Now, know ye that we, at the humble petition of the Wardens and Commonalty of the Mystery aforesaid, for the better rule and government of all persons exercising, or who shall henceforth exercise the Arts or Mysteries aforesaid, or any of them within the places aforesaid, and for the better execution of the powers granted by the said Letters patent of the said late king to the wardens and commonalty of the mystery of Grocers of the City of London aforesaid, of our special grace, and from our certain knowledge and mere motion, have willed, ordained, de-

ram^s et Concedim^s p'dict' Custodibus et Coitat' Mister' Grocer' Civitat' London quod omnes et omni mode persona et Persone Mister' sive Artis Grocer' Artis sive Mister' Confecc'onar' Dragiste Nicotian' Venditor' vel Nicotian' Sector' de et in Civitat' p'dict' suburbia p'cinct' sive libertat' ejusdem vel infra tria milliar' circa Civitat' p'dict' vel artes p'dict' sive aliquam eoru' infra locas p'dict' sive aliquem eoru' exercent vel imposteru' exercitur' decetero imp'petuu' sint et erunt vigore p'sentiu' partem corporis politici p'dict' Custod' et Coitat' Mister' Grocer' Civitat' London et suit et erunt perpetuis futuris temporib' annexat' Corpori Politico p'dict' Custod' et Coitat' Mister' Grocer' Civitat' London. Quodq' Custodes et Coitat' Mister' Grocer' Civitat' London et omnes et omnimode p'sona et p'sone Mister' sive Artis Grocer' et Mister' sive Artis Confecc'onar' Dragiste Nicotian' Venditor' et Nicotian' Sector' de et in Civitat' p'dict' suburbia precinct' sive libertat' ejusdem vel infra milliar' circu' civitat' p'dict' vel artes p'dict' sive aliqua earu' infra locos p'dict' sive aliqua eoru' exercen' vel imposteru' exercitur' de cetero imperpetuu' sint et erunt vigore p'sentiu' unu' Corpus Corporat' et Politicu' in re facto et nomine per nomen Custod' et Coi'tat' Mister' Grocer' Civitat London' et unu' Corpus Corporat' et Politicu' in re facto et no'ine realitur et ad plenu' pro nobis hered' et successorib' nostris erigimus facimus ordinamus constituim^s et declaram^s per p'sentes quod p' idem nomen habeant successionem perpetuam. Et ulterius ex gra' nostra spi'ali ac ex certa scientia et mero motu nostris dedim^s et concessim^s. Ac per p'sentes pro nobis heredibus et successor' nostra damus et concedimus p'fat' Custod' et Coitat' Mister' Grocer' Civitat' London et successoribus suis quod omnes et singul' persona et persone modo exercent sive utent' aut que imposteru' utentur vel exercebunt Mister' Grocer' vel Art' sive Mister' Confecc'onar' Dragiste Nicotian' Venditor' et Nicotian' Sector' infra Civitat' nostra London suburbia p'cinct' sivr libertat' ejusdem vel infra tria milliar' circa Civitat' p'dict' qui non sint liber et liberi de aliqua al' Societat' vel Mister' infra Civitat' p'dict' de hac Societat' sive Mister' Grocer' Civitat' London de cetero liberi fact' sint et erunt. Et quod imposteru' omnes et singulos apprentic' suos ad aulam memclared and granted, and by these presents for us, our heirs and successors, do will, ordain, declare and grant to the said wardens and commonalty of the mystery of Grocers of the City of London, that all and all manner of person and persons exercising, or who shall hereafter exercise the mystery or art of grocery, or the arts or mysteries of a confectioner, druggist, tobacconist, or tobacco-cutter, of and in the city aforesaid, the suburbs, precincts, or liberties of the same, or within three miles around the aforesaid city, or the arts aforesaid, or any of them, within the places aforesaid; or any of them from henceforth for ever, may and shall be by force of these presents part of the body politic of the said wardens and commonalty of the mystery of Grocers of the City of London, and may and shall be for ever hereafter annexed to the body politic of the said wardens and commonalty of the mystery of Grocers of the city of London, and that the wardens and commonalty of the mystery of Grocers of the City of London, and all and all manner of person and persons exercising, or who shall hereafter exercise the mystery or art of grocery, or the arts of a confectioner, druggist, tobacconist, and tobacco-cutter, of and in the city aforesaid, the suburbs, precincts, or liberties of the same, or within three miles around the said city, or the arts aforesaid, or any of them within the places aforesaid, may and shall be from henceforth for ever by force of these presents one body politic and corporate, in deed, fact, and name, by the name of the Wardens and Commonalty of the Mystery of Grocers of the City of London, and them one body politic and corporate, in deed, fact, and name, really and fully for us, our heirs, and successors, we do by these presents, erect, ordain, constitute, and declare, and that by the same name they may have perpetual succession. And lastly of our special grace, and from our certain knowledge and mere motion, we have given and granted, and by these presents, for us, our heirs, and successors, do give and grant unto the aforesaid wardens and commonalty, &c., and their successors, that all and singular person and persons exercising or using, or who shall hereafter exercise, &c. the mystery of Grocery, or the arts or mysteries of a Confectioner, Druggist, Tobacco-seller, or Tobacco-cutter, within

brisque hujus societat' obligabunt vel obligari causabunt. Et ip'os de eadem societat' liberos facient' et fieri causabunt. Et ip'os do eadem societat' obligabunt. Et quod ipsi vel aliquis eorum non foret' vel forent aliter incorporati vel incorporatus. In cujus rei, &c. Teste Rege apud Westm' nono die Martij.

P' B're de Privato Sigillo.

the City of London, the suburbs, precincts, or liberties of the same, or within three miles, &c. who may not be free of any other society or mystery within the city aforesaid, that they may and shall from henceforth be and be made free of this society or mystery of Grocery, &c. And that hereafter all and singular their apprentices shall be bound at the hall of the members of this society, and be and be made free of the same society, and that neither they or any of them shall be otherwise incorporate or a corporation. Dated at Westminster, 19th March.

By Writ of Privy Seal, &c.

Quarta pars Paten' de Anno R'nor R^s & R'ne Gul' et Marie secundo.
D' Cart' Custod' &c. Grocer' London sibi & successoribz.

Rex at Regina etc' om'ibz ad quos &c. salt'm. Sciatis q'd Nos ad humilem Peticionu' Custodu' et Coitat' Mister' Grocer' Civitat' London & pro bono regimine Societat' ill' de gra' n'ra spi'ali ac ex certa scientia & mero motu n'ris Voluims, Ordnavims, Declaravims, & Concessims. Ac pr prsentes pro nob' & successoribz n'ris Volums, Ordinams, Declarams, & Concedims, pr d'cis Custodibz & Coitat' Mister' Grocer' Civitat' London. Q'd om'es & om'imod' prsona & prsone qui Mister' sive Art' Grocer' & sepal' Art' sive Myster' Confec'onar' Dragiste (Anglice Druggists) Nicotian'Venditor' (Anglice Tobacconists) Nicotian'Sector' (Anglice Tobacco-cutters) & Purgator' Sacchari (Anglice Sugar-bakers or refiners of Sugar) in Civitat' prd'ca suburb' prcinct sive Lib'tat' ejusdem vel infra tria miliar' circa eandem Civitat' modo excent vel imposter' excebunt de cet'o imprptuu' sint & erunt vigore prsenciu', pars corporis corporat' & politic' prd'corm Custodu' & Coitat' Myster' Grocer' Civitat' London & sint & erunt prpetuis futur' temporibz annexat, Corpori, Corporat' & Politic, prd'com Custodu' & Coitat' Myster' Grocer' Civitat' London. Q'dq' Custodes & Coi'tas Myster' Grocer' Civitat' London & o'mes & oi'mod' persona & prsone qui Myster' sive Art' Grocer' & sepal' Myster' sive Art' Confec'onar' Dragiste Nicotian' Venditor' Nicotian' Sector'

Fourth part of Patents of the second year of King William and Queen Mary, *of a Charter to the Wardens, &c. of the Grocers of London, to them and their successors.*

The King and Queen: To all to whom, &c. Greeting: Know ye that we, at the humble petition of the Wardens and Commonalty of the Mystery of Grocers of the City of London, and for the good rule of their society, of our special grace, &c. have willed, ordained, declared and granted, and by these presents for us and our successors, do will, ordain, &c. to the said wardens and commonalty, &c. That all and all manner of person and persons who now exercise or hereafter shall exercise the mystery or art of grocery and the separate arts or mysteries of a confectioner, druggist, tobacconist, tobacco-cutter, sugar-baker, or sugar refiner, in the city aforesaid, the suburbs, precincts, or liberties of the same, or within three miles, &c. that from henceforth for ever they may and shall be by force of these presents part of the body corporate and politic of the said Wardens and Commonalty of the Mystery of Grocers of the City of London, and may and shall be for ever hereafter annexed to the body corporate and politic of the said Wardens and Commonalty, &c. and that the Wardens and Commonalty of the Mystery of Grocers of the City of London, and all and all manner of person and persons now exercising, &c. the mystery or art of grocery, or the separate mysteries or arts of a confectioner, drug-

& Purgator' Sacchari de & in Civitat', prd'ca suburb' prcinct' sive Lib'tat' ejusdem vel infra tria milliar' circa Civitat' prd' sive aliq' eorm modo ex'cent vel imposterm excrbunt de cet'o imp'p'm sint & erunt vigore prsenciu' unu' corpus corporat' & politic' in re f'co & no'ie pr no'en Custodu' & Coitat' Myster' Grocer' Civitat' London. Et eos pr no'en ill' unu' corpus corporat' & politic' in re f'co & no'ie realit' & ad plenu' pro nob' & successorib' n'ris erigims facims ordinams constituims & confirmams pr prsentes. Et q'd p' idem no'en h'eant successionem prpetuam. Ac pli'tare & pli'tari respondere & responderi defendere & defendi possint & valeant tam in om'ibus Cur' & Locis q'm in Om'ibus acconibz p'litis causis & mat'ijs quib'cunq'. Et ult'ius ex gra' n'ra spi'ali ac ex certa scientia & mero motu n'ris Dedims & Concessims. Ac pr prsentes pro nob' & successoribz n'ris Dams & Concedims prfat' Custodibz & Coitat' Myster' Grocer' Civitat' London & successoribz suis Q'd om'es & singul' prsona & prsone modo exrcenr sive utenr aut qui imposterm utentr vel exrcebunt Mister' Grocer' vel Art' sive Myster' Confecc'onar' Dragiste Nicotian' Venditor' Nicotian' Sector' & Purgator' Sacchari sen eor' aliqu' infra Civitat' n'ram London suburb' prcinct vel lib'tat' ejusdem vel infra tria milliar' circa Civitat' prd' (qui ad prsens non sunt vel est Libi' vel Liber' de aliqua al' Societat' vel Mister' infra Civitat' prd') de hac Societat' sive Myster' Grocer' Civitat' London de cet'o Lib'os fact' esse possint & valeant. Et ult'ius de ubi'ori g'ra n'ra spi'ali ac ex crta scientia & mero motu n'ris Volums ac pr prsentes pro nob' & successoribz n'ris Concedims prfat' Custodib' & Coitat' Myster' Grocer' Civitat' London & successoribz suis Q'd i'pi & successores sui impp'm h'eant teneant & gaudeant & h'ere tenere & gaudere valeant & possint tot' taut' tal' eadem & hui'noi lib'tat' privileg' potestat' jurisdicc'on & franches' quot' quan't qual' & que Custodes & Coitas' Myster' Grocer' Civitat' London ad aliquod tempus ante vicesimu' diem Martij jam ult'pretrit h'uerunt tenuerunt ex'cuerunt seu gavis' fuerunt aut h'ere tenere' ex'cere vel gaudere debuerunt seu potuerunt rac'one vel prtextu aliquar'm. Chartar'm L'rar'm pateu' sive concession' predecessor'm n'ror'm seu eor'm aliquor'm vel alicujus aut aliquo al' legal' modo jure seu titulo Non noi'and'

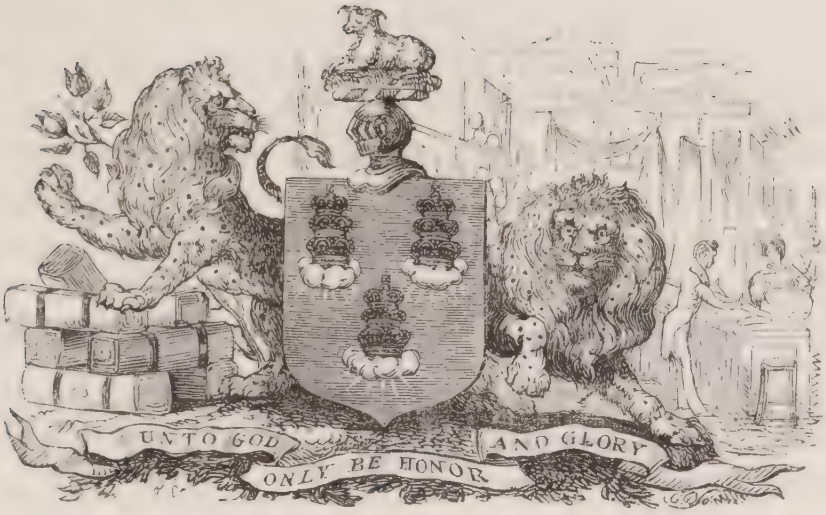
gist, tobacconist, tobacco-cutter, and sugar-refiner, of and in the city aforesaid, the suburbs, precincts, or liberties of the same, or within three miles, &c. from henceforth for ever, may and shall be by force of these presents one body corporate and politic, in deed, fact, and name, by the name of Wardens and Commanalty of the Mystery of Grocers of the City of London, and them by the same name one body corporate and politic, in deed, fact, and name, really and fully for us, our heirs and successors, we have erected, made, ordained, constituted and confirmed by these presents, and that by the same name they shall have perpetual succession, and shall and may be able to plead and be impleaded, answer and be answered, defend and be defended, as well in all courts and places, as in all actions, pleas, causes, and matters whatsoever. And further, of our special grace, &c. we have given and granted, and by these presents, for us, our heirs and successors, do give and grant to the aforesaid Wardens and Commonalty of the Mystery of Grocers of the City of London, and their successors, that all and singular person and persons now exercising or using, or who hereafter shall exercise or use the mystery of grocers, or the arts or mysteries of a confectioner, druggist, tobacconist, tobacco-cutter, and sugar-refiner, or any of them, within our city of London, the suburbs, precincts, or liberties of the same, or within three miles, &c. (who at present are not free or freemen of any other society or mystery within the city aforesaid,) that they from henceforth shall and may be able to be made freemen of the same society or mystery of Grocers of the city of London. And further, of the abundance of our special grace, &c. we will, and by these presents for us and our successors, have granted unto the Wardens and Commonalty of the Mystery of Grocers of the City of London, and their successors, That they and their successors for ever may have, hold, and enjoy, and shall and may be able to have, hold, and enjoy, all, so many, such, the like, and the same liberties, franchises, powers, jurisdictions, and franchises, as the Wardens and Commonalty of the Mystery of Grocers, &c. at any time before the 26th day of March, now last past, had, held, exercised, or enjoyed, or ought to have had, held, exercised, or

vel recitand' aliqu' Chart' L'ras paten' Dona sive Concession' antehac Custodib'& Coitat' Myster' Grocer' Civitat' London p^r aliquem vel aliquos predecessor'^m n'ror'^m dat' sive concess aut aliqua al' omissione re causa vel mat'ia quacunq' in contriu' non obstan'. In cujus rei &c. T. R Rege & Regina apud Westm' septimo die July.

P' B're de Privato Sigillo.

enjoyed by reason or pretext of any charters, letters patent, or grants of our predecessors, or any or either of them, or by any other legal means, right, or title, non-mention or recital of any charters, letters patent, gifts, or grants, to the Wardens and Commonalty of the Mystery of Grocers of the City of London, by any or either of our predecessors, before this time given or granted, or any other omission, thing, cause, or matter whatsoever, to the contrary thereof notwithstanding. In witness whereof, &c. Witness the King and Queen at Westminster, July the 7th.

By Writ of Privy Seal, &c.



DRAPERS' COMPANY.

SUMMARY FROM VARIOUS AUTHORITIES.

"The Company of Drapers were incorporated in the seventeenth year of King Henry VI., anno domini 1439. The arms first granted by Garter King of Arms, crest and supporters by William Harvey, Clarencieux, anno domini 1561. The Drapers' patent for their arms, given them by Sir William Bruges, Garter King of Arms, bore date anno 1439, 'the seventeenth year of the thrice *Christian* king *Henry* VI.' as he is termed there. In a visitation book of the office of heralds, it appears that the Drapers' coat of arms was confirmed by William Harvey, Clarencieux; and after by Sir William Segar, Knight Garter, and so entered anno 1634: John Tayler, master."*

"This society was incorporated by letters patent of Henry VI., anno 1439, by the title of Master, Wardens, Brethren, and Sisters of the Guild or Fraternity of the Blessed Mary the Virgin, of the Mystery of Drapers of the City of London. This fraternity is governed by a master, four wardens, and

* Strype's Stow, II. p. 265.

thirty assistants, and the number of members upon the livery are 140, who, when admitted, pay a fine of 25*l.* They pay to charitable uses about 4000*l.* per annum."*

"There are 178 on the livery, and their livery fine is now 25*l.*, (but has been more;) they are the third of the twelve, of which the lord mayor is free of one, and there have been 119 years' mayors of this fraternity, the first mayor being Henry Fitz-Alwyn, a person noble by birth. Their armorial ensigns are 3 clouds radiated proper, each adorned with a treble crown, or. The crest on a helmet and torse; a ram lodged at the second, attired as the third. Supporters, two lions, as the last, peletee. Motto: "Unto God only be honour and glory."† Their patroness is the Virgin Mary.—*Hall, Throgmorton street.*

The Drapers have the honour to reckon the founders of several noble families amongst their members, and more lord mayors than any of the other companies. The number of the latter is, however, much smaller than in the last-stated account, even allowing, as was the fact, some of them to have served office more than once, Strype is nearer the truth. He enumerates fifty-three mayors, from 1331 to 1714, omitting Fitz-Alwyn (included above,) and who, having served twenty-three consecutive years, as also two of the others, ten years between them, makes there to have been eighty-seven years "mayors of this fraternity," instead of "119."

This company possess seven original charters, dated as under, all of them with the great seal attached, finely written, and in excellent preservation, viz.

1. A charter dated 38 Edward III., in French, addressed "pro lez Drapiers, London," and which was granted to them that they might enforce the ordinances of the *Statutum Stapulæ*, or statute regulating the sale of cloths. It has a perfect and beautiful im-

* Maitland, ii. p. 1233.

† New View, ii. 602. Strype subsequently describes the Drapers' arms as somewhat differing in a patent he had seen in the possession of Peter le Neve, Norroy King of Arms at the Herald's College, viz. that they were thus blazoned, "Troys Royes de Soleil issuantz hors de troys nues de flambe coronez de troys Corons Imperials Dore, assisser sus une escue d'azure."

The drapers' list of livery states their modern arms to be thus emblazoned, viz. *Azure:* Three clouds radiated *proper*, each adorned with a triple crown, *or*. Supporters, two lions, *or;* pelletted. Crest. On a wreath, a ram couchant, *or;* armed *sables*, on a mount, *vert*. Motto: "Unto God only be honour and glory."

pression of the king's great seal in green wax. The privileges conferred by this charter, are of the same kind as those granted to the other gilds before they were more fully incorporated.* 2. The charter, 17 Henry VI.: It is addressed to the "Men of the Mystery of Drapers of London," and allows them to erect themselves into "one gild or fraternity, by the name of the Fraternity of the Blessed Virgin Mary of the Drapers of London," with full corporate privileges.† 3. An inspexímus charter, 6 Edward IV., addressed to Henry Waver, jun., master; and Thomas Eure, Thomas Salle, John Beckford, and William White, wardens, confirming the above incorporation of Henry VI., and granting very extensive additional privileges.‡ 4. An inspexímus charter, 4 and 5 Philip and Mary, addressed to Richard Champion, master, and alderman of London; and Richard Poynter, John Stocker, John Dynmoke, and John Branche, wardens; and which recites and confirms the charters of Henry VI. and Edward IV. 5. A similar charter, 2 Elizabeth, addressed to "the Men of the Mystery of Drapers of London." 6. An entirely new charter, 4 James I., granted at the petition of the "Freemen of the Mystery of Drapers of the City of London," by which that king erected a court of assistants, and wholly reincorporated the company, by the title of "the Master and Wardens and Brothers and Sisters of the Gild or Fraternity of the Blessed Virgin Mary of the Mystery of Drapers of the City of London;" and a confirmation of the latter charter, dated 9 James I., which latter is now professed to be THE ACTING CHARTER OF THE COMPANY.

* Secunda pat' de anno 38° Edwardi 3^{tii} m. 15. "*Amplæ libert' pro lez Drapiers, London.*" This charter is again in part recited in a mandate to the mayor and sheriffs of London, also in French, dated 15 July in the same year (ut vide Claus: 38° Edwardi 3^{tii} m. 12, et Rymeri Fœd' iii. pars ii. 742.)

† Prima pat' de an' 17° Henrici vi^{ti} m. 15. "Incorporatio Pannariorum London."

‡ Secunda pat' de anno 6° Edwardi iv$^{ti.}$ m. 17. "Ampla confirmatio libertatum pro Pannarius London' vide 17 pat' Henrici vi^{ti}. ac amplior concess."

N.B.—There is a second charter, 19° Edwardi Quarti, m. 28, revoking the incorporation of the sheermen with the drapers, which will be further noticed hereafter.

"*List of* FREEMEN HOUSEHOLDERS *of the* DRAPERS' COMPANY *in* 1537," *from the Record in the Chapterhouse.**

Peter Starkie.	John Eliot.	Will'm Mason.
Will'm Brothers.	Richard Tull.	Thomas Skrevyn.
WILL'M DOLPHIN.	Will'm Kent.	Anthony Cave.
Robert Warner.	John Astne.	Thomas Bough.
John Clerk.	Anthony Fabian.	Richard Felct.
John Kedermyster.	George Bruges.	John Kidman.
Will'm Chamberlayn.	John Dudley.	GILES BRUGES.
Thomas Spencer.	Robert Jenyns.	Edmond Pirre.
Will'm Prudde.	Alisander Perpoynt.	Thomas Lyncoln.
Thomas Wattes.	Edward Dee.	John Lowen.
Robert Lawrance.	WILL'M CHESTER.	Launcelot Alford.
Robert Bruanche.	Nicholas Chester.	Will'm Chevall.
Richard Warner.	WILL'M BOWYER.	Robt. Knyght.
Robert Alford.	Thomas Petite.	Roger Whaplod.
Will'm Page.	John Lydeot.	Will'm Watson.
Thomas Dudley.	Will'm Prat.	Richard Poynter.
Will'm Burnynghill.	Henry Dolphin.	Thomas Fyske.
Thomas Pickner.	Edward Hedyngton.	Robert Sounyng.
Thomas Blower.	Anthony Eliot.	Henry Richard.
Cuthbert Bechar.	John Lamberd.	George Richardson.
John Blakeslay.	John Chaundeler.	Robert Harrys.
Thomas Grafton.	John Swan,	Thomas Warner.
Thomas Baste.	Cristofer Ranwike.	Edmond Astne.
Thomas Perpoynt.	Thomas Bower.	John Trott.
Robert White.	Lawrence Sollie.	Robert Hardye."
Peter Honybourne.	John Broke.	

In 1700 the return sworn to before the mayor by Robert Sterry, then the Company's clerk, states the livery of the Drapers to have amounted to 180. At the poll for electing members of Parliament for the city in April, 1722, the number of the same livery who voted was sworn to amount to 153. In the "New and Complete Survey," 1742, it is stated at 140. In the list of liverymen of London, 1796, there were 130 of the Drapers' livery voted. From the above, it appears that the livery of this company, which in 1700 had been 180, became somewhat reduced in 1722, if we may judge from the then number of voters, but continued to average from 150 to 180 till nearly the close of the last century. The number of the Drapers' livery this present year 1835, amounts on the whole to 344, (being an increase of 97 since 1830, when it

* Freemen householders (of whom lists have been given in the preceding accounts of the Mercers' Company and Grocers' Company) are by some authorities, described to have formerly been a middle rank of members between the livery and the yeomanry, and not the livery themselves. There is a doubt, however, whether it was always so understood. For in the present instance, several names in the above list were on the court of the Drapers' Company in 1537, as will be seen in proceeding with its history.

was only 247,) whereof there are one master and four wardens, and 38 on the court as assistants, the names, residences, dates of election, and times of serving offices of the said court, will be seen below.* The livery fine is now raised to 35*l.*

Draper originally meant a *maker*, and not, as at present, a *dealer* in cloth, the name being derived from the French *drapperie*, which signified clothwork, as, "to drape," did the manufacturing of cloth.†

* *A List of the Master and Wardens, Court of Assistants, and Livery of the Worshipful Company of Drapers.*

Admitted on Livery.

Master.

1800 John Clarke, esq. Brentford.

Wardens.

1801 John Potter, esq. Ponder's End.
1801 Charles Wrench, esq. Faversham.
1804 William James Pistor, esq. Tanfield court, Temple.
1805 Thomas Starling Benson, esq. New Broad street.

Assistants.

[M. stands for Master; M.W. Master Warden; R.W. Renter Warden; J.W. Junior Warden; f. denotes fining for those Offices.]

Admitted on Livery.		Time of serving.
1804.	John Thomas Thorp, esq. and alderman, Aldgate. f.	M. 1817
1775.	Samuel Lawford, esq. Clapham common	M. 1809
1790.	Samuel Weddell, esq. Jewry street	M. 1820 & 1823
1791.	John Booth, esq. Red Lion square	M. 1821
1790.	William Hales, esq. Camberwell	M. 1822
1796.	George Booth, esq. Bucklersbury	M. 1825
1797.	John Panon, esq. Hampstead	M. 1829
...	John Jones, esq. West Smithfield	M. 1830
...	Jacob George Wrench, esq. Grove hill, Camberwell	M. 1831
1800.	James Bridger, esq. Chigwell	M. 1832
...	Benjamin Paddon, esq. Gloucester terrace, Chelsea	M. 1834
1801.	Charles Fourdrinier, esq. Lower Tooting	J.W. 1824
1802.	James Newman, esq. Dalston	J.W. 1835
...	John Deshons, esq. Threadneedle street	R.W. 1826
1802.	Josh. Smith Simmons Smith, esq. Sackville street	J.W. 1826
...	Samuel Goldney, esq. Sloane street	R.W. 1827
1803.	John Nicholson, esq. Cornhill	R.W. 1829
...	Kilpin Warner, esq. Camberwell	R.W. 1830
...	Joseph Williams, esq. Jewry street	J.W. 1830
...	Alexander Simpson, esq. Highbury Park	R.W. 1831
...	Thomas Soley, esq. Vernon place	J.W. 1831
1802.	Thomas Walker, esq. Wanstead	R.W. 1832
1803.	Thomas Dickenson, esq. Hornsey lane, Highgate	J.W. 1832
1804.	Robt. Browne, esq. Church street, Hackney	R.W. 1833
...	John Bunton, esq. Denmark hill, Camberwell	J.W. 1833
1803.	John Marche, esq. Calthorpe street	R.W. 1834
1804.	George Trower, esq. Russell square	J.W. 1834

Chaplain to the Company.

Rev. Thomas Robert Wrench, M.A. Sloane street.

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† "He made statutes for the maintenance of drapery, and the keeping of wools within the realm."—Bacon. "This act did not prescribe prices, that the clothier might *drape* accordingly as he could afford."—Ibid.

In Rastall's Collection of Statutes, 1574, the whole of the acts relative to the making of cloth are accordingly arranged under the head "Drapery." The ancient Latin name *Pannarii*, given to this trade, had the same meaning. In English they were indiscriminately called drapers and clothiers; the former term seeming to have been applied to those who made and sold cloth in and near London, and the latter to those who brought it for sale from the country. Stow appears to make this distinction, in speaking of Cloth Fair, by Smithfield, where, he says, "the *clothiers* of England, and *drapers* of London, kept their booths and standings." John Winchcomb, of Berkshire, the famous Jack of Newbury, who is known in the reign of Henry VIII. to have arrived at such great wealth and distinction as a clothier, was descended from a rich draper of the same name, in Candlewick street, who will be presently noticed, and was also a wholesale manufacturer and seller of cloth.

Opinions are various, as to the antiquity of the cloth manufacture in England. Pennant and others, who only trace it to Edward III., are decidedly in error. Woollen cloth of some sort or other was always made in this nation, ever since the Romans taught the Britons to wear cloth instead of skins. (If indeed the latter were not previously familiar with its use.) The Saxons also had the art of cloth-making, though they used it sparingly; and all that was made in these times was probably a very coarse sort for domestic wear. The grower of wool contented himself with selling the raw material at his own door, or at the next town, which travelled to the Netherlands, and returned back manufactured into a fine cloth, that could only be purchased by the great. Etheldred, in 967, we have seen, exacted from the Easterlings, of the Steel-yard, as part of their toll at Billingsgate, a quantity of this cloth.* The only factors in these early days were a sort of middle-men, who rose between the grower and the foreign cloth-makers, and who, from their being established for the sale of their wools in some certain city, commodious for intercourse, were called *staplers*.† De Witt, in his "True Interest of Holland,"

* Hist. Essay, p. 10.

† Gerard Malynes (Lex Mercatoria,) says the Merchants of the Staple, derived from these staplers, were the first and most ancient commercial society in England, and were so named from their exposing for sale the staple wares of the kingdom long before the Merchant-Adventurers existed; and which staple wares were then only the rough materials for manufacture, viz. wool and skins, lead and tin. The former society was put under sundry regulations for the benefit of the public; and was the means of bringing in considerable wealth, as well before as after the making of woollen cloth here, and it was privileged in many succeeding reigns, viz. 5 Henry III., 12 Edward II., 14 Richard II., 11 Henry IV., and 1 Henry V.—Anderson's Commerce. 8vo. p. 302.

says, that before the removal of the cloth trade to England, the Netherlanders could deal well enough with the English, "they being only shepherds and merchants."

The establishment of the Weavers' gild, by Henry I. within forty years of the Conquest, is proof that a considerable cloth manufacture in London, as well as in other parts of England, where similar gilds were formed, must have existed at that time; the history of Orkney moreover informs us, that not many years afterwards, two merchant ships of England bound for Dublin with *English cloths*, and other goods of value were taken near that port by an Orkney pirate, named Swein, who, on his return home, covered his sails with scarlet cloths; and therefore called that his "Scarlet Cruise." As the fraternities of weavers appear to have been only makers of cloth, and must have had persons to sell for them, the drapers, (who, as their employers, and dealers in the article came afterwards to stand in place of these manufacturers,) there seems little doubt, had then their origin. These dealers are mentioned in the reign of Henry II., as settled at Bedford, Beverley, and other towns of Yorkshire, Norwich, Huntingdon, Northampton, Gloucester, Nottingham, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, Lincoln, Stamford, Grimsby, Burton, St. Albans, Baldock, Berkhampsted, and Chesterfield; and paid fines to the king, that they might freely buy and sell *dyed* cloths: From some of the licences containing a permission to sell cloths of any breadths, it is to be inferred that the cloths sold by such woollen drapers, were the fine coloured cloths made in Flanders, and that of the same manufacture were the red, scarlet, and green cloths, which are found enumerated amongst the articles in the wardrobe of king Henry II. Woollen cloth is mentioned in the Magna Charta, which, under the head "weights and measures," specifically ordains that there shall be only one breadth of dyed cloth, "*Russets* and *Haberjects*, throughout England." English cloths, made of Spanish wool are also previously named, in an ordinance of Henry II. "Cloth of Candlewick street," was common in the reign of Edward I. as has been already shown.*

In the "Wardrobe Accounts of Edward I." a variety of cloths and stuffs are enumerated which must have been sold by the drapers. They include "*pannis radiatus*, rayed or striped cloth; *de bluetto*, blue cloth; *de colore*, of one colour; *ad aurum*, cloth of gold; *lanutus*, with the wool on, and others; and in the allowance for pontage duties to London bridge, A.D. 1305, there is

* Hist. Essay, p. 19.

mentioned, serge stuff, grey cloth, and dyed cloth, gold cloth, and cloths worked with gold, fustian, woven cloth, (coming from parts beyond seas,) Flanders cloth, bound and embroidered; Estaford, a species of cloth made at Seaford; barrel or coarse cloth (coming from Normandy,) monks cloth, black and white, English dyed cloth, and russet, including scarlet, thin or summer cloth, coming from Stamford or Northampton, and other places in England.*

The reign of Edward III. gives an ascertained origin to the English cloth manufacture. That monarch, observing a continued decrease of woollen weavers in his own dominions, on account of the encouragement given to foreigners, prohibited, by statute of his 11th year, the exportation of English wool, and all importations of cloth from abroad. He released the native clothmaker at the same time from the restriction in Magna Charta, by which it was ordained that home-made cloth should be two yards wide within the lists; and he invited artists from the Netherlands to settle here, by a promise of all needful liberties in order that they might improve his own subjects.

The next year (1330,) official notice occurs in the Fœdera† of the effects of this invitation, being a letter of protection to *John Kemp*, of Flanders, a woollen weaver, then coming to England to exercise his art, and, as the protection expresses it, "to teach it to such of our people as shall be inclined to learn it." The king by this document takes Kemp, and all his servants, apprentices, goods, and chattels, into his royal protection, and promises the same likewise to all others of his occupation, as also to all dyers and fullers who shall settle in England. Seventy families of walloons arrived and stationed themselves the same year in the ward of Candlewick. They consisted of Flemings and Brabanters, who had their separate meeting-places, the one in St. Lawrence Poulteney church-

* We are told, that as early as the reign of Edward I. the Netherlanders had the most flourishing cloth manufacture in Europe; but having no wool of their own, either in quantity or quality, they were obliged to receive their principal supply from England. There is every reason to believe that they had our woollen sent over to them in the 10th century, though there are no records of it; but in the 11th and 12th centuries, we certainly know they were supplied from England with that article, and in the 13th century, we find a sort of corporation, established for the business of collecting our wool in the inland counties, and bringing it to the most convenient sea-ports, for its paying the king's custom or subsidy, previously to its exportation to the Netherlands. With this plain commerce England supplied all her wants from foreign parts, and our merchants brought over a considerable balance of gold and silver. This may be seen in the progress of the trade, even before Edward III. had erected a woollen manufacture in England; and the fact affords a demonstration of the benefits of our commerce at that time, as well as of our national frugality, in the then little consumption of foreign wares and luxurious dainties.

† Vol. IV. p. 496.

yard, and the other in the churchyard of St. Mary Somerset; and who, Stowe adds, "were weavers of drapery, tapery, and napery;" in other words, consisted of woollen-weavers, and linen-weavers.*

In 1361, the English cloth manufacture having arrived, as we may suppose, at full perfection, the king removed the wool staple from Calais, where it had been kept before, and ordained that the staples for wool should be held at nine different towns in England, each of which was placed under the government of a mayor and two constables, and had an assigned jurisdiction. The principal staple was at Westminster, and comprised a district extending from Temple Bar to Tothill Fields. The proceedings of these markets were regulated by the law-merchant; and the chief matters taken cognizance of were the five staple commodities of the kingdom, wool, woolfells, leather, lead, and tin.

In 1378 Richard II. removed the wool staple from Westminster to Staples Inn, Holborn, which appears to have received its name from that circumstance; and in 1397 a regular weekly market was established for the sale of country cloths at Blackwell Hall, London. The city and the London drapers are said on this occasion to have made an attempt to prevent the wholesale as well as retail sale of cloths by strangers, and to have caused the passing of the statute 7 Henry IV. (cap. 9, Sec. 112,) whereby country clothiers were allowed to sell their wares in gross in the city, notwithstanding any franchises of London :—We notice its preamble, as containing some historical information; it states, that it had been shewn to parliament "how in old time it was used and accustomed, that as well the clothmakers and drapers of whatsoever place of the realm, repairing and having recourse to the city of London, as other merchants with merchandize exercising, repairing, and having recourse to the said city, might buy and sell by gross, as well with aliens as denizens, of the cloths and other merchandizes aforesaid, at their will and pleasure, paying in this behalf only the customs and other *devoirs* thereof reasonably due, and that they never in all the said time were disturbed, or in any way hindred to sell and buy in gross with mer-

* Anderson accounts for the Netherlanders so readily accepting the king's invitation (after having mentioned that for 400 years the cloth manufacture had continued increasing with them, and was taken off by France, Germany, and England,) by stating, that the first blow at its prosperity was an abuse which had crept into it in consequence of the halls or companies of three Netherland cities having made restrictive laws, under pretence of preventing deceits, but which were intended to confine the manufacture to themselves. This circumstance forcing much of the weaving trade from those companies to the villages, and the example being followed in other parts of the country, they occasioned such riots as forced the great offenders to fly, and contributed to establish the art of drapery in England.

chants, alien or denizen, of such cloths and merchandizes, but only as to retail." And it declares the cause of passing the Act to be to restore full freedom as formerly.

Three years afterwards we find the Flemish linen manufacturers settled here, claiming the like exoneration from payment to the London Weaver's gild as had been granted by Edward III. to the woollen cloth makers; but that the claim was disallowed by a formal decision of the court of exchequer. This affords a proof not only of the jealousy with which the English looked on such grants, but that their own advancement in cloth-making had rendered it at this early date a matter of little consequence to keep terms with them: and that having answered the purpose for which they were invited over, these foreign workmen were obliged now to merge their privileges in the general laws which governed the London associated cloth manufacturers, and other gilds of native tradesmen.

A notice in Lord Herbert's History of Henry VIII., under the year 1528, shews that our cloth trade to the Netherlands was then one of the most important branches of commerce we possessed. A war being likely at this time to break out between England and the Emperor, our merchants trading to that part foreseeing the consequences, "refused to buy those cloths which were brought to Blackwell Hall, London; whereupon the clothiers, spinners, and carders, in many shires of England, began to mutiny; for appeasing whereof the Cardinal (Wolsey) commanded our merchants to take off those cloths at a reasonable price from the poor men's hands, threatening otherwise, that the king himself should buy them, and sell them to strangers; but the sullen merchants, little moved herewith, said they had no reason to buy commodities they knew not how to vend; therefore, whatever was proposed for staples at Calais, "at Abbeville," (the English staple being then at Antwerp,) "our merchants did not, or at least would not, understand it."

The year 1567 was remarkable for the introduction of a new species of cloth manufacture, that is to say, the making of bayes, serges, and other slight woollen goods. It began at Norwich, and acquired the name of the *new Drapery*, as being introduced so much later into England than the old drapery of broad-cloth, kersies, &c. Strype* gives a particular description of this new manufacture; but its history not applying to our purpose, it will be sufficient here to merely notice it.

In 1593 the proclamation of Elizabeth, in consequence of the plague then raging, prohibits the keeping of Bartholomew Fair,†

* Strype's Stow, II. p. 265-6. † Fœdera, XVI., p. 213.

and affords us an idea of the nature of the part appropriated at that period as the *Cloth Fair*, then the great metropolitan mart for woollen cloth, now dwindled down to a few small draper's shops, which still remain to commemorate the spot. It orders, on account of its "being wont to be a general resort of all kinds of people, out of every part of the realm to the said fair," that there shall not be any manner of market kept in the usual place of Smithfield, for any wares, or stalls, or booths for merchandize, but in the *open place* of Smithfield, and there for the sale of horses and cattle only: and of stall wares, as butter, cheese, and suchlike, in gross, and not by retail, and for two days only; and for the vent of woollen cloth and linen cloth, to be sold in gross, and not by retail: The same to be all brought within the *close-yard of St. Bartholomew*, where shops are there continued, and have gates to shut the same place in the night time. The sale of leather to be kept on the outside of the ring of Smithfield, as hath been accustomed."

The DRAPERS' COMPANY are distinctly stated in the introduction to their ordinances of 6 Henry IV. to have been founded in the year 1332; that is, they were then chartered in common with the other great companies. As a society they existed much earlier, though not noticed by Madox amongst his adulterine gilds in the reign of Henry II., or in his accounts of those who afterwards paid their fermes into the Exchequer. For Fitz-Alwin, the first mayor (as will be seen) left to them, as a company, all his lands in St. Mary Bothawe, as early as Henry I. Tolason and Hardell, also, who were mayors in 1252 and 1253, and both drapers, there is little doubt were members; and the fact of the drapers being thus early associated is further corroborated by the way in which they are mentioned in the pleadings respecting the Abbot's fair, of Westminster, in 30 Edward I.:—Whether they were only considered as cloth-sellers in those early times, or as manufacturers, (in conjunction with the weavers, burillers, tenterers, and particularly the sheer-men, from whom they were afterwards separated,) does not appear.

In 1363 we find the drapers' gild contributing the large sum of 50 marks towards the king's French wars.

In 1364 they received their first regular charter of incorporation, as already noticed; and the sheriffs of London were commanded to proclaim the substance of the same, together with the ordinance of parliament, which gave rise to it. The preamble of this proclamation, in stating the reason for granting the said charter, furnishes us with some further particulars of the company's history at this time: "It had been shewn to the king in council," it says,

"that persons of divers mysteries in the city of London, intermixed themselves with the mystery of drapery, and practised divers deceits and frauds in their use of the said mystery, to the great damage of the king and his people, and contrary to the said ordinance—It in consequence orders and grants that none do use the mystery of drapery in the city of London, or suburbs of the same, who have not been apprenticed to the said mystery, or in other way obtained the consent of the said mystery. And that each of the mysteries of tenterers, tellers, and fullers, confine themselves to their own mysteries, and in no manner intermix themselves, or interfere with the making, buying, or selling, of any manner of cloth or drapery, on pain of imprisonment, and the loss of all cloth so by them made, bought, or sold, or its value, to the king's use. Further, that none having cloth to sell in the city or suburbs, do sell it in the way of free drapers of the said mystery of drapery, either by wholesale as owners, or otherwise; and that the same be allowed to be bought only in gross by the said dealers, and not by retail."

The king reserves from these restrictions his beloved in God, the prior of St. Bartholomew in Smithfield, and other lords who have fairs in the said suburbs, by grant of the king's predecessors or himself; continuing to them their fairs, franchises, and free customs which they have been accustomed to in their said fairs, from the time of such grants; and orders that they shall in no wise be damaged or prejudiced under colour of the ordinance mentioned. He also reserves to the merchants-vintners, of Gascony, the franchises which he had granted to them, and wills them in all points to remain in force, as more fully contained in his letters patent to the said drapers.* The ordinance of parliament referred to, confines all makers of cloth within the realm, as well men as women, to make their cloths, as to price, according to that ordinance, and enacts, that "all drapers shall buy and purvey their sorts according to the same price: So that a great plenty of such cloths be made and set to sale in city, borough, and merchant town: and that the said clothworkers and drapers be constrained so to do by any manner way that best shall seem to the king and his council."

The number of members sent by the drapers to the common council, in 50 Edward III., and the order of Sir Nicholas Brembre, mayor, in 1385, separating drapery from tailory, and the weaving business, as well as other notices indicative of the highly-flourishing state of the trade, prove that the company must at this period have taken a foremost station amongst the other great livery com-

* Clause 38 Edw. III., m 12 d. in Turr. Lond.

panies. Indeed, such was the consequence which this national manufacture had arisen to a few years later, that in 1406-7, the House of Commons, in a petition to Henry IV., complained of the Statute of Liveries of Edward III. being principally infringed by the confederacy "of the multitude of the company of the livery of the Drapers, ['de la multitude de eux de Compaigny de la Liverie de Draps.']"*

The ancient members of this trade lived chiefly in and about Cornhill, and by the name of the "Fraternity of the Drapers of Cornhill," had their gild in St. Mary Bethlem-hospital Church, Bishopsgate. They also then held their annual feast on the purification of that saint. The introduction of the Dutch and Flemish weavers occasioned the settlement afterwards of many of the drapers in Candlewick ward, and, ultimately, the building of the first Drapers' Hall in St. Swithin's lane, which was the situation it originally stood in; they, however, were not confined to this spot, for, besides that several of them lingered about Cornhill, they occupied much of Birchin lane, and extended thence, more or less, all the way to Stocks market. In the reign of Henry V., the drapers having mostly removed from Cornhill, Stow says, you had as the principal dwellers there, "fripperers, or upholders, that sold old apparel and household stuff." The countryman in London, Lickpenny, finds the hood hung up for sale in Cornhill which he had been robbed of in Westminster Hall; so that it had now become a sort of Monmouth street; the same countryman also furnishes an additional evidence of the drapers having then removed to Candlewick ward.

> "Then went I forth by London stone;
> Throughout all *Canwyke* street,
> *Drapers*, much cloth me offered, anone."†

* Parliament Rolls, 2, p. 300.

† The evidences of the draper's former residence on the spots described, are found in abundance in the ancient notices of interments in St. Peter's and St. Michael's, Cornhill; in the churches of St. Mary Abchurch, St. Mary Bothaw, and St. Swithin, Cannon-street, and in the church of St. Mary Woolnoth. In the latter, and connected with the woolmarket or Haw, chantries were founded by Thomas Nocket, "Civis et Pannarius," 1396, and by Simon Eyre, draper, and the founder of Leadenhall, in 1449; and here, and in the other churches mentioned, interments of more than twenty eminent drapers are registered. Of the very ancient ones where Latin is used, the style is universally *Pannarius*. Thus, under St. Peter and St. Michael, we find Henry Palmer, Cives et Pannarius Lond., 1520; Johannes Boys, Nuper civis et Pannarius Lond., 1430, besides the names of those eminent drapers, ald. Robert Clopton, 1462; Thomas Pend, 1499; Lancelot Thompson, 1602; Thomas Lyffin, a great benefactor to Thoyden Gernon church, Essex, 1482; Robert Drope, mayor, in 1476; Thomas Rathband, 1499; John Maidenhead, 1524; alderman Robert Fabian, author of the Chronicle, &c. In St. Mary Abchurch, Simon de Winchcomb, ancestor of the

The grant of arms to the company in 1439, as already mentioned, forms an important epoch in their history. It was a mark of distinction conferred on few of the companies at that period, and, consequently, forms a standard, from which we may judge of the rank and advancement of this of the drapers.

This curious document appears the only one of its kind of so early a date; the Herald's College possessing none of the arms of the London Livery companies, and the present grant (which is now at the British Museum) if it ever belonged to the college, having been preserved by accident. It contains, exclusively of the granting part, various historical notices and allusions, illustrative of the company, and particularly of the leading points in their charter of Henry VI., which had been only a short time before granted to them, and which it is evident, from the terms made use of, was the cause of their receiving this grant of arms.*

The books of the company are preserved till within a few years of the above date, and continue its history for upwards of two cen-

John de Winchcomb, surnamed Jack of Newbury, who founded a chantry there in 1390; Robert Banburgh, a great benefactor to the church, 1437; Sir John Branch, mayor, 1580. In St. Swithin's, Sir John Hend, mayor, 1404; John Butler, sheriff, 1420; William White, sheriff, 1482; and in St. Mary Bothaw, the famous first mayor of London, Fitz-Alwin, of whom a more particular account will be found hereafter.

* It purports to be made by Sir William Bruges, Garter king of Arms, in the 17th year of the reign of Henry VI., and states, That it having pleased his sovereign, the most high, powerful, and excellent prince and most Christian King Henry the Sixth of that name, of his abundant grace, to grant by Letters Patents to his humble and loyal leiges the Folk of the Mystery of Free Drapers of his most noble, famous, and renowned City of London the liberty to be a corporation (reciting the particulars as in the king's charter mentioned), and that the said mystery wishing to augment their honours as much as possible, had requested him, the said Garter, to devise an ensign in form of blazon, from which they might have made a Common Seal peculiar to themselves, to serve for the business of the said mystery, and which should belong only to themselves,—he the said Garter king of Arms, seeing the great honour done them by the noble favor and grant aforesaid, and also in compliment of the honourable man, John Gedney, the first master, elected at the commencement of the aforesaid corporation of the good, fit, deliberation, and to the entire contentment of the said company, incorporated as the said Mystery of Drapers; and also in compliment as well to the four wardens, John Wotton, John Darby, Robert Bertyn, and Thomas Cook, as to the other notables of the said fraternity and company,—had devised for them an Ensign in form of blazon, to remain to the said notables of the mystery for a perpetual remembrance, that is to say, In honour of the most glorious virgin and mother, whose resplendent rays obscured the sun, he had devised for their blazon, Three sunbeams issuing from three clouds of flame, crowned with three imperial crowns of gold, on a field of azure, and as appeared painted in the demonstrances of the said blazon placed in painting and other proper colours in the margin of such his grant. And that for truly emblazoning the said arms, it behoved they should be borne as described; and such blazon he the said Garter king of Arms certified to be borne by none other whatsoever in the isle of Great Britain. Sealed with the said Garter's seal of office.

turies. Those of most interest are the warden's accounts, which consist of several folios, and, besides being registers of money transactions, are also a species of court minutes, or records of occurrences abounding with entries, elucidatory of the companies' domestic government, trading concerns, dress, observances, trust charities, and various other subjects.*

The warden's accounts are divided into Receipts and Expences. The receipts are preceded by the names of the master and wardens, year of the king's reign in which they serve office, name or title of the company, and mention of the interval occupied.† They consist of apprentice fees, in this company called "Spoon Silver," of receipts for admissions of new members, and for fines and quarterages. The expences include (amongst numerous other items) the annual charges for minstrels and drinking, in accompanying the new sheriffs by water to Westminster, and on attending the lord mayor's show; "potacions at our Lady Fair in Southwark" in making the company's trade search; costs of the Election Feast, and other entertainments; salaries of officers; pensions of poor; payments for obits and chantries, and miscellaneous expences; together with such charges as were common to all the companies, when called upon by the state or the city for public purposes, as to ride in processions, or assist with men or money on government

* The first book, which is a very large folio, fairly written, begins in the time of Sir Thomas Stalbroke, master; John Stokker, William Bulstrode, Edward Pigou, and William Capell, wardens, 1475 (15 Edward IV.), and ends 1508 (22 Henry VII.)George Monnoux, alderman, then master. Only 175 pages out of 500 or 600 are written on. The second book does not begin till six or seven years after the ending of the first, as stated in a fly-leaf, "*Liber Septimus hic incipit*, 1514-15;" John Mylborn, alderman and lord mayor, being then master. We may suppose that there were *five* other volumes of accounts, (these being the *sixth* and *seventh*,) of earlier date, and which are now lost. For the company are said in other of their records to have first made ordinances in 1332.

† These headings are always in Latin, and those to the warden's entries in English, as [1481. In tempore Thome Stalbroke, militi, magister artis Pannarior'; Johannis Finkell, Johannes Tutfyn, Willi' Isac et Ricardi Butte, gardianor' anno xx̄j. Regis Ed' iiij^{ti}, a festo Assumpt' bte Marie Virginis an^{o} vt sup vsq' ad idem festu' tu'c p^{rx} sequen' scil't in an^{o} Dn'i 1482, et an^{o} Reg^{s} p^{r} dci xxij.]" After which, [This is the accompt of John Fynkell, John Tutfyn, William Isac, and Richard Butte, wardens of the Crafte of Drapers of London, begyning at the feste of th' Assumption of our Lady, in the xxj. yere of the same king, which is by an hole yere, that is to say, of all their Receipts and Payments, by reason of their office by alle the same yere."] The same wardens, as well as subsequent ones, before they give any items of either Receipt or Expenditure, acknowledge the receipt of Stock from the old wardens, as declaratory of the company's increasing wealth, in this form, "Fyrst the seyde wardens chargen them to have ressceyved of Mighell Harryes, John Hawkyn, Ric' Hawkyn, and Thomas Wyntham, their predecessors, wardens for the year laste paste, of the foote of their accompte, sm^{a} lxxx$^{li.}$ xj$^{s.}$ vj$^{di.}$," when follows the list of items in manner described above.

emergences. The whole of these entries are more or less interesting, as exhibiting the advancement of the company, or displaying traits of character, and pictures of by-gone manners and ages, at the same time that they elucidate the progress of our language by abundant specimens (not elsewhere to be met with) of the colloquial and familiar English of the day.

The state and increase of the company are shewn by the entries of the few first years:—In 1476 the apprentices admitted amount to twenty-three, and the fee to 3*s.* 4*d.* each. The quarterage from seventy-one members is 3*l.* 11*s.*, and only 16*s.* is collected from fifty-one of the fraternity towards the minstrels. The rest of the receipts consist of small sums for fines, redemptions, admissions to the livery, and on other accounts: the whole year's expences (consisting of twenty-one items) amount but to 34*l.* 1*s.* 1*d.* The cash in hand, or what is said to "reste to the crafte," is (according to a custom observed every year) stated to have been put "into the great box the day of bringing in the same account, being the 12th of March, 17 of King Edward IV:"—Five years afterwards, [1481,] the apprentice fees rise from 3*s.* 4*d.* to 13*s.* 4*d.* each: the amount from twenty-four of them being 16*l.*, and the admission fee on the livery (before 2*s.*) in some instances as high as 4*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* In 1498 the apprentices are thirty-five, one of whom pays 20*s.* In succeeding years there is a like progressive advancement.

The first entry of a strictly historical nature is in 1476, when it is said "the crafte was cessid for xl persones to ride to meet with the king at his comyng fro' beyond the see." This ceremony took place on the return of Edward IV. from France, and cost the company 20*l.* The most interesting of the other entries of a similar kind, as far as our limits permit us to copy them, shall be given chronologically.

1483 (August 5.) The livery attended a civic procession to welcome the unfortunate Edward V. on his being brought to town by the dukes of Gloucester and Buckingham. The young prince was parsimoniously honored, for the company only sent six persons, who are debited in different sums from 12*d.* to 6*s.* 8*d.* under the name of "Riding money for Prince Edward." In the following November (1483) twenty-two persons of the livery receive the like "riding money," for attending the coronation procession of his uncle Richard III., or, as the entry states it, "the comyng in of the king upon Seint Katerynes day." On this occasion the usurper was met by four-hundred and six members of the livery

companies "riding in nurrey-coloured coats," including the above deputation from this company. The drapers' records preserve notices of three other public transactions in which they were engaged jointly with the other companies during this reign, all of them happening in 1484 and 1485.

The first was a grand military muster of the citizens on the rising of the "Kentish men," after the coronation of Richard and his queen, Ann Nevil, and towards which the mercers', tailors', and drapers' companies furnished two hundred men each. The second was on occasion of the "coming of the Northern men into the city," a few months afterwards, when another grand muster was made, which met in Finsbury fields. A particular account of the dress and mode of arming will be seen under the head "GOLDSMITHS' COMPANY."* The last is a meager notice of 9*s.* having been paid "for bote hire to Westmynstre to the buryng of Quene Anne;" who finished her short and unhappy reign on the 16th of March, 1485, after having been queen little more than a twelvemonth.

1485. (1 Henry VII.) Entry of 2*l.* "for bote hire to Westmynstre in the p'le'ent (parliament) tyme, and to put up o^r^ Bill for a reformacion of cloth making." *Pippins* are first mentioned in this entry as an article of refreshment, and are introduced amongst the items of most of the feasts afterwards. There is charged "for pippyns put into the barge, 11^d^ ob.; for ij. rybbes of beef, xiij^s^; and for a bottell of wyne, vij^d^ ob."

1487 (November). On Henry's triumphal entry into London, after his victory over "the Northern rebels," and on the coronation of his queen Elizabeth, the 15th of the same month, the companies were summoned, as usual, to add to the splendor. The drapers' books have entries on both these occasions. The first is in the following quaint terms:

"Remembraunce, that the craft was cessed for xxx persones to ride to sette in the kinge; whiche cessing draweth to the somme of xv^li.^ vj^s.^ ij^d.^; whereof we receyved but the somme of xij^li.^ ix^s.^ ij^d.^"

The second is respecting the queen's coming by water from Greenwich to her coronation at Westminster, and which has been already described.†

1491. "The aldermen of the taylo's were treated with brede and wine at Drapers' halle." The occasion is not mentioned; but it appears, from after entries, to have related to the settlement of

* The draper's wardens' accounts debit on the occasion a sum of "vi^s.^ for candyll, when a watche was kept in the time of King Ric' III^ds^ yere."

† Hist. Essay, 95.

differences between them in managing the cloth trade, and which both having an equal interest in, was frequently, it will be seen, a subject of dispute.

1493. This year was a general numbering of the company. It was found to amount in the whole to 289, viz.: "Of the craft of Drapers in the clothing" or livery, 114, including the master and four wardens; "of the Broderhode oute of the clothing," or freemen, 115; and "of the Bachelors' Company," 60. The list of livery of the "craft in the clothing," comprises several names afterwards eminent in civic history. The master and wardens were all aldermen, and on the court; and amonst the livery were alderman Fabian, Roger Achilly, mayor, 1511; Sir William Capell, Sir George Milborne, alderman Monnoux, Richard Shore, sheriff, &c. The "Bachelors' company" had four wardens, who are named, but no names are given of the other members.

The same year one of those riots which have been stated to have so often occurred anciently, from the hatred of the London mob to foreigners, took place at the Steel-yard, in Thames street, then the great mart (amongst other imports) for Flemish cloth. The drapers who dealt largely with Flanders for this article, were foremost in contributing to restore peace; and they afterwards, as we are informed by a subsequent entry, sent a force to guard the depôt from fresh attacks: it states 11*s.* 9*d.* to have been expended "for cresset-staffs and banners, and bread, ale and candell, in keeping xvij. days watch after the riot at the Steel-yard." A particular and entertaining account of this outrage, from Grafton's Chronicle, will be found in the note.*

* The king [Henry VII.] to revenge himself on the Flemings for countenancing Perkin Warbeck, had forbidden trading to Flanders. The merchants were greatly displeased, and particularly as the Esterlings of the Steel-yard still retained *their* liberty of importing cloth, as before. By reason hereof, says the historian, "the maisters beyng destitute of sale and traffique, neyther reteyned so many couenaunt seruants and apprentices as they were before accustomed, and in especiall, mercers, haberdashers, and clothworkers, nor yet gaue to their seruauntes so great stipend and salarie as before that restraynt they vsed to do. For this cause the sayde seruauntes entendyng to worke their malice on the Easterlyngs, the Tuesday before Saint Edwardes day, came to the *Stiliard*, in London, and began to rifle and spoyle such Chambers and Warehouses as they could get into; so that the Easterlynges had much ado to withstand and repulse them out of their gates. And when their gates were shut and made fast, the multitude rushed and beate at the gates with clubbes and leauers to have entred, but the Easterlynges, by the helpe of Carpenters and Smythes, which came to their ayde by water, out of the Borough of Southwarke, had so strongly shored and fortefyed themselves, that they could not preuail. The maior of London, heeryng of this ryot, assembled the magistrates and officers of the citye together, and so, beyng furnished both with men and weapon, set forward to the Stiliard. Assone as the commyng of the maior was declared and knowen to the riotous persons, they fled away lyke a flock of

The next three entries appear to refer entirely to matters connected with drapery:

1495. "P$^{d.}$ ij^{s} for the makyng of a Bill to the King for cloth-makyng.

1496. "For a potacion for the heads of the M$^{r.}$ Taylo^{rs} when they met to grayn cloths.

"For a barge two times to the Shene (Richmond) to speak wth the king for reformacon of our Act to be made for woollen cloth, which cost us and the Taylors in vytels, supplicacon, and learned counsell, 3$^{li.}$ xiij$^{s.}$ iiij$^{d.}$" (Same year) "For brede and ale when the felysship mustered at Drap^{s} Hall for Blak heth felde."

This last meeting was preparatory to the king's battle with the Cornish insurgents under Joseph the farrier, and Flammock the lawyer, on Blackheath, over whom he obtained a complete victory.

Same year; the company expended 4*l.* for "a riding to the king to Woodstock; at which place all the companies were also oblige to attend by my lord the mayrs commandment." The drapers were accompanied by "Mr. Recorder, Mr. Fabian," and other eminent persons.

1498. A payment of 8*s.* is entered, for going to Westminster "to speke wth my lord Cardynall (Morton) for brokage and scavage att the mayrs commandment."

On the marriage of Prince Arthur, with Katherine of Spain, in 1499, and the death of that prince a few months afterwards, the company have entries of the following payments.

"For a xx. and dj. (thirty) men ayens the comyng of the king's daughter of Spayn for this place, iij$^{s.}$"

"To Crosby, carpent$^{r.}$ for the fraym in Chepe, where we stod at the comyng in of the p^{r}nces Dame Kateryn oute of Spayn, in ou^{r} liv^{r}ey, xxx^{s}."

1500. "For our standing in Powlys in ou^{r} Ladye Chapell at the masse of Requiem of P^{r}nce Arthure, iiij^{d}."

1502. The like sum paid for the same standing "at the Dirige and mass for quene Elizabeth" (of York.)

sheepe; howbeit he apprehended diuers of the malefactors, and committed them to seuerall prisons. And vpon the inquirie before the kinges commissioners, there were found guiltie above lxxx seruauntes and apprentices (and not one householder) which were confederate together to make this attempt, and sworne in no wyse to discouer or reuele the same. Whereof, some that were the Chieftaynes and beginners of this mischeuous riot, were sent to the Tower, and there long continued. But in conclusion, because none of their maysters were founde trespassers of this naughtie act, the king of hys goodnesse pardoned their offence, and restored them to their libertie."

Same year, the company were "cessid xxxij^{s}.," and again 3^{s}. 4^{d}. "towards building of the new Kechyn at Guildhall."

In the above year and the next (1503), the tailors, haberdashers, and dyers seem to have had a great difference respecting the dying of cloths. The drapers and tailors prepared for law, but were prevented by the intervention of the mayor and aldermen, who being in these times general arbitrators between the companies, happily settled this as well as many other of their quarrels.

The entries notice the treaty to have began at first amicably, a payment of 4*s.* being booked "for potac'ons at div^{rs} tymes had wth the taylo^{rs}, haberdashers, and dyers, for dying wthin this cite." It is soon followed, however, by a resolution to "retayn counsel against the tailo^{rs}." Both these occurrences take place in 1502.

In 1503 "the drapers and tailo^{rs} agree to refer all differences between their fellowships to the lord mayor and aldermen:"—They were terminated soon afterwards by a regular legal convention between the parties, the record of which is amongst the City Archives.*

1509. On the death of Henry VII. the wardens, in their accounts, claim credit for 114*s.* "for xij. torches for the beryall of King Henry the VIIth weying ccxx$^{lb.}$ and 1 quart^{r}, whereof was wasted xxxij$^{lb.}$, at iiij^{d} le lb., and xij^{d} for making of eu^{r}y torche."

1514—15 (25 August.) It was represented to the court of the company, including amongst others Sir George Monnoux, lord mayor; alderman Sir Lawrence Aylmer, and aldermen Brugge and Milborn, that Sir William Capell had "sent in a bill of divers parcels of land and other things, which he was minded to give to the fraternite, for them to cause certain services to be done for his soul for ever, and wishing to know what ready money they would demand therefore, in case they refused such land?" The court, on debate, answered, "that they would accept the trust offered for 1000 marks immediate payment, and 14*l.* yearly, and would add any other services he might wish farther at that rate."†

* It purports to be "an agreement made between the craft of dyers of the one part, and the fellowships of drapers, tailors, and merchant haberdashers of the other part, on the oath established and confirmed by the mayor and aldermen, by the consent and agreement of all the said parties."

† "The parcels of land and other things" offered, were:—

In Holborn of the yearly value of liij$^{s.}$ iiij$^{d.}$
The bakehouse in Trinity lane iiij$^{li.}$ vj$^{s.}$ viij$^{d.}$
The houses in Seynt Kateryn Colman p'sshe xxvj$^{s.}$
The hous in Canwyke strete xvj$^{li.}$ viij$^{s.}$
The hous in Watlyng strete iiij$^{li.}$ xiij$^{s.}$ iiij$^{d.}$
The houses in Bassishawe y$^{t.}$ a cordwain^{r} holdeth xxx$^{s.}$ viij$^{d.}$
The houses in Houndis diche iiij$^{li.}$

Several discussions took place on this business, after which, with some alterations of their first proposals, the company undertook the trust. Two of the altered conditions on which they accepted it were curious: one was,

That the chantry priest to be provided should, when required, "wait on the company at divine service for the worship of the same."—The other, that "the clerk, beadle, and alms folk *dwelling* near to *Drapers' Hall*, should have their several portions of the coals to be laid in, as in other wills." The company, on consenting to the bargain, also threw out the following hint:—

"Moreover, we trust to have a speciall and a kynd brotherly tokyn of remembraunce of plate—as basins, potts, cuppis, or other thing of pleasure, for a dayly memory whan yt shal be sene, to th' intent that his soule may be ther after remembred and prayed for; whiche we submyt vnto that honourable lady his wif and to his worshipful executors."

Sir William's death immediately followed the settlement of the negotiation; for we find it stated in a subsequent entry of the same year, that, "in pursuance of the agreement that Sir William Capell's obit should be kept in the priory church of St. Bartholomew the Great, Smithfield,"—the whole Company of Drapers assembled at their hall to receive the prior of that convent, there being also present, the lord mayor, recorder, and several of the council.

"The p[r]or of Seynt Barth'ew's" was introduced, "when Mr. Recorder and Mr. Pollet in the name of Sir William Capell, knight, agreed,"—to give the company 600*l.* in ready money to purchase 15*l.* 7*d.* yearly land. That after Sir William and Lady Capell's death, the company should nominate the priest and almsmen which should be founded with a portion of the said 15*l.* 7*d.*, and at certain times the priest should attend on the company "to the worship of the same." And it was further agreed on behalf of

The payments and services expected by Sir William Capell, for this property, were:—

To a preeste yerely	vij[li.]	vj[s.]	vij[d.]	For his obite yerely	xx[s.]
To a poor man wekely			xij[d.]	— potac'ons for the drapers	vj[s.] viij[d.]
To the maior of London		vj[s.]	viij[d.]	To the clerk of drapers	xij[d.]
To the sheriffs		vj[s.]	viij[d.]	To the bedell of drapers	viij[d.]
To the master of the drapers			iiij[s.]	For y[e] lode of colys, to be distributed in Saynt Bartholomew p'sshe	xx[d.]
To the four wardens of the drapers		xiij[s.]	iiij[d.]	Sin[a]	xiij[li.] xij[d.]
To the p'son, preestis, and clerks of the churche for ringing and potac'ons		ij[s.]	iiij[d.]		

the company, that the clerk, beadle, and *almsmen dwelling within* the *Drapers' Hall*, should have their several portions of the said two loads of coals to be given away at the said obit.

1518. The almost exclusive limitation of the drapers' trade to the city, at this date, is shown by an answer of the company to a precept, commanding them to certify the names of freemen drapers, dwelling in Westminster, Southwark, and parts around London.* The whole number of names returned amounts but to seven, viz. in Westminster two, in Shoreditch one, and without Temple Bar four.

N.B. From the last date, bonds, bills, obligations and other forms of money securities, between individual members of the company, are regularly entered under each year's wardenship, and occupy much of the second book of wardens' accounts. In most instances, the parties subscribe their name or marks; both of which are generally wretched scrawls, and show the low state of education at this period. The most respectable citizens only make their mark.

1521. The drapers took the lead in settling the terms and amount of a contribution, which the government required from the great companies, towards the furnishing of ships of discovery to be placed under the command of the celebrated Sebastian Cabot. The wardens of "div^rs of the auncyant felishippes," assembled on this occasion "at Frers Austyns," or Austin Friars, and adopted the substance of this companies' answer as their own. In it the drapers tell the king's council, that they have no authority to bind their whole company to any such charge; and acquaint them, as to the state of their trade;—that their company consisted but "of fewe adventurers, saving only into *Flanders*, whereunto required noe grete shipps," yet, if it pleased the king "to cause to be manned, rigged, apparelled, and victualled," such a ship as their company should think convenient, they, the wardens, "would apply themselves to *labo^r*, their said co'pany to freight and lade the same, to the best of their power, having such

* "To the wardens of the Craft of Drapers—By the maior:—We charge and command you that shortly vpon the sight of this p^rsent p^rcept, ye certifie vnto the Chamb^r of London the names of all those p'sones being free of yo^r felishipp, co'tinually dwelling and abyding in the town of Westn^r, and from thens to the gate of Temple Bar, w^thin this cite; Seynt Gyles in the feld, Seynt John strete, Fynesbery lordship, in White-chapell p'rsshe, in Shoredichе, and in all the suburbs bitwene those places; and in the burgh of Suthwerk: And that in nowyse ye fayle not hereof, but that ye have here this p^rcept, and the names as aforesaid of suche p'sones by the last day of the moneth of February."

a reasonable price of the freight, as other shipps had in usage and lading."

From what is further said, it appears, that the intended voyage was to Newfoundland; which had been first discovered in 1491, by John Cabot, [Sebastian's father,] with five ships furnished in like manner as these were proposed to be, by king Henry VII. and the London merchants. This second voyage to the same place, under the auspices of Henry VIII. is not mentioned by Cabot's biographers, and the omission gives to the entry here considerable interest.* The manner and language in which the fact is told are also amusing:

Their doubts of the success of the enterprise are strongly expressed: — "If," they observe, "their soereign lord, the king's highnes, the cardinall's grace, and the king's most honorable counsl were duly and substantially informed, with such perft knowledge as might be had by credible report of masters and mariners, naturally born wthin this realm of England, having experience in and about the forsaid land; as well as knowledge of the land, the due courses of the seey, thitherward and homeward, of the havens, roads, ports, creeks, dangers, and shoals there were on the coast, then there would be less jeopardy in the adventure; notwithstanding that the place is further off than most English mariners can tell." As it was, they considered it "a sore adventure to jepard v shipps wth men and goods vnto the said island, upon the singular trust of one man, called," as they understood, "*Sebastyan*, who," as they had heard say, "was never in that land himself, and made report of many things, only as he had heard his father and other men speke in times past." They use many other ingenious arguments, and are only awed into submission at last (as are the other companies) by a message "fro' my lord Cardynall," that the king "would have the premises performed, and would have no nay therein."

* During a period of twenty years, subsequent to the return of Cabot and his father in 1497, there is said to be a chasm in the history of Sebastian's transactions. In 1517, he had formed an intimate connexion with Sir Thomas Pert, then vice-admiral of England, and had obtained by his interest with Henry VIII. a good ship for prosecuting his discoveries. The voyage he made in it was not successful; and, after returning to England, and remaining for a short time, he removed to Spain. Here he is thought to have staid till 1524, when he sailed on an expedition to the Moluccas, or spice islands. It appears, however, from the above statement of the draper's books, that he was in the interval provided by England with the ships mentioned, and probably made another voyage to Newfoundland with them, of which we have no account. The objection, which it will be seen the companies made to the scheme on the score of uncertainty, was possibly in consequence of the ill success of his former voyage, in the ship furnished him through the means of Sir Thomas Spert.

Same year (June 30,) is an account of Sir John Brugge, a member of the drapers, and at this time lord mayor, attending by invitation, the Serjeant's Feast, at Ely-house, Holborn. He was accompanied by the aldermen, some in scarlet, and some in silk gowns, and by the masters of eight of the crafts in their best livery gowns and hoods, viz. the drapers, mercers, grocers, fishmongers, goldsmiths, skinners, merchant-tailors, and haberdashers. "The may^{r} bare the estate in the hall at the high boord"—the master of the Rolls began the second boord—the warden of Drapers the third, and the rest of the Crafts sat in the hall. "To shew what the Fare was," the writer of the entry says, "is but losse of tym. I suppose that the worshipfull citezens were never wors s^{r}ved.—Plura continent^{r} in alià papiro."

The power of Cardinal Wolsey, who was at this time in the height of his favor with Henry VIII., appears in the familiar association of "my lord Cardinall's grace," with the "king's highnes" in the above extract as to Cabot, and we find his name mentioned in the like humble manner in two other entries of this year. In the first, a sum of 22*l.* 15*s.* is stated to have been paid "for 32 yards of crimson satten for my lord Cardinall," and in the latter, 20 marks is given him "as a pleasure," so it is termed, "for his services with the king." Both presents it appears were made to him on account of his procuring at this time additional privileges for the company, in their management of the Blackwell-hall trade: in 1526, there occurs a third entry which exhibits a still stronger proof of co-government, of the "Ego et Rex" of this proud ecclesiastic: The king's name is, however, put first: It records a "commandement geven by the mayr as to cloths;" and which the company are enjoined in the conclusion of, to obey, as they "entend to doo the king and my lord Cardinall pleasure, and eschew the contrary." The occasion of this precept, as already stated,* was the refusal of the merchants to buy up the English cloths at Blackwell-hall, during an apprehended war between this country and the Emperor, because "they saw no reason to buy commodities they knew not how to vend." Warning is therefore stated to have been thus given to the fellowship of Drapers, "that ev^{r}y yomen to his power should by woollen clothes of cloth-makers to putt them in good comfort, and not otherwise," under the penalty mentioned.† (It is not said whether they complied.)

* See *ante*, p. 398.

† The mode of appointing the keeper of Blackwell-hall is stated in an entry of the same date. The old keeper be-

1527. The companies' attention appears to have been considerably occupied in disputes with the Crutched Friars;—Sir John Milborn several times master of the drapers, and mayor of London in 1521, had purchased ground of these religious next their church, and had built thirteen alms-houses on it for decayed drapers, of which he left the company trustees. There was to be an anniversary obit kept for him in the said church, and the thirteen almsmen or "bedemen," as they are called in Sir John's will, were also daily to say prayers at his tomb there:—The disputes seem to have been about the boundaries of the ground purchased, and the due performances of the religious services. There are two or three entries on the subject, from which, combined with the account of this convent in Stow, we learn that the city had near this time granted the friars an additional piece of ground to enlarge their church, and which abutting on Milborn's charity, caused this contention. The friars, in the first instance, had got the lord mayor to write to the companies to assist them in their building; but, whether the taste for monasteries was declining, or that the drapers were out of temper about their ground, their feeling on the occasion, as intimated by the following entry, seems to have been very cold.

1521 (October,) "A mocyon was made to styr mennys devocious for the Crossed Friars, according to the tenor of the present commission," [the lord mayor's letter] "what yt avayled sens [since] God knoweth:—*q' tunc nichill.*"

The other entries,—which are of transactions seeming to have originated in consequence,—respect a survey of the companies' almshouses, and some investigation made by them, as trustees, concerning the keeping by the friars, of the religious observances for Sir John Milborn. Both these occurrences took place at the first date, [1519.] The last entry respects an encroachment made

ing dead, Sirs John Brugge, George Milbourne, William Bayley, John Sule and others, assembled at the Hall. (It should be observed, that the company had the appointment to this place by patent, through Sir John Styles' "interest with the king and the lord Cardinall;" and to whom, on the Company's giving him 20*l.*, he had promised he would make a good report of them.) The choice fell on a Mr. Starkey, and the following was the ceremony of his installation:—He was taken to the mayor's Court at Guildhall to be accepted, being accompanied there by the above Sir John Brugge, &c., and twelve sureties, "*aftr an olde custom;*" then "the maior and aldrmen aftr a pawse takyn, went down to the grete gate of Blackwell-hall, and comandyd my lady Fenkyll to send him the kees; which to doo w'th assent of our mastr and wardan's she was content. And then the mair toke the kees to the Cham'lyn, and comandyd hym to open the door: and there w in the same hall, the mastr put Mr. Starkey in full possession of that office."

by "Mr. Wyett," and took place after the suppression of the friary. In the entry of 1529, it is stated, that a "reporte of Mr. Ward[n] was made of the viewing of the houses, granted to the Crossed Friars of London,"—when the company agreed, "that if the p[r]or and convent of the said freres at any time hereafter be negligent, and do not obsyrve and kepe the will of Sir John Milborn, knight, alderman and draper of London, that this house do take upon them to obsyrve and kepe the said wyll;" the latter entry, recording a resolution of the company to proceed against "Mr. Wyett, for breaking the wall at the Crossed Friars, in case he make not a good answere," is only worthy notice from the celebrity of the person complained of. It was Sir Thomas Wyatt, the elder, an early refiner of our English poetry, in connexion with the earl of Surry, and whom the Athenæ Ononiensis styles, "the delight of the muses, and of mankind." This gentleman was the grantee from Henry VIII., of the Crutched Friars, and had built a mansion on part of the site, afterwards Lumley House, and subsequently rebuilt as the Navy Office.* The break in the wall mentioned, and a new brick wall built in consequence, appear in Virtue's Plan of the Tower Liberties, after a drawing of the reign of Elizabeth.

1538. The Suppression of Monasteries is first hinted at in an entry of this year, which states it to have been agreed, "as touching the purchasing of *Suppressed lands*, that this house shall not be *hasty*, for doubts that may be thought to depend upon the same, for holding of the kyng, as by knight's-service or such other like, until it be discussed by learned counsell." And the next year it is further agreed, "that all the obytts which were kept at Frere Austyns, shall be kept at Swithins."

An entry of a few days later, notices an application of the king's commissioners for a "Return of the Company's Chantries," at the same friary, as follows:—

1539. "The chanselo[r] of the augmenta'con hathe sent dyv[r]s & sundry times to M[r] wardens for suche money as they were charged w[th]all for obytts kept at Frere Augustynes, as it were for quyt-rents. Mr. Broke hathe promysed that he wol be redy at al tymes to go w[th] the M[r] & wardens to make answer to the said chanselo[r]." The company celebrated service for four of their deceased members here, whose names will be found in their list of obits.

* Athenæ Onon. i. 56, Strype, Pennant, &c.

1545. The company completed the purchase from king Henry VIII., of their present hall (or rather site,) which had come to the crown by the attainder of Cromwell, earl of Essex, and had been his residence. The particulars will be found under the head "Hall and Buildings."

Same year. They were required to give in a general account of their chantries, and hold a special meeting for the purpose, as per the following entry.

"M^d. The vij of May after Mr. Calley's obit, here assembled the Ryght worshipfull Sir Will^am Rose, knight, our mast^r, Mr. Lowen, Mr. Chevale, and Mr. Petyt, wardens, and of the Counsell, Mr. Brothers, Mr. Warner, Mr. Clerk, and Mr. Blower, before whom the Mast^r and M^r wardens caused the Commis^n to be read, w'ch was sent by the king's Commis^rs to the said Mast^r and ward^ns, to make answer to them by a certain day concerning how many chantryes and stipendiary priests do belong to ou^r company, and what lands and possessions they have w^th divers o^r articles, as appeareth in the said Commiss^n. And after, the said articles and answ^r were openly read before the said Assistents, whe'w^th, and withall o^r things done in and about the same, the said assistents were well content, and gave their consents to the same."

The Commissioners wishing afterwards to have a fuller answer from the company, the court had another meeting, and heard read, and approved of new answers being sent.

Heads of an agreement with the king's counsel for the purchase of the companies' rents, was subsequently prepared, as also an account of the obits and chantries they were left to maintain, the latter of which will be seen under the head "Observances." The company also consented to the sale of part of their plate. They were preparing for other alterations, but appear to have escaped with their brother crafts, from the king's increasing ill health and other causes; nor do we find further mention in their books of this subject, or indeed any other of particular note during the short remainder of Henry VIII.'s reign.

1551. The statute for dissolving colleges, chantries, and free chapels, 37 Henry VIII., having been revived by a new statute, 1 Edward VI., as already mentioned, the following entries occur on the subject under their respective dates:

1551, (14 March.) "Mr. Chester declared how M^r Ward^ns had been before Sir Walter Mildmay, knight, and others, of the king's ma^ties commissioners; and the said comm^rs agreed with them, and

allowed them out of the total sum towards the clerk, beadle, and the poor, vij$^{li.}$ by the year, before entred in their book, and also paid. And further agreed wth them for y^{e} obitts which should be kept but for certain years, viz. for Henry Eburton and John Toll^{r}, w'ch amounted both yerely to xvj$^{s.}$ ij$^{d.}$. Also, that they should pay for them, but after eight years p^{r}chase, w'ch amounted to xvj$^{li.}$ ix$^{s.}$ iiij$^{d.}$. And the residue in perpetuity, w'ch amounteth to liij.$^{li.}$ v$^{s.}$ xii$^{d.}$ by the year, to pay thereof after xxj years purchase; w'ch amounteth the purchase thereof, to the sum of 1065$^{li.}$ 16$^{s.}$ 8$^{d.}$. So the sum total for the whole purchase to be paid by this house (for that before p^{d} to the king's ma^{ty} for the chantries and obitts) amounteth to the sum of 1402*l.* 6*s.*, besides the abatement for the officers and poor."

The company having agreed to the above terms, completed their purchase, in common with the rest of the companies, through the agency of the city trustees, alderman Turke, Mr. Blackwell, &c. in the course of the year, and entred on the particulars of purchase, as below:

1552. "O^{r} boke of p^{r}chase of o^{r} Obytts and Ch^{a}untry lands bought. This day our book of purchase made out by Mr. Blackwell, Town Clerk, drawen out of the king's majesties' patent, made to Mr. Turke, alderman, and the said Mr. William Blackwell, of and for the behoof of all such companies of this city of London as purchased of the king's majesty their Obits and Chantry lands, was brought in by Mr. Alderman Leigh. We paid for the writing and engrossing thereof, unto the said Mr. Blackwell, the sum of 30$^{s.}$, but in the which book is left out the Obit of Henry Eburton, which this house also purchased; unto the which Obit was claim made by a patent, w'ch was answered as appeareth, Fo." (Vide above.)

1552. Notice is taken of a remarkable order of government respecting the coinage, in the following terms:

"A proclamation made that the shilling shall go for vj$^{d.}$, the grote for ij$^{d.}$, the half-grote for j$^{d.}$; the peny for an half-peny, and the half-peny for a farthing."

The death of Edward VI., and temporary elevation of Lady Jane Grey to the crown are thus shortly noticed under the year:

1553. "Rex Edwardus Sextus moriebat', and quene Jane was p'clamed thorow the Cittie."

Elkanah Settle, in the preface to his Triumphs of London, or pageant for Sir Thomas Stamp of this company, and lord mayor in 1691, thus compliments the company:

"I dare not pretend in so narrow a paper to recount the anti-

quity and splendor of the Worshipful Company of Drapers. It is enough to say that the honour of your corporation extends as far as trade can reach, or canvass wings can carry it; and from this little island visits only those nations of the world that there is sea to travel to. As for your first original, Drapery is unquestionably so ancient as to have the honour of being the immediate successor of the Fig-leaves. And though we are not certain that our great First Father began it within his fair Eden, yet we are assured that *Eve's spinstry* and *Adam's spade* set to work together. And as to any poetrical harangue to the Drapers' encomium, let it suffice that whilst there are Verdant Plains and Bleating Flocks, those innocent panagerists will do you more justice, and speak much better than any weak flourishes from the pen of," &c.

The CONSTITUTION of this company is contained in the charters which have been noticed. The first, 38 Edward III., allows them as "Free Drapers of the City of London," to elect yearly four persons of their own mystery, who shall be sworn twice a year before the mayor, to oversee that no default or deceit is practised in the manufactures of the said mystery, and to rule and govern the said Mystery of Drapery in the said city, for the common profit of the people, and the due punishment of those in whom defaults shall be found, according to the advice and discretion of the said four persons, by the assistance of the mayor and sheriffs, if need be, which mayor and sheriffs the charter ordains shall be overseers [intendants] of the said four persons, when it shall be required of them. And it empowers the said four persons who shall be so elected and sworn, to administer oaths to all who shall be admitted into the said Mystery of Drapery in the said city, that the exercise, and whatsoever appertains to the said mystery, may be carried on well and lawfully, and without fraud, covin, or crafty practices.

The charter, 17 Henry VI., empowers the drapers within the said city "one gild or fraternity in honor of the blessed virgin Mary from among the men of the said mystery, to found, erect, and establish, and to hold and enjoy the same to them and their perpetual successors for all times to come;" and that they may increase and augment the same at pleasure. It appoints a *master*, in addition to the former number of wardens, allowing "the men of the same fraternity to elect yearly from among themselves one master and four wardens, who at the time of their election shall be drapers and freemen of the city aforesaid, to support as well the burthen of the business of the said fraternity, as to overlook and

govern the same and all the men and affairs thereof for ever." And it constitutes the said master and wardens, and brothers and sisters of the said fraternity, in deed and name one body, and one perpetual community, with perpetual succession, and a common seal; grants them legal capability to purchase in fee and perpetuity lands, tenements, rents, and other possessions whatsoever, and from whomsoever persons; and that they and their successors, by the name of "Master and Wardens of the Gild or Fraternity of the blessed Mary of Drapers of London; may plead and be impleaded before whomsoever judges in court, and in whatsoever actions."

The charter 6 Edward IV. recites and confirms, by Inspeximus, the charter 17 Henry VI., empowering the company further to claim, hold, and dispose of lands, tenements, rents, and other possessions whatsoever, to the value of 20*l.* per annum, to hold of the king in chief, or of other persons, or in any otherwise whatsoever; for which the company engage, in return, to establish and maintain two chaplains, to pray for the good estate of the said King Edward, and of Elizabeth, his queen, for the wholesome government of the said Fraternity of Drapers, and the brothers and sisters thereof, whilst living, and for their souls when dead; as also for the souls of the king's late father, Richard duke of York; Edmund earl of Rutland, brother to the said king Edward; the earl of Salisbury, the king's kinsman; and Sir John Neville, knt., son to the said earl.

The charters of Philip and Mary, and queen Elizabeth, are Inspeximuses, which merely recite and confirm the charters 17 Henry VI. and 6 Edward IV., but make no additions.

The charter 4 James I. ordains, that all and singular the freemen of the Mystery of Drapers of London shall be one body corporate and politic in deed, fact, and name, by the name of "The Master and Wardens and Brethren and Sisters of the Gild or Fraternity of the blessed Virgin Mary of the Mystery of Drapers of the City of London." That they shall have perpetual succession, liberty to hold lands, &c., to sue and be sued, and to have a common seal, as also a common hall and council house. It allows the said master and wardens, brothers and sisters, and their successors, to elect yearly five of the said fraternity, in manner in the said charter mentioned, one whereof so chosen shall be, and shall be named the master of the said fraternity, and the other four be and be named wardens. It appoints and names a court of thirty-one assistants, to be from time to time aiding and assisting to the master and

wardens for the time being, in all causes, matters, business, and things touching the said master and wardens and fraternity; and appoints Robert Thomas, a freeman of the said fraternity to be the first master under the said charter, and four other persons named to be wardens, who are to continue in their offices till the first Monday in the month of August, then next following, and thenceforward until there shall be a new election, according to the ordinances and provisions of the said charter. The master, wardens, and assistants, to the number of twelve or more (all of whom then and for ever afterwards are to be only such as have previously served master or warden) are empowered yearly, on the first Monday in August, to elect one freeman of the company to be master for one whole year then next following, and four other freemen to be the wardens for the same term. The said master and wardens so elected, or two of them, are empowered to call courts of the said master, wardens, and assistants, to the number of twelve or more (of which twelve the said master and wardens are always to be reckoned five) to consult and advise about the affairs of the fraternity and mystery, and the good rule, state, and government of the same, and to make reasonable by-laws and ordinances in writing, according to their discretion, for the correction of the master and wardens, and brothers and sisters of the said fraternity, and of all other persons being free of the Mystery of Drapers of London; and may direct in what manner they shall behave and manage for the greater good of the whole, and have power to enjoin and enforce pains and penalties for breech thereof. The master and wardens are to be sworn previously to admission, to well and faithfully execute their offices agreeably to the form of oath made in the 1st year of Elizabeth. The past master and wardens are immediately, on quitting office, to be on the court, and they and the other assistants to continue for life, without reasonable cause to the contrary. The master and wardens are to have power to administer oaths to all the fraternities' officers, apprentices, and members, to faithfully discharge their duties, as thentofore accustomed,—to have power to purchase, to them and their successors for ever, manors, lands, tenements, rents, tithes, and hereditaments to the yearly value of 200*l.*, and to grant, sell, or alien the same,—to have right of search in all shops, cellars, booths, or other places where cloths are sold, or the art of drapery exercised, and—to have liberty to measure by a *sealed standard*, according to the statute, all yards, ells, godes, and other measures whatever, for measuring cloth; to seize and carry away those that

are defective; and also to levy besides, by distress, certain fines, named, and to distribute the same to the poor of the fraternity. The charter confirms all former grants and privileges. To hold, etc. rendering to the crown, as had been accustomed.

The government of the company, pursuant to the above charter of James I., is vested in a master, four wardens, and a court of assistants, subject to the same charter, and to their ordinances.* The master, wardens, and assistants are called the "court;" the other members, the "commonalty." The two, constitute the "body corporate," or company. They are variously styled in their charters and records: before Henry VI., "Les Drapiers de London; Hommes de Mestier de Draparie; Les Hommes enfranchiez en la Mestier de Draperie de London; and Majistror' et gardianor' Pamnarior:" afterwards, "The Freemen of the Mystery of Drapers, and the Master, Wardens, Brethren and Sisters of the Guild or Fraternity of the blessed Virgin Mary of the Mystery of Drapers of the City of London." Their modern style is, "The Worshipful Company of Drapers of the City of London."

The drapers have four sets of ordinances, respectively, dated 6 Henry IV., 19 Henry VII., 35 Henry VIII., and 5 James I. The first set are the groundwork of all the rest. They consist of fifty-one points or articles, stated, in a memorandum attached, (of the date 1503,) to have been published "in the reign of Henry IV., in the mayoralty of John Hend, A.D. 1405, and 120 years past since we first enjoyed Blakewell Hall," and are preceded by the following curious prologue:

* Assistants are not mentioned by *name*, till the 6 Edward VI., but existed long before, under the denomination of the "Counsell of the Craft." The company also appointed, at the same time, yearly auditors. Both will be found mentioned in the following (amongst numerous other) entries.

1481. "For a galon of Osey, y^t^ tyme being here Maist^r^ Drope, Mr. Stalbroke, Syr Will^a^m Stockker, maist^r^; S^r^ John Stokke^r^, my maisters the wardens, and y^e^ *Councell* of the craft."

1486. "For a potell of Claret wyne, and for a potell white wine, fetched at John Gylles, for my maisters, th' aldermen, and for the *Councell* of the craft."

1497. A fine of 40*s.* returned to Sir William Capell, "by assent of the *Councell*."

1514-15. *Twenty-five* persons, whose names are enumerated, are said to have been "affermed by Maist^r^ John Mylborn, alderman, maior, and maister, and the iiij. wardens," to be "of the *Counsell* of this hous," and who paid, collectively, for their fees on the occasion, 25*l.*

1516. "The p^r^sons of the *Counsell*" are enumerated, and with four "bachilloures" are said to form the court this year.

Entries of the accounts being audited by "three *Auditors*," occur in 1491 and afterwards.

1521-79. The Council *for the year* are named by the master and wardens. They consist of 26, and the "iiij. masters, Bachillers," making 30, or with the master and 4 wardens, 35.

"In the worship of God and of his Blessed Moder, and of all the holy Company of Hevyn. For to abate rancor, and more hyghtly to encrease Charitie, and to maynteyne love—All the worshipful Felishipp of the Drapers of y^e^ Cite of London, gadered and assembled in JOHN HENDE'S HALL, in *Seynt Swythyne's lane, of London*, the xj. day of Juyn, the zer of Grace, M.CCCC. and V., and in the reyne of Kyng Henry the Fourthe, aftyr y^e^ conquest the Syxt, in the tyme of John Gedney, John Fenyll, Walter Frebarne, and William Forster, maysters and wardens of the same Felishipp, to oversye the poyntes and articles ordeyned of old tyme of ther Fraternite, which *began* in the zer of Grace, M.CCCXXXij [an° vj^to^ E. T^r^cij.]; and with good deliberacon avy sed on hem,—So yat those thei thought resonabil and profitable thei confermed: The whiche poy'tes, with othir, ben wretyn in this booke, Praying all the' yat aftyr yem schall come in the forseid Felishepp, the same poyntes and articles to examine; and yf th'yther thinke by her wyttes y^t^ any poynt may be amended the same to do there by her good diligens, by anedytinge [incorporating] of the olde wyth puttyng to of newe, such as they schall thinke to encrese worshypp to God and profyht to all the forseyd Felysshyppe."

The "Points" or articles relate, as in the case of the Grocers' and other Companies already spoken of,—to their GOVERNMENT, or to their DRESS and OBSERVANCES,—and include under both divisions similar regulations and customs, but somewhat varied, from difference of trade and other circumstances. We shall notice the principal of them (introducing appropriate examples of their operation) under the heads, "*Choosing* of officers; *Apprenticeships; Admissions* of members; *Business negotiations; Keeping the secrets* of the craft; *Relief* of decayed brethren; *Penalties* for defaults; *Matters* of domestic management; *Dress*, or livery; *Election ceremonies; Funerals* and obits, and *State* and *Civic triumphs*." The minor points are in part enumerated in the note (*).

* They are headed:—"That no brother take no seruaunt, hous, ne shoppe fro' his brother;" any brother finding himself grieved, to complain first to the wardens; "where the mayster and the appr^t^ice mowe not accorde;" to bring every appr^n^tice before the master to be enrolled; "to p^r^sent before y^e^ ward^ns^ every appr^t^ice aft^r^ his t^r^me to be enrolled; that the ward^ns^ ev^y^ zere yeve up the accounts; for the salarye of the bedil; that no wardens do wryte in y^e^ book but ordinances; that ev^y^ ward^n^ do rede this book afore all y^e^ company; that no ward^ns^ bere out nor deliu^r^ no bookes of ordina'coes; no persons to be admitted into the hall at y^e^ Feast;" if any bargain or buy of another, to pay at quarter-day; no brother to be broker between friend and friend, etc.

The book in which these, and the ordinances, 19 Henry VII., are written, is a thin folio of vellum, containing sixty leaves, or one hundred and twenty pages, in which are various other inter-

Choosing of Officers.—The regulations as to this point, intitled, "For to chuse newe wardens," are evidently of a subsequent date to the rest of these ordinances, both from their being written in a later hand, and from their referring to Henry VI.; they also mention a *master*, which was an officer not appointed, as we have seen, till the charter of the 17th of that king's reign. The probability is,—that when the custom of swearing in the company's four wardens before the mayor and sheriffs, pursuant to Edward III.'s charter, ceased—on their being incorporated by Henry VI.,—this new mode of election was adopted and inserted by general consent into the old code of ordinances. They ordain,

That, after the yearly dinner or feast, the master and four wardens shall be elected for the year following, "of all the city, as well one place as another," and in this manner: The wardens for the time being shall call together eight persons, at the least, "of the counsell of the felyshipp" four days before the feast, "to apointe by ther avyse the wardeins for the zer following." The said eight persons shall be sworn to keep *secret*, and not discover any of those that shall be chosen, till that they are *openly* chosen in the hall, under a penalty of 40*s*. "with-oute foryevenes." By a further ordination of the whole fellowship, August 7, 33 Henry VI., the wardens for the year following are to stand in full power, and to receive the office, with all charges pertaining to the same, the day that they are so openly chosen. Delivery is to be made by the old wardens of all things that have accrued to the craft during their wardenship. Refusal to serve when chosen, is subjected to a fine of 10*l*.*

esting memoranda, several of them already noticed, besides the ordinances, and some of which are in English, some in Latin, and others in French. The oldest ordinances are elegantly written, the headings being in red and blue ink, and the initials gilt and illuminated, and are stated to have been copied herein, "in tempore Joh'is Walsh^{a}m, magistri artis Pannarior' Barthomei James, Thome Welles, Joh'is Pake et Willi^{m} Bro'grene gardianor', xix^{o}. die mensis Februarij, anno regni reg^{s} Edwardi Quarti primo.

* The following are instances of the exercise of this power of choice by the members mentioned.

4 Edward VI. 2d August.

"This day were nominat^{d} by the s^{d} Assistance, Mr. Lambard, ald^{n} to be ou^{r} mast^{r} for this next y^{r} ensuing, and Mr. Tull for the first m^{r} ward^{n}, Mr. Fabien for the 2^{d} m^{r} ward^{n}; And then they pricked betw' Ric Cole, Ric Champyon, Ric Askewe, and Hen^{y} Leigh, w'ch of them sho^{d} be the o^{r} two mast^{r} ward^{ns}; and Mr. Hen^{y} Leigh had the most pricks, whom they then no'iatyd for the thyrde m^{r} warden; and Mr. Ric Champyon had the most prycks likewise, next hym, whom they no'iatyd to be the fourth m^{r} wardeyn."

1 Mary, 5th August.—"Assembled the Right Worsh^{ll} Mr. Ald^{n} Lambard, ou^{r} mast^{r}, Mr. Burye, Mr. Richards, Mr. Gardyner, and Mr. Cooke, m^{r} wardeyns; and of the assistants, Mr. Sadler, Mr. Warner, Mr. Lowen, Mr.

Apprenticeships were subjected to various regulations, which are detailed and illustrated in different orders and entries.

Every apprentice, after binding, was to be brought before the master of the company to be enrolled; and he then paid his apprentice fee, the receipts from which, we have seen, formed one of the early sources of the company's income, under the name of "Spoon Silver." The apprentice was again to be presented to the wardens "aft^{r} his t^{r}me" for his freedom.

In cases of disagreement between the master and the apprentice, or, as the point expresses it, where the "meyster and his app^{r}ntice mowe not accorde," the wardens (as now the chamberlain of London) were arbitrators.

Females, members of the company, carried on the business of drapery, and took apprentices, like the men. "Every brother or *sister* of the felowship taking an apprentice," says an order of 1503, "shall present him to the wardens, and shall pay 13*s*. 4*d*." (instead of 3*s*. 4*d*. the ancient fee.)*

When out of his time, no apprentice might hire himself to any other than a draper, in case he offered him a reasonable salary. If he could get no service with such, he was to apply to the wardens to procure him a situation; and, it was only when the wardens declared themselves incapable of so doing, that the apprentice was allowed "to seek a master in another trade."

The mode of correcting faulty apprentices was sometimes singular. A specimen will be found in the note.†

Tull, Mr. Fabyan, Mr. Pettytt, Mr. Poyntis, Mr. Leigh, Mr. Champyon, Mr. Calthorpe, and Mr. Stocker.

"By whome was the secrete no'ina-'ion of the n^{w} m^{rs} wardeyns for the next yere ensuying." The manner of the said election is thus described in the following page:

"This daye the electyon by the said Assistants was done *secretely*, as folowith: and they no'inated Mr. Ald^{n} Chester, for to be ou^{r} mast^{r} for the next yere ensuynge; R^{d} Shyvall for the first m^{r} wardeyn, Mr. Watson for the seconde, Mr. Myne^{r}s for the thirde, and Mr. John Nash for the fourthe m^{r} wardeyn. God send them all thereof joye." Fol. 543-4.

* Amongst the ordinances, 1505, is recognized the right of sisters, freed in the fellowship, to take apprentices, and the fee to the warden specified. The ordinances protect them, also, from arrest in their business, by other members, without leave given. A notice of a meeting of the whole company, in 1540, to reform their ordinances, mentions the object in so doing to be "to avoid rancour, malice, and evil extremities, and to unite and knit together brother and sister, in perfect love and charity."

Sisters, when they were buried, had (as will be seen) the use of the best pall, and were followed by the fraternity to the grave with every respectful ceremony, equally as the men.

† "The punishment of the house put in execution.

"The viij daye of Maye the said m^{r} wardeins being credibly enfourmed, and having substantyall proffe, that one John Rolls, th apprent^{ce} of John Hends, drap^{r}, had greuously mysvsed hy^{m}self

Admissions of Members:—New members were "of the crafte," or admitted "by redemption." The former have been noticed. Drapers, by trade, paid at the date of the early entries a fee of 40*s.*;

1481. "Payd by a p'sone for his freedom w'ch came into the crafte by redemption, xl^{s}."

When admitted as mere honorary members, the fee was 40*s.* and some present;

1521 (August.) "Admitted and sworn by redemption, Will^{a}m Owen, gent', of the Myddle Temple. He paid xl^{s}, and granted the wardens a *buck*, and was excused from all general summonses."

Same year, "Ric' Pawlet, of Wells, in Somersetshire, admitted and sworn by redemption." He paid the like fees, and was allowed the same exemption.

Sir William Paulet, of the Marquis of Winchester's family, and seemingly related to the above, had been previously admitted, though not mentioned in the entries, for we meet with a notice, at the last date, of the companies' selling to "Sir Will^{a}m Paulet di [half] yard skarlet, for a hood."

The Quaterage paid by freemen of the company, in 1481, was one shilling each:

1481. "Rec^{d} from the following p'sones, out of the liu^{r}y for q^{r}terage, xxvi^{s}."

The names are given, and amount to twenty-six.

Business negotiations, concerned the companies at large, as well as individual members; selling and buying of cloth, excluding non-freemen from the trade, and making apprenticeships to it only obtainable through means of the company's clerk; enforcing fees

wth a mayd s^{r}uant of hys seyd mast^{r}, called Margaret Byllyngton, vpon Passyon Sonday last past, his seid mast^{r} taking them in y^{e} seid vnthryfty man^{r} in naked bed, wthin hys seid hous; and sens that same tyme the said John Rolls, not regardyng the shame of the worlde nor dredyng God, but gevyng ve^{r}y yll ensample to other young men app^{r}ntic^{s} of the same crafte, and univ^{r}sally to all th' app^{r}ntic^{s} and s^{r}vants of the Cetye, hath often and openly made his avaunte and boste of hys sad vnthryfty demeanor among mens s^{r}vants of our Compayne."

For these enormities the punishment is thus stated:

The wardens considering of his offence, and its evil example to others, "caused," it is said, "to be made two porters frocks, like porters of crafts, and two hoods of the same canvas, made aft^{r} vizor-fashion, with a space for the mouth and for the eyes lefte open, onely; wherein the next court day, within the parlour, two tall men, having the said frocks upon them, becaus they should not be known, came in with two peneyworth of burchen rods, and there, in presence of the said master and wardens, w^{t} owten any words spekyng, they pulled off the doublet and shirt of the said John Rolls, and ther vpon hym, (beyng naked) they spent all y^{e} seid rodds, for hys said vnthryfty demeanor. To th' entent that all other apprentices that heard thereof should take ensample by him, and that such as he had made his avaunt unto, of his said unthrifty deeds, should be afraid to fall to like unthriftiness, for fear of the like, or worse punishment."

from the dependent branches of the manufacture, awards, and merchandizing at fairs, come under this head.

The indiscriminate *sale* of cloth, with other wares, in the reign of Edward III., and which is assigned as the reason of that king granting the drapers their charter, resembled the practice still observable in rude parts of the country. Not a shop, it is said, could be seen in which drapery of some sort was not, more or less, displayed in the windows, mixed up with chandlery and different goods. The tenterers, tisters, and fullers, had become cloth-makers, instead of industriously following their own branches of the trade, which they would only exercise by being paid excessive prices; cloth was, in consequence, abundantly, but badly, manufactured, and persons, ignorant of the merchandize, were tempted to become sellers; deceits were caused in the stuff, as well as the dying of it, half grain being sold for scarlet, and other frauds used, —and whereby great injury accrued to the king's people who were purchasers.

To entirely confine their trade to themselves was the policy of the gilds in these times, and it was adopted by the drapers. They obtained for this purpose, as has been shewn, the sole right of selling cloth at Blackwell hall, as early as the reign of Richard II.; and they afterwards petitioned the city, that "in execuc'on and by vʳtue and auctorite of the liberties and franchises, by the noble kyngs of England to them by fore this tyme graunted and conferned," no merchant, stranger from the liberty of the city, might buy or sell any merchandize of drapery within the city liberty, with any other merchant stranger, under pain of forfeiting such merchandize; the fourth part of the same forfeiture to go to the drapers' craft, for the trouble of seizure, and the rest to remain to the chamber of Guildhall. They established also warehouses at other places, as we learn by an ordinance of 20 Henry VIII., which directs that the youngest warden shall "continually keep the key of our store-house." The situation of this storehouse is not named in the entry, but it appears to have been at Drapers' hall.

Buying of cloth by strangers, was guarded against by an ordinance, in 5 Edward IV., forbidding "any broder of this felyshipp to enfowrm any strainger of the feitz of draperie;" and which states it to have been

"Accorded by all the aldermen of this fraternite and felisshippe, and by the hole body of the same felisshippe, that no member shall take with him, at any time, any person who is not of his own felisshippe, to ride or go to any place, in town or out of town, where *cloth* may be bought by any draper of this fraternite; or

afford the agent of any other company, any maner knowlache of any bargain-making, or of knowlache of cloth or of prys [price], or of any point belonging unto draperie."

Non-freemen were excluded from the trade, and it was a fineable offence in members who employed them. A still higher offence was, any member assuming the functions of the clerk, and particularly in matters of apprenticeships:

In 1533, Thomas Benett, a member, being convicted of this double crime, viz. "of keeping forens in his house, and setting them aworke, contrary to the good ordinances of this house; and also that he had made a p^{r} of Indentures for one of his apprent^{s}, called Roger Beston, instead of apply^{g} to this house, contrary to ano^{r} of its good ordin^{s};" was ordered "to bring a gage" or security to the ward^{ns} of 10*l.* value; and being "rebell and disobedient thereto," he was by the lord mayor imprisoned. After he had been confined a day and a night, he "made humble mediac'on," and was again allowed to appear before the wardens, with plate to the required value. Having, in addition, "behaved very humbly and penitently," he was told to pay 10*s.* as a fine, and take his plate; but perceiving his gain lay in submission, he is stated to have accepted their kindness with so many thanks, "that m^{r} the Wardens gave him again his gage of plate, and only made him pay iij^{s} iiij^{d}."

The tenterers, fullers, and other subordinate branches of the trade, were compelled to pay the drapers tribute. An ordinance, 20 Henry VII., obliges all fullers, sheermen, knitters, and makers of garments, viz. "of gownes, doublets, jacketts, kyrtylls, petticoats, and such like, commonly called 'knytters of garments,'" to pay 2*s.* a year to Drapers' hall, for each of their apprentices.

Awards, as in the other companies, were uniformly made by the master and wardens, formerly assented to by the parties, and entered and signed by the latter in the company's books: an example will be found in the note.*

* Form of an award of the master wardens and court.

"The following is the award ordina'ce and jugement of us, the Mast^{r} Wardens and Counsell of Drap^{s} of London, arbitratours, indifferently chosen, between Richard Whitehed, of London, Drap^{r}, of that one p'tie, and Hugh Neylton, of London, Drap^{r}, of that other p'tie, of and for all causes, etc. as by their sev^{r}all obligac'ons more playnly appareth yeuen forth in mann^{r} and furme folowyng that is to wete.

"Furst, we award that the said p'ties from hens forth, lovynly and brotherly, shall behave theirself either vnto other as wele in worde as in dede, according to the good ordre of this place.

"Furthermore, we award that the said Hugh shall delyv^{r} or caus to be delyv^{r}ed

Merchandizing at fairs, already noticed as a primeval custom of the trade gilds, peculiarly applied to the great staple commodity of cloth. The drapers have a special ordinance in 6 Henry IV., about visiting the fairs of Westminster, St. Bartholomew, Smithfield, and Southwark; which forbids members, under a penalty of 10*l.*, from being found with goods at either of the above places "over the franchise;" which was thirty days for Westminster, and three each for St. Barthomew's and Southwark.

At the two latter fairs, this company, jointly with the merchant tailors', held their annual trade search, cloth being at both fairs the great commodity sold, and the whole of which was subjected to the admeasurement of these companies.* They had, for the latter purpose, the "Drapers' Ell," stated to have been granted to them by Edward III. It is variously denominated in their books, as "the Yard," "the Company's Standard," and other names, and the "new trymmyng" of it occurs as an annual item of expence, as well as occasionally the cost of "a new bag for the Company's Standard." The searchers always had a treat on these occasions, though certainly what would now be thought a humble one. "Brede, wyne, and pers" (pears), constitute this entertainment, "at the searche of our Lady Feyre in Southwarke," in 1485; amounting that year to 15*d.* half-penny; in 1496, 16*d.* is charged "for potacions at Southwark, at our Lady Fayr;" and in 1514, the sum of 1*l.* 2*s.*,—the last payment being said to be "for a potacion at Robert Lazenby's, aft^r ou^r serche at St. Barth'ws even." Both these fairs, like that of Westminster, belonged, in the Catholic times, to the heads of religious houses: Westminster to its abbot, and St. Bartholomew and Southwark (or St. Mary Overy, as it is oftener called) to the priors of those monasteries.

Keeping the secrets of the craft, was provided for by an ordinance, entitled "None to betray lytel thyngs said in consell to other of the craft ne no brother, to enfourm any stranger." The examples of its enforcement are similar to those already noticed.

vnto the said Ric Whitehed, on this p^rsent day of making hereof, the same *fether bed and bolster* that is exp^rsed in the Bill of Demand of the said Ric Whitehed, or ells therefore we award that the said Hugh shall pay, or doo to be paid, on the forsaid day, vnto the said Ric Whitehed, in redy money, xiij^s. iiij^d.

"Also, we award that whatsoev^r can be p^rved lawfully hereaft^r, that the said Hugh hath in any mann^r wye receyed any goods due to the said Richard, other than he hath knowledged to us, that then we award that the said Hugh shall immediately after knowledge thereof had, restore and repay ou^r y^e p'cell so proved, the premises notwithstanding. In Wytness," &c. Dated 28 Nov., 7 Henry VIII.

* Vide Hist. Essay, 47.

Relief of decayed brethren, or, as the ordinance is headed, "to those fallen in poverty," was provided for by an article which states, that any brother having been in full livery one year, and being of good name, who should fall into poverty or sickness, should, by the whole body, be admitted to alms. If he had never served warden, he was to be allowed four marks a year, to be paid quarterly; if otherwise, he was to have full 14*d.* per week from the box, "till the tyme that wyll encrese them odir wyse."

The following addition is made to this article, in 1503, at which time the company had built almshouses:

"Provided always that the poor so admitted shall dwell within the place, and use him always as an almonesman, and that such stuff as he shall bring in wth him and leve after his death, shall rest in the house for his successor, after the discretion of this place, except he have wife or child, in which case, they to receive his goods, and to immediately avoid the place."

A remarkable instance of claiming the company's relief, occurs in the case of Sir Laurence Aylmer, in 1526. This unfortunate member of the Drapers, after having been two or three times master, having served sheriff in 1501, and lord mayor of London in 1507-8, is stated, in an entry of the above date, to have fallen into total decay, and to have applied for the alms of the company. They do not appear, on this melancholy reverse, to have acted by so old and honored a brother with the liberality or courtesy of modern times. The allowance granted to him was a paltry pittance, even considering the difference in the value of money, and it was coupled, as will be seen by the following entry, with a condition harsh and ungracious.

"Geven to Sir Lawrans Aylm^{r}, towards his releeve, ij^{s}. and iiij^{d}. of the charite of this hous, vnto suche tyme as God shall other wyse p^{r}vide for hym. The first day of payment shall be Saterday, the xxiiij. day of October next ensuing. And furthermore, it is agreed that if the said Sir Lawrans, at any tyme hereaft^{r}, be not co'tent w^{h} the foreseid charite, or make any sute for *any more*, that then the foreseid g^{r}nt vtterly to be voyd and of none effect."

Installing a poor member into one of the company's almshouses, is, at this time, called "giving a charity," or "giving the charite of the house." One "Richard Cloos," is stated, in a succeeding entry of his being made an almsman, to have been "elected to the cherite of this place, as an almsman, from ou^{r} lady day, the annunciation last."

Penalties for defaults in trade were various, as shewn by the following entries:

"1498: Rec' of Ric Ely for guyving vnto a stranger fals mesure, and so p^{r}vyd (proved) to make him amende, xij^{d}. Of Ric Rysse for keping of a shop hauyng a taylo^{r} p^{r}tyner (partner) w^{h} hym, and he havyng his app^{r}ntice wth the said taylo^{r} contrary to the ordinanc^{s} of this place vij.^{s} viij.^{d}"

When of a heinous kind, and particularly for continued rebellion to the masters, the penalty extended to expulsion. The article on this subject, in the first ordinances, states—That any person of the fraternity, who was of misruled or evil fame, should be summoned before the wardens, and corrected as seemed good to their discretions. If he "rebelled, and would not obey their correction," the wardens were then to call "the counsell of the mystery," and they were to correct him after their discretions. If he would not obey "their rule and correction," they were to present him before the mayor as "a rebell;—" and by a revision or re-enacting of this point, after the company's incorporation, 17 Henry VI., it is further stated to have been

"Fully condescended and accorded the first day of June, in the yere of the regne of King Henry the VI.^{the}, the xxxiijth., by my *Maister Norman*, and all the worshipfull Felishippe of Drapers of London; that from this day forward, thez persones," any felon or convict, ("aniez felaron and avictgitt of pettis,") "shall not be somoned nor called to this frat^{r}nite and felishippe atte no tyme, nor to have no livere therof, nether to paye any quarterage, nor noon other dutes that longith thereto; and the said persones to be vtterly disharged and putt oute off this frat^{r}nite and felischippe."

Matters of domestic management included the reading of the ordinances on "Election Day," and was anciently succeeded by the delivery (before the assistants,) of the cash and plate to the new wardens; as by the following entry,

1516, "This day in p^{r}sence of all the whole fellows^{p}, as moste in nombre, the ordinances were openly read; the money and plate were openly before the councell seen and delyu^{r}ed to the wardeins, by the book, and were so forthwith put in to the closet and box, the keys remaining with the mast^{r}, Mr. Milborn, alderman."

Misbehaviour was punished with great impartiality:

In 1498 a receipt of 40*s.* is acknowledged amongst the warden's accounts, from "Sir Will^{a}m Capell, knyght, for his misbehavyo^{r}

ayens Mr. Shipworth, (one of the wardens,) which was jugyd by the moste p'tie of all the counsell, as in the book of notices of Remembranc[s] aperyth." The fine was subsequently returned by general consent, on account of some service rendered by Sir William to the company; and in 1517, an ordinance passed in consequence of the occurrence, "that any alderman of the company being disobedient to the master and wardens, should for every offence forfeit 10*l.**

Sometimes credit was given for these fines. Under the head "Dettours to the crafte," in 1482, William Spark, it is said, "owith for a fyn for vngodly language, spoken to Richard Stakeley agen the good and worshypfull rule and ordinance of this place."

Pledging was customary in this, as well as the other companies. In 1528, Thomas Pykkes is said to have "brought into this house (as a pledge for xij[li], and for the rest [remainder] of an obligation of xxvj[li] iiij.[d],) a stand[g] nutt and cover, all sylv[r] and p'cell gylt."

Before going to law, all the companies had to ask permission of their wardens. It has been seen to have been so with the Grocers' Company;† but an ordinance of the drapers, made in 1514, goes further. It enacts that "no p[r]ticular licence shall be granted by the master or wardens vnto any persone of the said fraternite, to arrest any of them the other, but onely on a court day, and by their hole assents; except the p'tie be fugityve, and will not come and obey the master and wardens." The form of licence for this purpose, as given in a subsequent entry, states that "vpon c[r]tain informacons made to Mast[r] Gyles Bandye and Mr. Richard Fyeld, wardens, by William Chest vppon Robert Harris, the said m[r] wardens do lycence the sayd Will[a]m Chest to arest the sayd Robert Harr[s];" but, it is added, "the said Robert not with standyng the sayd Will[a]m, and acknowledging the dette," he was afterwards only ordered "to stond and abyde the awarde of m[r] wardens."

Of the other points enumerated,‡ and more particularly relating to the companies' domestic management, several, as—"that no

* Disobedience was differently punished in the case of inferior members. In 1518 the master and wardens ordered that "Thomas Huntingfield should ask mast[r] Campion's forgeveness for such vngoodly words and misdemeanor[s] as he had vttered openly in the street against the said maist[r] Campion, whiche to do the said Thomas denied extremely, and said 'To loose body and goods, his soull and his lyf, that he would neu[r] ask forgyvenes,' And so he departed from the said mast[r] and wardens." He continued obstinate, but being prohibited from wearing the company's livery, soon afterwards submitted.

† Hist. Essay, 50.

‡ See *ante*, 421, (note).

brother take no servant, hous, ne shoppe fro' his brother; any brother finding himself grieved, to complain first to the wardens; that the ward^{ns} eu^{r}y zere do make up the accounts; as to the salarye of the bedil; that no warden do wryte in the book of ordinances; that no ward^{n} bere out nor deliv^{r} no bookes of ordinances; that no broker be broker between friend and friend, etc.:"—the greater part were common to all the companies, and have been already noticed in speaking of them.

The following additional particulars, chiefly relative to the modern Constitution and Government of the Drapers' Company, were stated to the Commissioners of Municipal Enquiry by Edward Lawford, Esq., the Clerk of the Company, November 7, 1834.*

The Company:—The proper style of the Company was "The Master, Wardens, and Brethren and Sisters of the Guild or Fraternity of the blessed Virgin Mary of the Mystery of Drapers of the City of London." They possessed a livery by prescription, the members of which were not limited. There were many females free of the company; they invariably came on the list for the purpose of participating in the charities of the company; forty-two females had been so admitted since 1800, who participated equally in the benevolent charity of the company, and in those charities the company held in trust. They had a right to be admitted to certain almshouses, of which they, as free-women of the company, were trustees. Females were admitted to the freedom by right of patrimony; a majority of the females admitted to the freedom partake of the charities of the company.

Elections:—Mr. Lawford on this subject said,—That in May, 1810, an application was made to the Court of King's Bench for a *quo warranto*, calling upon the Court of Assistants to shew cause by what authority they exercised the office. The object was, no doubt, to throw open the right of franchise. The rule was granted; but, on the party showing cause, it was discharged, with costs. The party who applied for the rule was Mr. Slack. In practice a system of rotation was adhered to, but the elections were by ballot. Before 1810 the election of master and upper warden was by show of hands, and the other officers by ballot. At an early period the election took place, as the ancient records express it, "by loving consent." Religion was not a bar to elec-

* Vide Times, Nov. 8, 1834.

tion upon the court. He had never heard the question raised. Respectability of character was alone enquired into, and religion and politics were wholly left out of consideration. There were no Roman Catholics on the court. There had never been a tacit understanding that Dissenters should be passed over. Neither the master nor wardens give security to the company.

He was able to state how many members of the court were connected by relationship, business, or marriage. No members of the court were in partnership with each other. There were two brothers on the court, as well as two others connected by marriage.

In answer to a question from a liveryman,—"If that was all the family connexions on the court?"—Mr. Lawford said, "He was anxious to give very full information upon all questions, and he had answered the point."

Another liveryman said "he had made out a statement shewing that twenty-four members of the court had either sons, brothers, or other relatives on the livery."

Mr. Lawford replied that "the livery being gained by patrimony, this of necessity must be the case."

In regard to the instances of parties being passed over who, by seniority, were entitled to be on the court,—Mr. Lawford could state there were about thirty-two liverymen who, by seniority, were entitled to be on the court, and passed over. Of these three were clergyman, eleven bankrupts, or had not paid 20*s.* in the pound, seven lived at too great a distance from town, and the remaining eleven were passed over without any particular reason being assigned.

The liveryman who last spoke said "he was one of the eleven who had been passed over without any particular cause being assigned. For upwards of thirty years he had been on the livery, and he certainly had looked forward to the period of being elected on the court; and he felt much disappointed that he had been passed over."

Commissioner (Sir Francis Palgrave,) said the elections were conducted by the ballot, and therefore it was impossible to tell what was the cause of rejection.

As to the office of *clerk*, Mr. Lawford stated that he gave security himself to the extent of 5000*l.*, and two sureties to the amount of 2500*l.* each. There was no competition for the office on his election. His predecessor succeeded his father in the year 1797.

Sir Francis Palgrave asked whether a composition with creditors would be considered a sufficient cause of removal from the court?

Mr. Lawford said he considered it would; but in that case resignation would voluntarily take place. According to the bye-laws passed in 1707, an insolvent who had not paid 20*s.* in the pound could not be eligible to remain on the court: with respect to the exclusion from the court, he wished to state that it extended over a period of from twenty-five to thirty years. The freedom of the company was obtained by patrimony, servitude, redemption, and gift. Every child of a freeman, male and female, was entitled by patrimony to the freedom. There was no instance of any person on the court receiving a pension.

Mr. Town Clerk of London asked if Mr. Lawford was aware of an order issued by the Court of Aldermen in 1733, directing the master and wardens of the city companies to return to the corporation the names of such persons as had been admitted into the different companies? Mr. Lawford replied he was not aware of the existence of any such document.

In answer to questions as to what period the Drapers' Company ceased to have any control over the trade of drapers? what was its age? and when its former exercise of the right of trade search had ceased?

Mr. Lawford said the company's control over the drapers' trade must have ceased gradually. He should suppose that the company possessed control over the trade subsequently to the reign of Queen Anne: the records, however, were principally destroyed by the fire of London.

Mr. Town Clerk said there was an old order of the Court of Aldermen directing a search for unfair drapers' goods at Bartholomew Fair. The control of the drapers was diminished by the powers exercised by the Clothworkers', the Mercers', and the Merchant Tailors' Companies.

As to the company's age, Mr. Lawford said it must have existed in the reign of Richard I.

Mr. Town Clerk. "It existed then as a brotherhood."

Mr. Lawford. "The first Lord Mayor was a draper, and he held that office during his life."

Mr. Town Clerk observed there could be no doubt but that the weavers and drapers were amongst the earliest companies on record.

Mr. Lawford, in continuation, said,

"The freemen of the company became liverymen by order of the court of assistants. Respectability and competency were required, and their being reputed worth 1000*l.*, after payments of just debts,

was considered a necessary qualification. The parties being pawnbrokers was originally a disqualification. The livery might be lost, but, where the cases had occurred, it was in consequence of application being made to have the livery fine returned. The number of the livery was according to the accommodation the hall would afford for the feasts. This was originally the case; but in 1802 it was resolved to allow persons to take up their livery on condition that they signed a disclaimer foregoing the right to be invited to the dinners. The hall would hold about 160; and that was the reason why the disclaimer not to expect to be called to dinner, on the part of freemen admitted to the livery, was required.

The master presided at all meetings of the court, both for business and conviviality. The clerk of the company was the treasurer, and the renter-warden had no business with the accounts. A poor-roll had been established, which was always kept full, sixty poor freemen being upon it, to whom 10*l.* was given a year. The master and wardens gave quarterly sums of money to about fifty or sixty other poor persons; this was called the company's bounty. In cases where members of the court fell into decay, they received, upon application, pensions during the court's pleasure. One person, recently deceased, received 200*l.* per annum; but he had been a person in high repute, and the city, when he fell into decay, gave him back his sheriffs' fine.

Mr. Town Clerk agreed in the propriety of the latter case.

Mr. Lawford said the highest pension now paid to decayed members of the court was 150*l.* The pension was never granted until full inquiry had been made. The court would certainly annul the pension if the party afterwards become wealthy. The attendance-fee given to members of the court was two guineas each. The charter and bye-laws were not accessible to the livery at large; and no application had been made in his time for the purpose of looking into the accounts of the company; he was, however, authorized to state that at the company's hall the commissioners might examine all the company's accounts.

Sir F. Palgrave said that Mr. Drinkwater had undertaken the financial department, and would make an appointment with the company for the inspection of the accounts.

LORD MAYORS OF THE DRAPERS' COMPANY.[1]

Date.	Name.	Residence.	Buried.
1190.	Henry Fitz-Alwin.	By London Stone.	St. Mary Bothawe, or Holy Trinity, Aldgate.
1252.	John Tolason.[2]		
1253 to 1258.	Richard Hardell.[3]		
1330-1-3-6.	Sir John Pulteney, or Pountney.[4]	Laurence Pultney lane.	St. Laurence Pultney college.
1333.	John Preston.		
1362.	Steph. Candish, or Potton.[5]		St. Thomas of Acon.
1367.	James Andrew.[6]		
1382, 1383.	John de Northampton, or Comberton, M.P. 1378.[7]		St. Alphage, near Cripplegate.
1392 and 1405.	John Hynd, or Hend.[8]	St. Swithin's lane, Cannon street.	St. Swithin's, London Stone.
1402.	John Walcote.		
1418, 1423.	Sir William Cromer, or Cronmar, M. P. 1406 and 1417.[9]	St. Swithin's lane; also in Crutched Friars.	St. Martin Ongar's, Cannon, or Candlewick street.
1415, 1430.	... Nicholas Wotton, M.P. 1414, 1419, 1421.[10]		
1427, 1447.	... John Gidney, or Godney, M.P. 1414.[11]	Threadneedle-street parish.	St. Christopher's, church, Threadneedle-street
1433.	... John Brockle, or Brockley, M.P. 1421.[12]		

[1] Amongst the lord mayors of this company before 1714, eight have been the heads of noble families; seven have held the mayoralty for successive years, (including Fitz-Alwin, as above); forty-three have been knights or baronets; fifteen have represented the city in parliament, (some of them for several sessions); and seven have been founders of churches and public buildings, or otherwise of distinguished celebrity.—N.B. Those mayors to whose names M.P. is affixed, represented the city in parliament.

[2] The liberties of the city were seized, and the above mayor changed, because he looked not to the assize of bread.

[3] Mayor from 1253 to 1258. He served sheriff with John Tolason in 1249.

[4] He founded St. Laurence Pultney College, then Candlewick street.

[5] His family continued 200 or 300 years afterwards in Suffolk.

[6] Of whom the Andrews of Chevelton, in Northamptonshire, are descended.

[7] Stow in one place terms him "Skinner." He was, in consequence of alleged malversations and quarrels with the fishmongers, committed to gaol, and had his effects confiscated.

[8] Founder of the church of St. Swithin, London stone.

[9] Son of John Cromar, of Aldenham, Herts., and ancestor of Sir James Cromar, of Tunstall, Kent.

[10] Son of Thomas Wotton, of London, gent. Of him the lords Wotton are descended.

[11] Son of William Gidney, of St. Ives, in Cambridgeshire. He was the first master under Henry the VI.'s patent. He did penance for marrying a widow professed.—See Strype's Stow, under head St. Christopher, Bread-street ward.

[12] Son to William Brockale, of Newport Pagnel, Bucks.

Date.	Name.	Residence.	Buried.
1441.	Robert Clopton.[1]		St. Mary Woolnoth, Lombard street.
1445.	Sir Simon Eyre.[2]	Lombard street.	The same.
1453.	... John Norman, knt., M.P. 1448 and 1449.[3]		Allhallows, Honey lane.
1458, 1459.	... Thomas Scott, knt.[4]		
1463.	... Thomas Cooke, K.B.[5]		Austin Friars.
1464, 1476.	... Ralph Joceline, K.B. M.P. 1461.[6]		St. Swithin's, London Stone.
1474.	... Robert Drope.[7]	Cornhill.	St. Michael's, Cornhill
1479.	... Barthol. James.[8]	St. Dunstan's hill.	
1482.	... William Harriot, M.P. 1483 and 1511.[9]		St. Dunstan's, east.
1485.	... William Stocker.[10]		
1489.	... William White, M.P. 1489.[11]	Cannon street.	St. Swithin's, London Stone.
1503, 1509.	... William Capell, M.P. 1492.[12]	Capell court, Bartholomew lane	St. Bartholomew's, Royal Exchange.
1511.	... Roger Achilly.[13]	Cornhill Ward.	St. Christopher le Stocks.
1514.	... George Mounoux, M.P. 1523.	Crooked lane, Old Fish street.	Church of Walthamstow.
1520.	... John Brugges.[14]	The same.	St. Nicholas Acon, Lombard street.
1521.	... John Milborne.[15]		Church of the Crutched Friars; afterwards St. Edmund, Lombard street.
1524.	... William Bailey.[16]		Whittington College Church.
1528.	... John Rudstone.[17]	Cornhill.	St. Michael's, Cornhill.
1533.	... Christopher Askew, Ascough.[18]		St. John Evangelist, Friday street.

[1] Son of Thomas Clopton, of Clopton, in Cambridgeshire.

[2] Son of William Eyre, of Brandon, Suffolk, and founder of Leadenhall.

[3] Son of William Norman, of Banbury, Oxfordshire.

[4] Son of Robert Scott, of Dorney, Bucks.

[5] From him descended (says Strype,) Sir Anthony Cooke, of Gidea hall, Essex.

[6] Son to Geffrey Joceline, of Sawbridgeworth, in Hertfordshire, knight of the Bath, and also in the field. From him descended the Jocelines, of Jocelin hall, Essex. The city walls were repaired in his mayoralty.

[7] Son to John Drope, of St. Edes, in Huntingdonshire.

[8] Son to Edward James, of London, upholder; made knight in the field by Edward IV.

[9] Son to John Harriot, of Seegrave, Leicestershire.

[10] He died in his mayoralty, as did also Sir Thomas Hill, whom he preceded, leaving the year to be served out by John Ward.

[11] Son to William White, of Tickhill, in the county of York.

[12] Son of John Capell, of Stoke Neyland, Suffolk. Knighted by Henry VII. He first caused a cage to be set up in every ward for the punishment of vagabonds.

[13] Son of Thomas Achilly, of Stanwardine, Shropshire.

[14] Son to Thomas Bruges, of Dymmocke, in Gloucestershire.

[15] Son to John Milborne, of Long Melford, Suffolk.

[16] Son to John Bailey, of Thacksted, Essex.

[17] Son to Robt. Rudstone, of Hatton, Yorkshire.

[18] Son to John Askew, or Ascough, of Edmonton, Middlesex.

Date.	Name.	Residence.	Buried.
1540.	Sir William Roche, M.P. 1523, 1537.[1]		St. Peter's, Cornhill.
1544.	... William Bowyer, M.P. 1542.[2]		
1560.	... William Chester, M.P. 1562.[3]	Lombard street.	St. Edmund's, Lombard street.
1565.	... Richard Champion.[4]		St. Dunstan's, east.
1578.	... Richard Pipe.[5]	Aldermary churchyard; afterwards Waldingwell's, Nottinghamshire.	Waldingwell's, Nottinghamshire.
1580.	... John Branche.[6]	Nicholas lane, Cannon street.	St. Mary Abchurch.
1585.	... Thomas Pullison.[7]	Budge row, Cannon street, and the Conduit at Dowgate.	
1588.	... Martin Calthorpe.[8]		St. Peter le Poor, Bread street.
1614.	... Thomas Hayes, or Hawes.[9]		St. Mary's, Aldermanbury.
1615.	... John Jolles.[10]		
1621.	... Edward Barker.[11]		Southacre church, Norfolk.
1623.	... Martin Lumley.[12]		St. Helen's, Bishopsgate
1625.	... Allan Cotton.[13]		St. Martin's Ongar, Cannon street.
1626.	... Cuthbert Hacket.[14]		St. Martin's, Vintry.
1639.	... Maurice Abbot.[15]		
1640.	... Henry Garway.[16]		
1646.	... Thomas Adams, M.P. 1654 and 1656.[17]		Allhallows, Stayning.
1655.	... Christopher Pack, M.P. 1656.[18]		
1670.	... Samuel Starling Draper.[19]		
1676.	... Joseph Sheldon.[20]		

[1] Son to John Roche, of Wixley, Yorkshire.

[2] Died in his mayoralty. Sir Ralph Warren, mercer, served out his year.

[3] Son to John Chester, citizen and draper of London.

[4] Son to Richard Champion, of Godalming, Surry.

[5] Son to Rich. Pipe, of Wolverhampton, Staffordshire.

[6] Son to John Branche, citizen and draper of London, who was son to J. Branche, of Laynham, W. Suffolk.

[7] He resigned his gown soon after his mayoralty, and was alive in 1605.

[8] Son to Martin Calthorpe, citizen and draper of London.

[9] Son to Thomas Hayes, of the city of Westminster.

[10] Son to Thomas Jolles, of Stratford le Bow, Middlesex.

[11] Son of Edw. Barker, of Southacre, Norfolk.

[12] Son of James Lumley, of London.

[13] Son to Ralph Cotton, of Whitchurch, Salop.

[14] Son of Thomas Aket or Hacket, and grandson of Thomas Aket or Hacket, of Dartford, Kent.

[15] Fifth son of Sir Maurice Abbot, of Guildford, Surrey.

[16] Son of Sir William Garway, of London, knight, and grandson of John Garway, of London, esq.

[17] Knight and bart. of Weme, Salop.

[18] Son of Christopher Pack, of Finchley, Middlesex, merchant of London.

[19] Said to have been the son of Sam. Starling of Stoppesley, Luton, Bedfordshire.

[20] Son of Ralph Sheldon of Stanton, in Elvaston, Derbyshire; and grandson of Roger Sheldon, of the same place.

Date.	Name.	Residence.	Buried.
1677.	Sir Thomas Davies.[1]		
1680.	... Robert Clayton, M.P. 1678-89-95, 1700-1, 1715.[2]	Austin Friars, and Old Jury.	Great church of Amsterdam.
1685.	... James Smith.[3]		
1692.	... Thomas Stampe.[4]		
1714.	... Samuel Stanier.[5]	St. Mary Axe.	

The earls of Bath, Essex, the barons Wotton, and the dukes of Chandos, are among the noble families which derive their descent from members of the Drapers' Company. Those of lesser, but honourable rank, the founders of public buildings, and donors of charities, are numerous: the following are slight notices of the principal of them:

NOBILITY SPRUNG FROM DRAPERS.

Sir John de Pultney, noticed by our historians for his piety, wisdom, large possessions, and magnificent style of living, was four times lord mayor of London in the reign of Edward III., and ancestor of the Pulteneys, earls of Bath. The title was first conferred on the celebrated Mr. Pultney, till then the great opponent of Sir Robert Walpole's administration. The rich Sir William Pulteney, who died some years since, was of the same family. Sir John de Pultney was the founder of Laurence Pultney College, by Thames street, which he amply endowed, and near which was his dwelling. He was of a respectable family, settled at Onisterton, in Leicestershire, and died in 1350.

Sir William Capell, sheriff of London in 1489, and lord mayor in 1503, was several times master of this company, and gave origin to the noble family of the same name, created earls of Essex on the extinction of the Devereux line. His ancestors had long been lords of the manor of Capell, in Stoke Neyland, Suffolk; and he appears, unlike many of the great citizens near his own times and since, to have come to town wealthy and highly connected. He died, and was buried as above.

The Brydges', (originally written Brugges,) dukes of Chandos, are descended from Sir John Brugge or Brugges, mayor in 1520. His ancestor Sir John Brydges, or Bruge, distinguished himself at

[1] Son of John Davis of London, draper.

[2] Alias Cleeton, son of —— Cleeton, of Bulwick, Northamptonshire.

[3] Son of Robert Smith, of London, silkman; and of Upton, in Westham, Essex.

[4] Son of Richard Stampe, of Reading, Berkshire.

[5] Son of James Stanier, Italian merchant, living in St. Mary Axe, London.

the battle of Agincourt in 1415; and was younger brother of Sir Thomas Bruge, who married the heiress of Berkeley by the heiress of Chandos. The family of the lord mayor was of Flemish origin, and as old as the Conquest.

From Sir Nicholas Wotton, lord mayor in 1415, is descended, says Strype, the lord Wotton.

Of drapers of lesser, but honorable rank, enumerated in the preceding list as lord mayors of London, were

Henry Fitz-Alwin, draper, the son of Leofstane, goldsmith and provost of London, in the reign of Henry I. He was appointed mayor, 1 Richard I., and continued, as we have seen, until the 15th of John, a period of twenty-four years. His order for settling laws and regulations for buildings, party-walls, digging wells, etc. in the city, subject to the arbitration of twelve aldermen, and which order is said to have been made by "the advice of the discreeter men of the said city," is an instance of wise legislation. This eminent citizen affords a strong proof of the high antiquity of the Drapers' Company, as well as its rank at so early a period.*

Sir Maurice Abbot (1639), fifth son of Sir Maurice Abbot of Guildford, whose two brothers were George Abbot, archbishop of Canterbury, and Robert Abbot, bishop of Salisbury.

Sir Thomas Adam, bart. (1646), founder of the free school at Weme, in Shropshire, and of an Arabic Lecture at Cambridge. And

Sir Thomas Cooke, K.B., and ancestor of the Cookes of Gidea hall, Essex, whose grandson Anthony was one of the preceptors of Edward VI.—The

* Munday (Edition of Stow's Survaie, 1614,) says "Fitz-Alwin's house then remained in St. Mary Bothaw parish, divided into two or three tenements, and states it as presumptive evidence of his burial in St. Mary Bothaw church; —moreover, that his arms were in the glass windows, and on his gravestone, and that the said two or three tenements into which his residence were converted, were his gift to the company, who paid a quit-rent in his name for them yerely for ever." Strype defends Stow's assertion, that Fitz-Alwin was buried at Holy Trinity Priory, Aldgate, observing that Stow might be presumed to have seen his monument there before the "Dissolution." Stow, however, does not say so himself, and besides that he might be, and often is, mistaken; what Stow saw might have been a cenotaph, or chantry chapel, of Fitz-Alwin's foundation. At all events, the late possession of this property by the Drapers' Company, of the descent of which to them they have very ancient records,—added to tradition, in their having preserved Fitz-Alwin's picture, and other circumstances which will be found in our ensuing account of Drapers' hall,—furnish stronger evidence than supposition, or even Stow's assertion, coupled as it is with these contradictions.

CHARITABLE ACTS BY DRAPERS

include the names of—

John Hend, mayor 1405, and the refounder of St. Swithin's church, London stone. Sir Simon Eyre, (1446), founder of Leadenhall, and a donor in addition of 5000 marks, for relief of the poor. George Monnoux, (1515): he re-edified the decayed parish church of Walthamstow, Essex; founded a free-school and almshouses there for thirteen poor, and was at the expense of making a timber bridge or causey near the same place, over the river Lea. Sir John Milborn (1522), founder of the almshouses at Crutched friars. Alderman William Lambert, founder of the college for the poor named after Queen Elizabeth, at East Greenwich. Sir Richard Champion (1565), who increased Sir John Milborn's charity at Crutched friars. Sir Robert Clayton (1680), who built the third square of St. Thomas's hospital, part of Christ's hospital, and was otherwise a most liberal benefactor to the poor, etc.

DRESS AND OBSERVANCES.

The Dress or livery of this company varied more than that of any other. By an ordinance of 1405, the whole fraternity, as they might agree, were to be clothed in a suit and livery every year, or second year. If it was all of *one* colour, they were to have such hoods as should "be assygned be the hooll felyschippe;" but if the dress was "party," (parted or divided into two colours,)* they were then to have "noon hodys." Members were not to "pute nor yeve the' away" until six years afterwards. That is to say: if they had livery every year they were to keep it two years, and if every second year, four years.

The ordinance directs that the whole fellowship be consulted in the choice of colour. The wardens, when they had agreed, were to "purvey," or buy; and when bought, the cloth was to be valued by eight persons. Or, according to a later ordinance, "the whole counsell" were to nominate the eight valuers, and those valuers to put their seals to the cloth, and, at the same time, affix the price to each piece. If any member choose to provide his own cloth, he was to pay to the wardens 8*s.* on every yard, "grained or not grained." A later ordinance allows the

* Vide Hist. Essay, 64.

livery to be given away every fourth year, implying that the company then had it new only once in two years. The colours seem to have been changed at almost every election. In 1483, "violet in grayne cloth" is mentioned for the gown, and "cremesin in grayne" for the hood; in 1495 half murrey and half violet for both gowns and hoods; and 1498 murrey for the gown, and blue and crimson for the hood. Entering into "the murrey-clothing," and into the "blue lyv^{r}ey, with hoods half cremysyn," is mentioned the same year; and also, a few years afterwards, "the bachillors' clothing;" they wearing in this, as all the companies, a distinct dress.* By a resolution of 1503 the livery is ordered to be violet and scarlet. In 1516 the company agree "for reformac'on of ou^{r} new liv^{r}ey hereaft^{r} to be gevyn, that it shall be made of sadd blue and cremesyn." These colours in 1520 are changed to "violet for gowns, and violet and scarlet for hoods;" and afterwards in different years to puke (puce) and scarlet, brown blue, and scarlet, and various other colours, until a uniform livery was adopted, as described in the reign of James I.†

The Observances of the company chiefly consisted of their election ceremonies; celebration of funerals; obits of deceased members and benefactors; and attendance and pageantries at state and civic triumphs.

As to *Elections*, it was ordained that every year on Lady-day "the whole body of the felyschip in their newest liv^{r}ry" should go to Bow church, (afterwards changed to St. Michael's, Cornhill.) There they were to hear the Lady mass, "abide till it was done," offer a silver penny on the altar, and attend again in like manner at "Even song" to hear the dirge for deceased members. They were to repeat their attendance on the following day to hear the mass of requiem, and were to offer another silver penny; and on the same day, or another day, as the wardens might assign, were to walk two and two in their livery to the place "ordained for the feast." Every member, whether present or absent, was to pay "his aferent portion towards the feast;" being 2*s.* "the year they had clothing," and 3*s.* when they had none. Every brother was likewise then to pay his year's quarterage, which amounted to 7*d.*

The ceremonies at the election, in 1522, (and which occupied three days,) as also the dinner on the occasion, are thus described,—

* Vide Hist. Essay, 95, 99. † Ibid. 65.

we modernize, unless occasionally, the old language and orthography, on account of the length of the extract.

"Saturd^{y}, on the feast of the Assumpt^{n} of ou^{r} Lady, aft^{r} even song, was the no'ination [*nomination*] of the newe ward^{ns}, wth potacion in the parlo^{r} afterw^{ds}, according to the old custom. And on the Sunday, aft^{r} the solempne masse of our Lady," here dined in the parlour, at the sideboard, the master "et ux^{r} dna' Milb^{n}," [Milborn,] the four wardens and their wives, our two chaplains, and Richardson and his wife, "Sm^{a} iij. mees large," [the whole 3 large masses.] The fare for the Sunday dinner, besides a cold sirloin of beef that had served for breakfast, consisted of "4 p^{r} of capons, 2 swans, 2 geese, 2 pikes, half a buck, bak'd, and 5 pasties; and, for a reward, 5 conies, 18 pigeons, 2 tarts, and, afterwards, pears and filberds." The guests are said to have "washed after dinner, standing." The account proceeds:

"On monday, aft^{r} masse of Requiem, done at St. Michael's, all our aldermen (in skarlet,) and all of the master's livery came to the Drapers' Hall; and all that had been ward^{ns} sat at the *high table*, beneath the alderm^{n} in the said hall; and all the rest of the said livery sat at the *side table*, next the cupboard on the north side; and at the other side table in the hall sat our two chaplains, and no more at that table.

"At the high board was set two salts, gilt, with one cover, and two salts, parcel gilt, of our old store; spice bread was placed upon the same table before they sat down. At the side tables, they had 'ayle and clared wyn in ashen cuppys;' but the high board was served with silver.

"At the said high board, were salvers of bread, pears, and filberds, placed upon the tables before they sat down; as also green pots of ale and wine, with ashen cups, set before them at every mess; but they had gilt cups for red wine and Ipocras."

The particulars of the dinner are next given, which we omit here, (from there being an account of similar ones described under the head "Hall and Buildings,") and proceed with the election ceremony.

"Then they were all served with wafers and ipocras; and that done, the masters went among them and gathered their quarterage.

"Then the old master rose and went into the parlour, having a garland on his head, and his cup-bearer before him, and so went straight to the upper end of the high board, without any

minstrels, 'and then chewsed Mr. Rudston,' being then sheriff, for our master, and sat down again.

"Then the masters went into the parlour, and took their garlands and their four cup-bearers before them, without minstrels, and then crossed the great parlour entering the hall; and so they went about till they came before the upper end of the *high board*, and there the chief warden delivered his garland to Sir Lawrence Aylmer, as eldest alderman, because Mr. Brewer was absent.

"Then the other three wardens went about till they came again before the high board, and there the second warden delivered his garland to Sir Lawrence Aylmer, aforesaid, in the absence of Mr. Dolphin. Then one of the two other wardens went about till he came to the middle of the side table next the cupboard, and there the said master warden proffered the garland to three or four persons, at his pleasure, and after that he went up to the high board, and delivered his garland unto the aforesaid Sir Lawrence Aylmer, for Mr. Southwood, he being absent.

"Then the youngest warden went about till he came to the lower end of the said side-table next the cupboard; and there, and in the midst, and at the uppermost end of the said table, he proffered his garland to divers persons after his pleasure; and at the last he delivered his garland unto Mr. John Parnell, there sitting at the said side-table, and then all the company rose, and went first to the master, and after to such wardens as pleased them, and so from warden to warden, after their minds.

"'Then the old *masters bachilors*' presented a bill of eight names unto the old wardens, for the election of four new masters bachilors; and out of the said eight, by the assent of the foresaid old wardens and the old masters bachilors, were named and chosen, etc. new masters bachilors, without any garlands, minstrels, or other business:—And then all the bachilors sat down at the said side-tables, and next the cupboard, where they had spiced bread, pears and filberds, wine and ale, 'and *fit finis*.'*

"Then at supper, the old wardens, their wives, the officers, and the wardens' servants, sat at the side-table in the hall, next the cupboard, and had 'swannys puddings,' 1 neck of mutton in pike

* The affidavit of Mr. Smith, the company's clerk, in the case Slack *v.* the Drapers' Company, 8vo. 1810, states, (as to the present mode of electing,) that the master and wardens of the company have been annually elected and chosen, from time to time, on the first Monday in August, by the master, wardens, and court of assistants, by and under the authority of their acting Charter, by James I. That the Court then held for choosing master and wardens had always been called, in common parlance, "*the private election*." And that, on the Thursday subsequent to the first Monday in every

broth, 2 shoulders of mutton roast, 4 conies, 8 chickens, 6 pidgeons, and cold meat, plenty, and so departed.

"Tuesday here dined in the parlour, at the side table, the old master, 'et D'na' (and lady), Sir John Brugg, the parson of St. Michael's, 'Mr. Barton, jun^{r},' Mr. Roche, the 4 old wardens, with their wives, ['cu' ux'^{ris},'] Mr. Rycroft, our 2 chapl^{ns}, Rich^{d}son, and ux^{r}, with three mess large. The fare for the dinn^{r}, besides as is afore wrytten, having on the Sunday beef for breakfast, was first,—4 capons, boiled, 3 swans and 1 goose, 3 pikes, 12 pastys of venison, of Mr. Rycroft's bucks, 8 conies, 12 pidgeons, 6 quails, and 3 tarts; and then wafers and ipocras. No supper this night, but fragments amongst the servants and others."

Specimens of the manner of conducting *funerals and obits* in the company will be found in the following extracts:

Funeral of Mrs. Peke.—August 14, 1518, buried this day, Mrs. Elizabeth Peke, widow; and, by the advice of Mr. Skerrington, there was named, "to bere her from the Crayne in the vintre unto Seynt Michaell's church, Mr. Cornhill, Mr. Burton, Mr. Carter, Mr. Rudston, Mr. Garerd, alias Brereter, Mr. Brothers, and Mr. Perpoint; and upon the morrow, after sermon and mass of requiem, there dined at Mr. Skerrington's, all our aldermen; and, of the company, twelve persons, and our two chaplains and the clerk. She had ou^{r} best beryall clothe,* and eu^{r}y of the vj. berers had a sylu^{r} spoone for his labo^{r}." The next year, the following account is given of the keeping of Sir John Fenkylls' obit.

"1519. Receyued of my Lady, for Sir John Fynkell's obyte, xiij^{s}. iiij^{d}., whereof spent, for spice bred, xvj^{d}.; and for spyces for the same bred, etc. xiiij^{d}.; It'^{m} for manchetts, j^{d}.; It'^{m} for ale, xiiij^{d}.; It'^{m} for chees, viij^{d}.; It'^{m} for strawberys, xvj^{d}.; It'^{m} for ij^{li} sug^{r}, x^{d}.; It'^{m} for red wyn and clared wyn, ij^{s}.; It'^{m} to y^{e} wardens,

August, an entertainment is made, the being summoned to which, is matter of courtesy, and not of right. That it was usual, after dinner, on the day of the entertainment, with certain ceremonies of honor to the person elected, that the clerk of the said company should publicly notify and declare aloud to the persons then assembled at the said entertainment, the name of the person, who had, on the preceding Monday, been elected master; and the names of the persons chosen on the preceding Monday, who had been elected wardens for the year ensuing; and that the said entertainment was, in common parlance, called "the election dinner." But that no election or choice whatever was made on that day.

* It was very rich, and was the gift of Sir John Milborn and his lady, as per the following entry:

1518, (July 21.) Ald. John Milborn and his lady, "late the wife and ex'trix of John Chester, whilst he lived, drap^{r} of London," gave "a Beryall-cloth, of the value of l^{c} marks, for the wele of the soul of the s^{d} John Chester in especiall, and all other his good friends in gen^{r}all."

being there p^{r}sent eu^{r}y of them, xx$^{d}_{s}$.; S'm^{a}, iij^{s}. iiij^{d}.; It'^{m} for off'ring money to the half of the liu^{r}y being there, (for the other half was not werned, ou^{r} custom was suche then,) xvj^{d}.; It'^{m} the ij. wardens that were absent had nothing; Sm^{a} in all, xiiij^{s}. iiij^{d}."

The account of expences at the interment of Sir Roger Achilley, lord mayor, in 1513, affords a further idea of the nature of a respectable civic funeral in the catholic times.

"To Steph^{n} Ward, wax chandler, for 24 torches, of 24^{lb} a piece; 4 tapers, of 14^{lb} a p'ce; and 2 branches of white wax, goodly made, together wth iiij^{or} myghty highe standard candylsteks, clene gylt, 54^{s}. 4^{d}."

"For breaking of the ground for to come to the tomb in St. Christoph^{rs} church, 6^{s}. 8^{d}. For the greatest bell, for 6 hours of the aftern^{n} of his burial, 3^{s}. 4^{d}. The clerk, for ringing, tolling, and peals, 2^{s}. For 24 torch bear^{rs}, wth their own black gowns and hoods, 10^{s}. For railing of the pews, stuff and nails at the carpent^{rs}, 5^{s}. 4^{d}. To the priest and cl'ks, for dirge and mass, 6^{s}. 8^{d}. For 2 child^{n} that bore the 2 branches of white wax in their hands, standing at dirge and mass by the heerce, and 6 o^{r} child^{n}, and the sexton in surplices, helping at the dirge, mass, and trentall within the same ch. 20^{d}. To 3 priests saying masses of requiem, both days at my lady's commandment, 12^{d}. To poor people in alms, aft^{r} the high mass was done, 12^{d}. For potacion money to the mast^{r} of the clerks, to drink at large and not at home, 2^{s}. For potacion money to the m^{r} of the cl^{r}k. preests," [of Leadenhall,] to drink at large, and not at the place, 3^{s}. 4^{d}.*

To celebrate the obsequies of the above and other deceased members, as also to perform the religious services proper to the company, they kept (as described) two priests. They also maintained altars and lights in various churches, as will be seen from the succeeding notices of them, and the list appended of the different obits observed by the company. The

* The funeral of Sir William Roche, mayor in 1523, appears, from the following account of it, to have been of a more splendid description:—

"The right worshipfull Sir Will^{a}m Roche, knight and alderman, decessyd, betwene ix. and x. of the clock, before none. On whose soule Jhu' have mercye. Amen. He was buryed the xvth daye of this instant, moneth of September, at after-none, in this wyse."

"First, ij branchys of whyte wax were borne before the priests and clerks in surplesys syngyng. Then a standard of his crest, w'ch was the Red Roobuck's hedd, wth gylt hornes, havyng also ij. wynges, the one of gold, the other verde. Thereafter certayne morners, then a pyncon of his armys, and his cote armo^{r}, borne by the herald, w'ch armys was a cheker of warren of sylver and azure, a bull pass$_{a}$nt goules, wth hornes of sylu^{r}, and iij. roches also sylu^{r}, being all sett in a felde of gold. Then the corps borne next after the cote armure, by certayne clerks, and iiij. of the

priests are thus provided for by the company's ordinances of 6 Henry IV.

"*For the findyng off oure Prystys:*—First, they haue ordeyned that ij. prestes be fou'de and meinteyned to singe for all the fratrnite, both ye quike and the dede; which prestes schul synge in the churche of Seint Myghell, in Cornehill,* and be paid there salarye of ye rentes longyng to ye forseyd feloschip, wher of the dedes and the grauntes be and shull be in the kepyng of the wardeins of the seyd felyscheppe for the tyme beyng, and thos dedys and grauntes the wardeins evry zer schull shewe openly to all the companye, an' it so lyke the felyshippe to be don."

The yearly salary of each of these two priests, in the reign of Edward IV., appears to have been 6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*; for, in 1486, 33*s.* 4*d.* is paid for the "Christmas quarterage of Sr Alisander Swale, preeste," and 18*s.* 4*d.* "to John Buchenam, preeste, for ix. weeks." An entry in 1495, also states 40*s.* to have been paid by the company, "for our ij. chapeleyns, for viij. yards of murray in grayn," [a dark red cloth,] "after the old custom," and which must have been to make them gowns. "Robert Drope, preest," is paid 13*s.* 4*d.* in 1501, for writing "certeyn evidences of the Gote, in Chepe;" a public-house belonging to the company.

assystans of the drapers, viz. Mr. Warner, Mr. Blowr, Mr. Spencer, and Mr. Tull, who went in their liury and hodes, about the said corps. Then followyd Mr. John Roche, his sone, the corse, as chief morner, alone; and after hym, ij. coples of morners more. Then the sworde-berer and my lord maire, in black. Then the aldermen and sheriffs, after theim, and the hole lyuory of this felowshippe, in order. Then the ladys and gentylwomen, as the aldermen's wyfes, and others, w'ch, after dirige, cam home to his house and dranke, where they had spice brede and comfetts, wyne, ale, and bere."

"On the morrow, the mourners went again in order to the church, where they had a collacion made by Sir Stephen. After which collacion the herald appointed the chief mourners, in order to offer up the target, sword, and helmet, to the priest; and after they offered in order, and also my lord mayor, the aldermen, the livery, and others, which offering went to the poor; then the whole communion was ministred, after which done, the herald, again going before, there followed him, the banner-bearers, and offered the banners also; and then, in order, again the mourners, my lord mayor, and others, returned to the house of the said Mr. Roche, where they dined, all, save the livery of this fellowship, which dined in the Drapers' hall, by reason, he had given them towards the same, 6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*, which was bestowed by John Quarls and William Berwyck, stewards for the same, the 16th day of September, in eight mess of meat, as follows:

"1st, Brawn and mustard, boiled capon, swan roast, capon and custard. The second course, pidgeons and tarts, bread, wine, ale and beer. And my Lady Roche, of her 'gentylnes,' sent them, moreovr, four gallons of French wine, and also a box of wafers, and a pottell of ipocras. For whose soul let us pray, and all Christian souls. Amen."

* In a marginal note, and seemingly of greater antiquity, "chirche of oure Lady, of the Bowe in West Chepe of London, as it hath been alway."

The church the drapers are stated to have occupied for their religious observances (before the making of the above ordinances,) was that of St. Mary Bethlem, Bishopsgate street, (or Bethlem Hospital,) where they founded a fraternity, early in the reign of Edward III., and framed statutes for its government. Its nature is explained in the following preamble to them:

"To the honor of our Lord Jhu Crist, and his swete moder, Seint Marie, our Ladie of Bethlem, in which most holie place, our seid Lord Jhu' Crist was chosen to be born in hys salvacion of al his people, in which place of Bethlem the starre appeared to the shepherds, and gave and shewed lyght to the Kyngys of Coleyne, who offered in the same place of Bethlem, three gyftes, golde, myrrhe, and insense; one fraternite is begone for the same honour, in amendment of their lives, by the assent of the Fryar, Willyam Titte, Fryar of the Hospital of our Ladie of Bethlem, and for other good people, Drapers of Cornhill, and other good men and women, which will be broders and sisters, and maintain the same fraternite, for the term of their lives, and the points that follow." They were to pay 29*s.* entrance, every year afterwards 2*s.*, and every quarter 6*d.**

The company's altar and light, in St. Mary Woolnoth church, must have been nearly contemporary, as the finding of such light forms a regulation of the ordinances 6 Henry IV., as follows:

"*For the manteyninge of oure lyght*:—Also ordeyned hyt ys that th^e^re schull be v. tapers of wax, of resonable wheight, sette in a candelstyke of laton, as ordeyned of olde tyme at Wol-chyrche, in the worschipp of th' assumpcyon of oure Lady, and th^e^y to brenne at due tymes, as the custume ys; the which lyght schull be well and honestly ordeyned and mainteyned."

St. Michael's, Cornhill, St. Thomas of Acon, Austin Friars, and the priory of St. Bartholomew, all appear, from the following entries, to have been likewise places at which the company maintained priests and altars. At St. Thomas of Acon they inform us the company had a chapel.

"1482. To the clerk of Seynt Mighell's, for a reward of oure Lady masse, viij^d^.

"1486. To the clerk of Seint Myghell's, for the keeping of our Lady masse, and for the dirge and masse of requiem, and for ryngyng, xl^s^. iiij^d^.

"1496. Drinking-money for the clerk of Seynt Myghell's, and for ringing, i^s^. viij^d^.

* Strype's Stow, 1, 460.

"1503. For ou^r Chapell in Seynt Thomas of Acon, in the Cristemas tyme, iij^d."

This was for the company's offering. The next two entries are of rent.

"1506. To the m^r of Seynt Thom^as, Acon, for ou^r chapell for a year, iiij^s.

"1520. To the m^r of Seynt Thomas of Akers, for ou^r chapell, iiij^s."

For the company's "standing in our Lady Chapell at Poulis," which they had in common with the other companies, (and which standing was, by an order of the court of aldermen, to be next to the goldsmiths, and adjoining the virgin's shrine,) they also have entries of payments, as well as to the "iij. prechours at Seint Mary Spyttyll, to pray for Mr. Chester's soull;" and to the Austin Friars, for obits for several of their member. An account of the latter will be seen in the company's list of obits, and in the following entries:

"1507-8. Paid to the priour and Freres Austyns, for Ric' Norman's obytt, —."

1520. Agreed, "that the priour of the Freeres Augustyns shall be communed with, for to alter the compensation lately made between hym and his convent and Mr. Galby, for the continuance of Mr. Galby's obit, and for the penalty."

Sir William Capell's "years mind, with masse on the morrowe," was kept by the company at the priory of St. Bartholomew, this same year, "when there dined with them, amongst others, the lord mayor and two sheriffs, all the aldermen who were of the Drapers' company, Mr. Recorder and his lady, and the lady Achilly. The prior of Austyn Friars preached the sermon."

The custom, in keeping the above, and most other of the drapers' obits, was, for those who attended, to have bread and ale in the church where the service took place; in some instances, however, they adjourned to the nearest public-house. Here the expence was astonishingly small. At Sir William Heriott's anniversary, (Lo. ma. 1481,) the entry of charge "for brede and ale at the Swanne, in Vanchurch [Fenchurch] strete, at the even song," only amounts to *four-pence!*

We subjoin a list of the company's obits, and shall do so in other cases where we meet with them. They are records which, though seemingly dull, preserve the memory of many persons and charities which would otherwise be unknown, and are also interesting memorials of extinct customs.

"OBITTS AND ANNIVRSARIES YERLYE TO BE KEPT BY THE DRAPERS OF LONDON."*

When established.	*By whom.*	*Where, when, and how kept.*	*Sum or Estate left.*	*To pay or find.*
1508.	Robert Morley.	St. Michael, Cornhill. *Day after the election feast.* With mass of requiem. By the four new wardens in their second liveries.		Each warden 1d. at the company's charge, to find an obit for thirty years.
1531.	Sir Jn. Rudstone, draper, and lord mayor, 1528.	St. Michael, Cornhill. *20th of August.*		To the master of the Drapers, 3*s.* 4*d.*; each warden, 20*d.*; the clerk, 12*d.*; the renter, 12*d.*; beadle, 12*d.*; for potations at Drapers' hall, 10*d.*; in alms, —.
1524.	John Maydenhedd.	St. Michael, Cornhill. *On the 3d of September.* Obit with mass on the morrow.		To each warden, 20*d.*; the clerk, 12*d.*; beadle, 4*d.*; and potation for the company at Drapers' hall. Obit to continue thirty-one years from 3d of September, 1524.
1514-15.	Sir William Capell, lord ma. 1503.	St. Bartholomew the Little. *5th of November.* By Sir Wm. Paulet, or at his assignment. Obit and mass on the morrow.		To the master, 4*s.*; every warden, 3*s.* 4*d.*; clerk, 12*d.*; beadle, 8*d.*; the mayor, 6*s.* 8*d.*; each sheriff, 3*s.* 4*d.* [To be warned to attend by Sir Wm. Paulet's chaplains.] Potation at Drapers' hall, 6*s.* 8*d.*
	Lady Capell.	St. Bartholomew the Little. *4th of September.* Obit and mass on the morrow. Kept by the church-wardens, master, and four wardens; without potation.		Master of the drapers, (if present,) 3*s.* 4*d.*; clerk of the drapers, 8*d.*

* The company, under the year 1542, have a list of plate, thus headed:—"Plate lent out for Obytts and other Recreations, by the old wardens and the Audytors, according to the consent and agreement of the Assystans, the x. day of Decembr, ano. xxxiij. H. VIII."

List of Plate.

"A standyng gilt cupp wth a cover, wth iij. schochyns in the topp. A standyng gylt cupp wth a cover, wth a George at the topp. A standyng gylt cupp wth a cover, wth Mr. Richard Fink on the topp; iij. of the new gilt goblets wth a cover, and wth the Drapers' Armys on the topp; vi. of the p'cell gilt goblets wth ij. covers, and wth the Drapers' armys in the topp; iij. gilt salts wthout covers, wth the Drapers' armys in the topp; xij. gilt ale potts wth covers, with the Drapers' armys in the topp; iij. dossn of syluer spoonys, called steppys."

When established.	*By whom.*	*Where, when, and how kept.*	*Sum or Estate left.*	*To pay or find.*
	John Wilkynson.	St. Mary, Abchurch. *24th of September.* Obit and mass on the morrow.		Master, 3*s.* 4*d.*; wardens, 20*d.*; (junior wardens to see 26*s.* 8*d.* spent about the obit); clerk, 8*d.*; beadle, 8*d.* No potation.
1534.	Sir John Brugge, lord mayor, 1520.	St. Nicholas Acon. *14th of October.* Obit and mass on the morrow. Kept by his executors, with the master, two wardens, (at least), and seventeen members, in the second livery.		The master (if present), 20*d.*; wardens, 20*d.*; clerk, 12*d.*; beadle, 4*d.*; every bedeman, 1*d.* potation in Drapers' hall, 6*s.* 8*d.* Obit to continue thirty years from 14th of October, 1534.
	Richard Norman.	Austin Friars. *20th of October.* Obit and mass on the morrow.		To the master (if present), 6*s.* 8*d.*; wardens, 5*s.* each. The craft to drink with the friars, and the friars to have 26*s.* 8*d.*
1533.	Sir William Bayley, lord ma. 1524.	Whittington College. *2d of November.* Obit on Allowenday, and mass on the morrow.		To the master (if present), 6*s.* 8*d.*; the wardens (if present), 3*s.* 4*d.* each. No potation.
	Maude Wylde, and Nicholas, her husband.	Austin Friars. *6th of November.* Obit and mass on the morrow (only with the four wardens and their chaplains.)		To the four wardens, 10*d.* each. No potation.
	Alice Hungerford.	St. Michael's, Cornhill. *18th of November.* Obit and mass on the morrow.		To the master, 3*s.* 4*d.*; to the four wardens, 17*s.* 8*d.*; to the clerk, 12*d.* No potation.
1443.	Will. Crowner, lord mayor in 1413 and 1423.	St. Martin Ongars. *14th of January.* Kept by the church-wardens. Obit and mass on the morrow.		To every warden (if present), 20*d.* "or els not." "They shall drynke in the churche. He was twyse mayor of London."
1485.	Robert Drope, lord mayor, 1474, "et Johan, Viscountess Lisle, uxor suæ."	St. Michael, Cornhill. *21st of January.* Kept by the church-wardens. Obit and mass on the morrow.		To every warden (if present), 20*d.* "or ells not." "The crafte drink at the Drap^{rs} hall, bye the p^{r}ovision of the same church-wardens."

When established.	*By whom.*	*Where, when, and how kept.*	*Sum or Estate left.*	*To pay or find.*
	William Wangtyngfelds.	ST. MICHAEL, CORNHILL. *24th of January.* Obit and mass on the morrow. Kept by the church-wardens, with the drapers' four wardens, and their chaplains.		To the wardens (if present), 20*d.* each, "ells not." "They shall drynk wth the church-wardens at their assignement in the same p'isshe."
1482.	William Whyte, sheriff, 1482.	ST. SWITHIN, CANNON STREET. *7th of February.* Obit and mass on the morrow.		To the master (being present), 3*s.* 4*d.*; wardens (ditto), 20*d.* each; clerk, 8*d.*; beadle, 4*d.* The rest in alms, to the parishioners of St. Swithen. No potation.
1535.	Sir Jn. Milborne, lord mayor, 1521.	CRUTCHED FRIARS. *5th of April.* Obit and mass on the morrow. Kept by the lord may., sheriffs, recorder, chamberlain, and sword-bearer (who are to be warned thereto by the company's clerk and beadle).		To the master (if present), 4*s.*; wardens (do.), 20*d.*; clerk, 8*d.*; beadle, 4*d.*; bedemen, 1*d.* each. "Potacion in our hall of xviij$^{d.}$" The friars to pay all charges of the obit; the renter of the drapers to pay the master of the company, 6*s.* 8*d.*; the four wardens, 3*s.* 4*d.* each; the clerk, 4*s.*; beadle, 2*s.*; and renter, 5*s.* for seeing that the twelve bedesmen in Milborn's almshouses are punctually paid 2*s.* 6*d.*, each, monthly, to pray for Sir John's soul; and 4*d.* to the mass priest.
	William Galley.	AUSTIN FRIARS. *24th of April.* Obit and mass on the morrow, and three additional obits, with mass of requiem, on the three other quarter-days. The anniversary obit to be attended by the twelve sisters of Elg. Spittall.		To every warden present, 15*d.*; to the clerk, 8*d.*; and 12*d.* more for seeing to the keeping of three additional obits and masses of requiem; to the beadle, 4*d.*; to the twelve sisters of Elsing Spitall, 4*s.*; and 12*d.* for their potation. The wardens and other of the company present "to drynk there wth the Freres."
1517.	John Colls.	ST. MICHAEL'S, CORNHILL. *7th of May.* To be continued for fifty years from the 4th of May, 1517; the service to consist of the obit and mass on the morrow.		To every warden present, 20*d.*; the clerk, 12*d.*; beadle, 4*d.*; the renter, 4*s.*; every past warden attending, 4*d.*; and every liveryman, 2*d.* So that 20*s.* be distributed in all. No potation.

When established.	*By whom.*	*Where, when, and how kept.*	*Sum or Estate left.*	*To pay or find.*
	John Chest, Cit. and draper.	ST. THOMAS OF ACON. *26th of May.* (Three days before, or three after, at the Lady Milborne's assignment, during her life.) Obit and mass on the morrow.		The youngest warden present, 12*d.*; the clerk, 4*d.* "Noe potacion. This appeareth by wrytings sealed wth the chapiter's seal of Seynt Thomas aforesaid."
	Henry Eberton.	[ST. MARY,] ABCHURCH. *14th of June.* Obit and mass on the morrow.		To every warden present, 20*d.*; the clerk, 8*d.*; the beadle, 4*d.* "The crafte drynk at the Draps hall."
	Alice Herlewyn.	ST. CHRISTOPHER'S. *22d of June.* (Or one or two days after, as it shall please the wardens, "because of Midsomr.") Obit and mass on the morrow.		To every warden present, 20*d.*; the clerk, 8*d.*; the beadle, 4*d.* "To our almesmen, lx. q'rs. of coles in wynter." The craft onely drynk at Draps hall."
	Hugh Umpton.	ST. LAWRENCE, PULTENEY. *5th of July.* Obit and mass on the morrow.		To the master, being present, 2*s.*; and to each of the wardens, 12*d.*; to every past warden, 4*d.*; to every liveryman present, 2*d.*; to the clerk, 12*d.*; the porter, 12*d.*; and the beadle, 8*d.* No potation.
	Thomas Wells.	"ST. EDMOND'S," [THE KING.] *31st of July.* Obit and mass on the morrow. (To be kept by the churchwardens.)		To every warden present, 8*d.*; to the clerk, 20*d.*; to the almsmen, 20*d.*; to the beadle, 8*d.* "The crafte drynketh in the same prisshe."
1518.	Elizabeth Peke.	ST. MICHAEL'S, CORNHILL. *7th of August.* Obit and mass on the morrow.		To the master, if present, 16*d.*; to each warden, also there, 8*d.*; to the clerk, 8*d.*; and to the beadle, 8*d.* "The craft drynketh at the Draper's hall."
	William Dixon.	ST. MICHAEL'S, CORNHILL. *8th of August.* Obit and mass on the morrow.		To the master, if present, 3*s.* 4*d.*; "evrye warden being ther hathe xxd.;" the clerk, 8*d.*; the beadle, 4*d.* "The craft drynks at Draprs hall."
	Richard Shore, sheriff, 1506.	[ST. MARY,] "WOLCHURCHE." *10th of August.* Obit and mass on the morrow.		To each warden present, 20*d.*; to the clerk, 8*d.*; and the beadle, 4*d.* "The craft drynks at their hall."

When established.	*By whom,*	*Where, when, and how kept.*	*Sum or Estate left.*	*To pay or find.*
	John Norman, lord mayor, 1453.	ALHALLOWS, HONEY LANE. *12th of August.* Obit and mass on the morrow.		To the master, if present, 3*s.* 4*d.*; to each warden there, 30*d.*; to the clerk, 8*d.*; and the beadle, 4*d.* No potation.

State and civic triumphs occurred both by land and by water, and always required the attendance of the companies.

The earliest notice in the draper's books of a lord mayor of the company making his inaugural procession by water to Westminster, is in 1481. As Norman's barge was not then thirty years old,* it is not improbable that it might be used on this occasion. If so, we learn from the same and other entries that it was then customarily covered on civic triumphs with blue cloth (plunket), and on royal ones with red (murrey).† The entry of 1481, states there to have been paid

"To the mynstrellis for the mayre, Sir Will^a^m Heriot, knight, to Westm^r^, l^s^. iij^d^.;" and

"For a rewarde to the bargemen for going to Westminst^r^ with the sheriffs to accompany the mayor aforesayd, ij^s^. iiij^d^."

The sheriffs (according to succeeding entries,) were generally accompanied in their water processions by minstrels or trumpets, with crimson or red hats, and headed by their marshal, in the company's barge, decorated with banners, pennons, and streamers fringed with silk, and "beaten with gold;" as in the following instances:

1486, "Paid to nine mynstrels and their marshall, lxvj^s^. viij^d^.; and for xij. crimson hats for the mynstrells and for the marshall waiting with the sheriff maist^r^ Fynkell, vj^s^. viij^d^.; iij^li^. xiij^s^. viij^d^."

1488, "For vij. trumpets at the sheriff's going by water." And again: "For x. red hats for the trumpets, a small banner

* See as to Norman and his barge, Hist. Essay, 100 *(Note)*.

† 1599, "It'. a plunket short cloth to cover the barge." It is said to have measured twenty-four yards. "ij. brod clothes of the same plunket," and described to have been of the like length, are mentioned in an entry of 1496; coupled with a charge of 30*s.* "for our barge for my lord the mayor and both the sheriffs, and drinking money to the botemen from Westminster."

In 1487, on Elizabeth, queen of Henry VII., coming from Greenwich to her coronation at Westminster, the entries make a charge of 2*d.* "for bering of ij. red cloths fro' Blakewell hall to Byllynsgate;" and of 4*d.* "to a taylo^r^ for sewing togedre the same cloths to cover y^e^ barge." The other charges on the occasion are

"For a kylderkyn of ale into the barge at the settyng of the quene fro' Grenewich to her coronation, iij^s^. 1^d^.

"For a litter in the barge to Grenewich the same tyme, ij^d^.

cloth, xj. yards of tartern for a new banner, and for ij. steresmen, xxvj^{s}. For painting and beting of the said banners and streamers, and silk fringe, xl^{s}.; and "to a taylo^{r} for cutting and sewing of the said two pennons and banners, x^{s}., besides iij. yerds of rede buckram for the sockets."

In 1502 there is mentioned "Bulloyn sarcenett for ij. streamers and j. band, and beating the same with gold;" and again, in a second entry of the same year, "buckram for the sockets, and xiij. trumpet baners."

"Norman's barge" (if the one here alluded to,) seems to have been decayed in 1533. For in the October of that year the company is said to have agreed with Mr. Edmund Wade, the bargeman of the archbishop of Canterbury:

"For his grete barge, at such tyme as we shall have nede to occupy it, either with the mayer or sh^{r}'eves, or for any other busines, he to have for himself and xxviij. oars furnished, and cysshons for the said barge, at every voyage wher we shall have nede thereof wth ou^{r} compaignie in the lyvery, the sum of xxx^{s}."

And a few years afterwards, on the expected marriage of the king with Ann of Cleves, we find the company, by the following entry, hiring one of the royal barges:

"Agreed wth Cart^{r}, master of the king's barge Greyhound, to s^{r}ve (serve) the feliship at the comyng in of the Lady of Cleveland, for the sum of liiij^{s}. iiij^{d}."

They further agreed at the same time, "touching the mocion made by the mayer to have seven of the company to ryde in velvet cotes to receive the quene, to do in that matt^{r} as oder worshipful felishipps dothe,—the mercers onely except."

Land processions were usually confined to the annual civic fetes of the Midsummer Watch and Lord Mayor's Show.

The Midsummer Watch and its paraphernalia, are noticed in 1520, in an agreement made by the wardens with William Whyting, "payntour steyno^{r}," in which he contracts "to make substantially, surely, and p^{r}fitely, xij. newe bann^{r}etts of doble blue sarsynet in oyle, and eu^{r}y bann^{r}ett to contain in length, besides the fringe, iij. yards and a q^{r}ter and j. nail, and in bredth, or deepness, iij. q^{rs} of a y^{d}, besides the buckram and fringe,—and he to make them in fyne gold for the sum of 4*l.* 16*s.*"

He was also to be paid 16*s.* "for mending of the clouds, incarnations, sylu^{r}yng, p^{r} folyng, and newe steyning of xxiiij. old bann^{r}etts of th' Assumpcion and the Draper's armes;" 20*s.* "for doing the like with a bann^{r} of ou^{r} Lady, and iij. st^{r}m^{r}s (streamers)

of Drap^rs armes, to be workmanly don in ev^ry thing;" and 20*s.* more "for a long stream^r of th' Assumpcion, a bann^r of th' Assump^n, and a bann^r of Drapers' armes, well don."

1521. The company resolve that there shall be "no Mydsomn^r pageant becaus there was so many pageants redy standyng for the emperors (Charles V.) coming into London;" and afterwards "that for divers considerations," they will "surcease the said pageants, and find xxx. men in harness instead." They however, previously to the day of the spectacle, abandon both resolutions, an entry of subsequent date informing us that the court and the batchelors had agreed—

To "renew all the old pageants for the house; including our newe pageant of the *Goldyn Flees* for the mayr against mydsom^r; also the *gyant*, Lord *Moryspyks*, and a morys daunce, as was used the last year."

From a long bill of expenses which follows, it appears that this Lord Moryspyks, or "Marlingspikes," as he is afterwards called, was an allegorical personage, similar to those which have been noticed in our account of these spectacles,* as was also "the king of the Moors," and other characters whose dresses are charged for; the items enumerate—

"Yellow cotton towards the dresses of the archers, minstrels," and other attendants; "gunpowder (24 pounds); matches for the gunners; a demi-launce, that the king of the Moors pavillion was borne upon over his head; a child with harness attending; payment of 5*s.* to John Wakelyn, for playing the king of the Moors, (the company finding him his apparell, his stage, and his wyld fire,) and sums for the said king's girdle, his garland or turban of white feathers and black satin, sylver paper for his shoes, etc."

The following year, the king of Denmark being here, it was agreed that Mr. Rudstone, the sheriff, should have two pageants at Midsummer, namely, one of the Assumption, and one of St. Ursula, "but to be no precedent hereafter;" and in consequence we find afterwards an ample account of the expense of the said two pageants. Both were evidently peculiar to this company, and furnish us with a competent idea of their nature:

Andrew Wryght "for garnyshing and newe repayring of th' Assumpcion, and also for making a new pageant of St. Ursula," received 22*s.* 8*d.*; and Thomas Bonyfount, joiner, "for mending

* Hist. Essay, 196, 98.

of the Assumpcion, and for hym and his man to keep the watches both nyghts," 2*s.* 4*d.*

These sums speak little for the renewal of this show, which must have been miserably poor, even if half the articles were stock property. But these mummeries were evidently fast getting out of fashion. Most of the charges indicate, by their smallness, the deteriorated quality of the spectacle:

"Child's eldest daughter for Saynt Ursula, and the vj. virgens wth hyr bothe nyghts," together with the "xiiij. porters that bare th' Assompcion," and who gave the same attendance, were the whole of them only paid 6*s.* 8*d.*; two harpers and two luters, in albes, with wings and crowns, had but 5s. 4*d.*; four children in surplices, singing, the still smaller proportion of 4*d.* each. The company's "half part for a tuberer, and a rebek," was 2*d.*; eight torch bearers "abowte the Assumpc^{n} and Saynt Vrsula bothe nyghts," were paid 5*s.* 4*d.*; and "Mr. Whyte, for the hire of ij. pauls (palls), richely sett wth perle and stone, for ou^{r} Lady, th' Assumpcyon, and Saynt Vrsula," was contented with a remuneration of 4*s.*

The pageants, properly so called, or emblematical representation of both saints, must literally have exhibited

"The pasteboard triumph and the cavalcade,"

to judge from the following items:

"For ij. yerds of yelu cords to make fast th' Assumpcion, xvj^{d}.

"For iij. bells for the Assumpcion, vj^{d}.; sope, j^{d}.; and for cord, ij^{d}. ob', ix^{d}.

"For nalys and traslies (tressels), v^{d}. ob'; for pins, j^{d}., and poynts, iij^{d}.; xv^{d}.

"For wyre, j^{d}.; for lacyng sylk for th' Assumpcion, j^{d}.; and for ij. stays of iron for th' Assompc^{n}, vj^{d}.; and for ale and bred for the workmen first and last, x^{d}.; xviij^{d}.

"For j. nell (ell) of tape, yelu, for Saynt Vrsula, ij^{d}.

"For ij. yelu hatts, price xx^{d}.; and in money for bothe nyghts, iiij^{s}.

"For ij. yelu hatts for other ij. mynstrells, xx^{d}.

"For taking down and settyng vp of the ij. pageants, xvj^{d}."

The lights were the most expensive articles: "Will^{a}m Wakefeld for xij. staf torches," weighing 18¼ lb., received at the rate of 9*d.* per lb.—30*s.* 4*d.*: he was to have besides, "all that was left unspended of the wax."

The bill concludes with the two following ludicrous items:

"For mending of the apparell of all the virgens, ij^{d}.

"For a fyn smok of Gally's daughter, that was hurt by the cresset lyght, viij^{d}."

1523-4. We meet this year with another long list of payments for the Midsummer Watch, but in which the pageantry is made subservient to the more solid entertainment of feasting. They include, amongst other eatables, 700 pears, two bushels of filberts, 2*s.* 1*d.*, ten great dishes of "Southren butter," and other articles of food. "The hire of the gyant of Barking, for both the nights," forms an item of the spectacle.

Lord Mayor's Show is not mentioned by name, but besides the procession, there was very early a scenic spectacle, as we learn from an entry in 1516, in which the sum of 13*l.* 4*s.* 7*d.* is said to have been paid towards "Sir Laurens Aylmer's Pageant," there does not, however, follow any account of what it consisted.

At the election as mayor of Sir William Roche, in 1540, and which is stated to have been "with the gretyst and fayrest elec'ion amongst the co'es (commons) that hathe byn sene;" there assembled the next day at Drapers' hall the whole court, with twenty of the livery, and the batchelors, and they agreed to have fifty (afterwards augmented to sixty) of the said bachelors at his inauguration, in a new livery; namely, puke gowns, and scarlet hoods, and also to have a pageant. This pageant afterwards appears to have been that of the Assumption, of which we have just spoken. Whether it was precisely the same as at the Midsummer Watch, we are left to guess.

The pageant of the Assumption, it is said, was borne before the new lord mayor from the Tower to Guildhall. Twenty-four men all dressed alike, in the morning bore "t'yatts (targets) and javelins," and in the evening staff-torches "from Polls to the mey^{r}s place;" four persons were appointed "to ou^{r}see the trymmyng of my lord may^{r}s place vnto the feast day;" and eight others to attend at the "Yeld halle" seven or eight days before the feast, to see and provide "tables, tressells, stools, cushions, carpetts, banners, hangyngs," and other necessaries. It is probable that Sir Laurence Aylmer's pageant and others only consisted, like his, of the proper pageant of the company.

The procession of the Drapers' Company, on the mayoralty of their distinguished member Sir Robert Clayton, in 1679, as well as those of the Mercers and Grocers, already given, are patterns of the processions which succeeded the more romantic ones of the Catholic times. It is poetically described in Jordan's "London

in Luster," which we copy below.* An account of the pageant itself has been given in our Historical Essay.†

The procession all ready, as described, and consisting as there,—of the master, four wardens, twenty-six assistants, between one and two hundred liverymen, sixty of the Batchelors' Company, sixty gentlemen ushers, thirty-six colour and banner-bearers, thirty-six trumpeters and their serjeant, eleven drums and fifes and their major, the two city marshals, the foot marshal, and six attendants, "the fence-master, and divers with drawn broad bright swords," the company's pensioners, with gowns and caps, (bearing banners and standards,) besides one hundred poor (in azure gowns and caps, and with javelins and targets bearing the arms of benefactors), making a line of above five hundred persons,—are said to have been marshalled into six divisions, two and two; the last division

> "Being gentlemen at equal distance,
> That usher in the grave Court of Assistants;"—

And following whom, but divided by certain pages and attendants,

> "The master and the wardens bring up all,
> And thus equipp'd, th' whole march from Drapers' Hall
> To my *lord's* house, where the aldermen and he
> Take horse, and rank according to degree:
> Which being done, the body all in state
> Move tow'rds *Guildhall.*"

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* "*In proper habits, orderly array'd,*
The Movements of the Morning are display'd.
Selected Citizens i' th' Morning all,
At Seven a Clock, do meet at *Drapers' Hall.*
The Master, Wardens, and Assistants joyn
For the first rank, in their Gowns fac'd with Foyn.
The second Order do, in merry moods,
March in Gowns fac'd with Budge and Livery Hoods.
In Gowns and Scarlet Hoods thirdly appears
A youthful number of Foyns Batchellors':
Forty Budge Batchellors the Triumph crowns,
Gravely attir'd in Scarlet Hoods and Gowns.
Gentlemen-Ushers which white Staves do hold
Sixty; in Velvet Coats and Chains of Gold.
Next, thirty more in Plush and Buff there are,
That several colors wear, and Banners bear.
The Serjeant-Trumpet thirty-six more brings,—
(Twenty the Duke of *York's*, sixteen the King's.)
The Serjeant wears two Scarfs, whose Colours be
One the Lord Mayor's, t' other's the Company.
The King's Drum-Major follow'd by four more
Of the King's Drums and Fifes, make LONDON roar."

† Hist. Essay, 205.

The old and new lord mayors here unite, and the procession being increased by the city cavalcade, the whole march through King street and Queen street to Three *Crane's wharf*,—take barge, (leaving part of the procession to await their return,) and joined by the other companies' barges,—

> "all haste
> To *Westminster*,—in the way there being plac'd
> A pleasure boat, that hath great guns on board,
> And with two broadsides doth salute my lord."*

The landing is at Palace stairs,—

> "where orderly all
> Do make a lane to pass him to the *Hall*."

The taking of the customary oaths,

> "And other ceremonials said and done
> In order to his confirmation,—
> Sealing of writs in court, and such like things
> As shew his pow'r abstracted from the kings,"—

Are all described as assimilating with modern usage,—

> "Till he comes
> To *Black Friars'* stairs,—where guns and thund'ring drums
> Proclaim his landing, and when set on shore,
> Salute his lordship with three vollies more."

The drapers have thirteen pageants in print, including this of Sir Robert Clayton, a list of which follows :

List of the Drapers' printed Pageants.†

1588, Sir Martin Calthorpe.	"The Devise of the Pageant, borne before the Right Hon. Martyn Calthorpe, Lorde Maior of the Citie of London, 29 Oct. 1588. This was licenced to be printed by Richard Jones, [Ames's Typographical Antiquities, by Herbert, p. 1054.]"	No copy is known to exist.
1614, Sir Thomas Hayes.	"The Triumphs of Old Drapery,‡ or the Rich Clothing of England; at the charge of the Right Worshipfull the Company of Drapers, at the Installation of Sir Thomas Hayes. By A. Munday," 4to.	Ditto.

* The City *Foiste*. Vide Hist. Essay, 202.

† We borrow the following account from Nichol's Pageants, adding a few notices of our own, and shall do so in the case of the other companies.

‡ This, and the following titles of "Old Drapery," and "Antient Drapery," seem to have been adopted to distinguish this manufacture from what was called the "New Drapery," introduced in Elizabeth's reign, and consisting of mixed cloth of woollen and linen. See *ante*, p. 398.

1615, Sir John Jolles. "Metropolis Coronata; the Triumphs of Antient Drapery, or Rich Clothing of England, in a second yeere's performance; in honour of the advancement of Sir John Jolles, Knight, to the high office of Lord Maior of London, and taking his oath for the same authoritie, on Monday, being the 30th day of October, 1615: performed in heartie affection to him, and at the bountifull charges of his worthie brethren, the truly honourable Society of Drapers; the first that received such dignitie in this Citie. Devised and written by A. M. [Anthony Munday], citizen and Draper of London. Printed at London, by George Pursloe, 1615," 4to. — Bodleian Library. Library of Mr. Jolley; and reprinted in Nicholls's Progresses of King James, v. iii. 107-118.

1621, Sir Edward Barker. "The Sun in Aries; a noble Solemnity, performed throughout the City, at the sole cost and charges of the honourable and antient Fraternity of Drapers, at the confirmation and establishment of their most worthy brother, the Right Honourable Edward Barkham, in the high office of his Majesty's Lieutenant, the Lord Mayor of the famous City of London, taking beginning at his Lordship's going, and perfecting itself after his return from receiving the oath of Maioralty at Westminster, on the morrow after Simon and Jude's day, being the 29 of October, 1621. By Thomas Middleton, gent. At London, printed by Est. Allde, for A. G. 1621." — Reprinted in the Progresses, v. iii. 274.

1623, Sir Martin Lumley. "The Triumphs of Integrity; a noble Solemnity, performed through the City, at the sole cost and charges of the Honorable Fraternity of Drapers, at the confirmation and establishment of their most worthy Brother, the Right Honorable Sir Martin Lumley, in the high office of his Maiesties Lieutenant, Lord Maior, and Chancellor of the famous City of London. Taking beginning at his Lordship's going and perfecting itselfe after his returne from receiving the Oath of Maioralty at Westminster, on the morrow after Simon and Jude's day, being the 29 of October, 1623. By Thomas Middleton, gent. London, printed by Nicholas Okes, dwelling in Foster lane, 1623," 4to. — Noticed in Gent.'s Mag. for 1824.

1626. Cuthbert Hasket. "The Triumph of Health and Prosperity, at the Inauguration of the most worthy brother, the Right Hon. Cuthbert Hasket, Draper. Composed by Thomas Middleton, Draper. Printed by Nicholas Okes, in Foster lane, 1626, 4to." — Late in the collection of Richard Heber; copies are also now in the collection of Tho. Whitby, esq., and Edw. Tyrrell, esq. City Remembrancer.

1638, Sir Maurice Abbot. "Porta Pietatis; or the Port or Harbour of Piety: exprest in sundrie Triumphes, Pageants, and Showes, at the initiation of the Right Hon. Sir Maurice Abbot, Knight, into the Mayoralty of the famous and farre-renowned City, London. All the charge and expence of the laborious projects, both by water and land, being the sole undertaking of the Right Worshipful Company of Drapers. By Thomas Heywood, 4to." — Only known to have been in the late Mr. West's collection.

1639, Sir Henry Garway. "Londini Status Pacatus, or London's Peaceable Estate: exprest in sundry Triumphs, Pageants, and Showes, at the initiation of the Right Honourable Henry Garway into the Majoralty of the famous and farre-famed City London. All the charge and expence of the laborious projects, both by water and land, being the sole undertakings of the Right Worshipful Society of Drapers. Written by Thomas Heywood, 4to." — Mr. West's Bodleian Library.

1675, Sir Joseph Sheldon.	"The Triumphs of London, performed on *Friday, Octob.* 29, 1675, for the Entertainment of the Right Honourable and truly noble pattern of Prudence and Loyalty, Sir Joseph Sheldon, knt., *Lord Mayor* of the City of London: containing a true Description of the several Pageants, with the several songs sung at the Solemnity. All set forth at the proper costs and charges of the Worshipful Company of Drapers. Designed and composed by *Tho. Jordan*, gent. London: printed by J. Macock, for *John Playford*, and are sold at his shop, near the *Temple Church*, 1675."	Mr. West's Bodleian Library.
1676, Sir Thomas Davies.	"London's Triumphs, express'd in sundry Representations, Pageants, and Shows. Performed on Monday, October 30, 1676, at the Inauguration and Instalment of the Right Hon. Sir Thos. Davies, draper, Lord Mayor of the City of London: containing, &c. By Thomas Jordan," 4to.	Late in the Althorpe Library.
1678-9, Sir Robert Clayton.	"London in Luster: projecting many bright Beams of Triumph, disposed into several Representations of Scenes and Pageants. Performed with great splendor on Wednesday, October xxix., 1679, at the Initiation and Instalment of the Right Honourable Sir Robert Clayton, knight, Lord Mayor of the City of London. Dignified with divers delightful *varieties* of *Presenters*, with *Speeches*, *Songs*, and *Actions*, properly and punctually described. All set forth at the proper cost and charges of the Worshipful Company of Drapers. Devised and composed by Tho. Jordan, gent. "'— Pictoribus atque Poëtis, &c.' *Hor.* (Drapers' Arms.)"	City Library, 4to. 20 pages.
1683-4, Sir James Smith.	"London's Royal Triumph for the City's Loyal Magistrate; in an exact description of several Scenes and Pageants, adorned with many magnificent representations. Performed on Wednesday, Oct. xxix., 1684, at the Instalment and Inauguration of the Right Hon. Sir James Smith, knt., Lord Mayor of the City of London. Illustrated with divers delightful objects of Gallantry and Jollity, Speeches, and Songs, single and in parts. Set forth at the proper costs and charges of the Worshipful Company of Drapers. Devised and composed by Thomas Jordan, gent. "'Quendo magis dignor licuit spectare Triumphos?' "Printed and sold by John and Henry Playford, 1684, 4to."	Late in the Collection of Mr. West.
1691-2, Sir Thomas Stampe.	"The Triumphs of London; performed on Thursday, Octob. 29, 1691, for the Entertainment of the Right Honourable Sir Thomas Stamp, knt., Lord Mayor of the City of London: containing a true Description of the several Pageants, with the Speeches spoken on each Pageant. All set forth at the proper costs and charges of the Worshipful Company of Drapers. By E. S. (Elkanah Settle.) London: printed by Alex. Milbourn for Abel Roper, at the Mitre, near Temple Bar, 1691.	City Lib., Guildhall, Edward Tyrrell, esq. City Remembrancer, and Tho. Whitby, esq.

The last public procession of the Drapers' Company is noticed in the Gentlemen's Magazine for 1751, when they are stated to have "heard a sermon at St. Peter's, Cornhill, to which the master, wardens, and court of assistants walked in procession from their hall; a number of their poor carrying a pair of shoes and stockings, and a suit of clothes, being an annual legacy to the poor of that company."

HALL AND BUILDINGS.

The drapers appear, from their records, to have had a hall in St. Swithin's lane, Cannon street, long before the one in Throgmorton street; and to have removed to the former on their quitting Cornhill, where it is probable they held their first meetings. The St. Swithin's lane hall is referred to, though without mentioning its situation, in the Inquisitions post mortem, 24 Henry VI., at which time John Southcott was found to have died, seised of a rent charge of 20*s.*, issuing from "*Drapers' halle*, London;" and it is again referred to in 1479, when Edward IV., after inviting the mayor, aldermen, and chief citizens to a grand hunt on Waltham forest, and entertaining them in a stately arbour erected for the occasion, is said,—"in order not to forget the city ladies, but to preserve his good understanding with them also,"—to have sent them a present of two harts, six bucks, and a ton of wine; with which royal donation the lady mayoress (wife of Sir Bartholomew James, draper,) entertained the aldermen's ladies and others at *Drapers' hall.* A third mention of Drapers' hall in the Valor Ecclesiasticus, 37 Henry VIII., (and where the college of Sudbury, in Suffolk, is said to have possessed a rent charge of 23*s.* 4*d.* "issuing de aule de drapers,") must, from its date, refer to the company's present hall, or the one which stood on its site.

The notice of "*John Hend's hall* in Swythyn's lane," (then the company's,) as the place where they settled their ordinances in 1405, is the first information we have of a hall on this spot. In the wardens' account afterwards, it is repeatedly mentioned; and, from various notices we find there, relative to the repairing and fitting of it up, as well as from subsequent accounts of the company's feasts, inventories of table linen and furniture, and other authorities,—we are enabled to form a tolerable idea of the magnitude and appendages of this early hall of the drapers.

The first notices are in 1479 and 1488, and only regard certain tithe payments to the parson of St. Swithin, for what is termed "our *place*," and for "the *pale* (inclosure)."* In after entries it is more fully mentioned, and from them we learn that besides other erections, it comprised a refectory, or dining hall, a "great chamber," or livery room, parlours, one of them of superior

* 1479, "Paid to the p^rson of St. Swythin for our *place* for a year, vj^s. viij^d."

1488, "To the person of St. Swythyn's, and to the wardeins of the same chirche for the *pale*, by commandement of the counsell of the crafte, vj^s. viij^d."

dimensions, a kitchin, a store-house,* and a "scalding yard." The roofs of all the buildings were leaded, and were approached from a door, for the purpose of keeping them and the gutters clean.

In an account of repairs done to the same hall in 1482, there occurs an entry of "viij^{s}.," paid as a "rewarde to a carpenter that came out of Essex to see the halle;" and with this carpenter, whose name and residence is afterwards mentioned, the company's legal adviser, in 1483, attempted to make a contract for its repairs; the sum of "iij^{s}." being debited amongst the expenditures of that year for "a potell of wyne at Drapers' hall for the councell of the crafte and for William Dady, of Colchester." No work appears to have been performed in consequence, except fixing, in 1484, "ij. haspes and ij. stapels with pynnes of iron, for the *dore* going into the leads," which has just been mentioned; and the business seems to have lain dormant till 1487, when another carpenter, named "Banastre," received 34*l.* 8*s.* 4*d.* for work done, "as appeared by the parcelles upon his indenture," and who, not being able to complete his contract for that sum, received some further gratuitous payments, as noticed in the following entries:

1487. "More y^{t} was allowed to hym (Banastre) by the councell of the crafte vppon a bille of certeyn parcells that he brought in by agreement, xl^{s}. iiij^{d}."

And again afterwards:—

"More to the said Richard Banastre for to fynysh the werke, by cause he coulde not, nor had not where wthall to bye such stuffe as he lacked, nor to paie his men their wages. For he said 'he was vndon by the bargayn.' For the which we were fayn to ley oute, vj^{li}. xiij^{s}. iiij^{d}."

The repairs were began the same year, as we find from payments to "a dauber and his laborer;" and for loam, sand, nails, quarter board, planche boord, hert lathe, sappe lathe, okyn quarter," (brought by water from Kingston,) besides "22 load of gravel, and a load of flint;" and also from a further enumeration the next year, as in the note.†

* For cloth, see *ante*, 425.

† 1488, "Cost don for the reparacion of Drap^{s} Hall:

"William Roydon, tyler, which beganne upon the *hall* upon Thursday, the xj. day of Juyn, to him and his laborers, ij^{s}. viij^{d}. To Bottyng, the slaterman, viij^{d}.; a bushel of tile, pris vj^{d}.; iiij. lodis of slate, at ix^{s}. a load; oake board for transomes and planche board for the *gutters*, —^{li}.; for a day's work of a werkman and ij. laborers, j^{s}. vj^{d}.; the same for ij. daubers and ij. laborers, ij^{s}. vj^{d}. To Pegur for iiij.

Subsequent entries acquaint us with various other rooms and appendages. They mention, in particular, "a hammer to knock upon the table," implying that there was a court-room.* They also describe the hall to have had an elevated floor or haut pus at its extremity for the "high table."† In addition to the apartments just enumerated, these latter entries also name "the great parlour,"‡ "the ladies' chamber," the "chekker chamber," a buttery, pantry, and other places; and several of which will be found again mentioned in speaking of the company's feasts. The parlours are stated to have been ornamented with hangings, as were also, on festive occasions, the hall and chambers. We find, in particular, the following entry as to this custom in 1491, where, amongst other payments, are enumerated,—

"To a tapsterman" (tapestry man), "that amended the *hanging of the parlours* at sundry times, xx^{s}. viij^{di}. For cord and washing of the old lining of the hanging of the parlours, ix^{d}.; for ix. ells of cloth for new lining of the said hangings, ij^{s}.;" and "ij^{s}. to a labourer for sweeping, cleaning, and hanging of the hall and chambers against the feast day."

Another parlour is mentioned, in 1495, to have been painted green. For this there was a new chimney built afterwards, of such increased dimensions as to require additional ground to be taken in. Charges for logs, billets, coals, and for "andirons" to burn the former on, occur among the entries respecting it, as also bellows, and a fire-shovel weighing ten pounds. It seems to have been a sort of waiting room, there being a sum of 2*d.* charged for "a wryting book for the notic^{s} in the parlo^{r}." Cushions are enumerated amongst the furniture of the other parlours, and also tressels for them and the chamber.

The elevated part of the hall, for superior guests, was hung with "blue buckram," and had nine forms surrounding the high table, besides a cupboard or beaufet. The chekker chamber was laid with mats, a luxury which the hall had not at this date, it being only strewed with rushes. The kitchin must have been very large,

dayes for his labor^{s} to renew and bere alle the slate oute of the *kechyn* and *skalding yerd* clere into the *storehous*, and makyng clene of the kechyn and of the halle, and of alle the place abowte, xx^{d}. To maist^{r} Crowther for xxij. barrys for the glasse wyndows, and for mendyng of the old barrys, iij^{s}. viij^{d}. For makyng the *reredos* in the kechyn, and mendyng of fawtes, xij^{d}."

* "For a *hammer* to knock vppon the table, vj^{s}. viij^{d}."

† 1505, Agreed to "seale" (ceil) "as well the *hye pausse* as both the sides. For mending the *high table* in the hall, xv^{s}."

‡ 1493, "A new key for the *great parlour*."

for it had three fire-places. A piece "of void ground," or yard, is mentioned to have lain beside it. The entries from which the preceding information is furnished will be seen in the notes.*

The use and appropriation of several of the preceding rooms are found in the accounts of the company's feasts.

Entertainments, when on a great scale, took place in the hall. We no where meet with the dimensions of this grand apartment, but know it must have deserved that name from the size and number of its tables, and the guests who dined at them: exclusively of the high or cross table on the haut pas, there are a middle and side tables, mentioned to have been in the centre of the hall, and below them a table for the batchelors. From the inventories of "napery," or table-linen, we are enabled to judge of the length of these tables, and consequently of the size of the apartment which must have been required to contain them. They enumerate in 15 Henry VII.:

For the *high table*, "A fyne old long tabill cloth, damask worke, wth roses of draught worke, containing viij. ells in length, and ij. ells and iij. q^{r}ters broad.

"ij. diap^{r} table clothes, x. ells and dj. a piece for the *ij. side-tables* in the hall.

"iij. yerds of the same diap^{r} for a cupborde cloth for the hall, of the gift of Mr. Langreche;" and

"ij. table cloths of crest cloth, containing viij. ells and dj."

The court and livery near this date amounted to one hundred and fourteen, the batchelors to sixty,† and the guests invited were seldom less than sixty or seventy more. So that we may calculate the hall would dine between two and three hundred persons.

The ladies' chamber and the chekker chamber were the other principal entertaining rooms, though the parlours also were occasionally, as at present, used for that purpose.

* 1499, "ij. mats for the *chekker chamber*. Mending ij. lockes of the *buttery* and *pantrye* dores, iiij^{d}."

1495, "For painting of the parlour *grene*."

1497, "A load of *loggs*, a load of bylletts, and v. q^{r}ters colys for the hole yere for the p^{r}lour, vj^{s}. viij^{d}.

"A pair of *andirons* for the chimney in the p^{r}lour, viij^{d}."

1499, "A payr of *bellus* for the p^{r}lour.

"A fyre *shoule* for the p^{r}lour, weying x^{li}., at ij^{d}. the ^{li}., xx^{d}.

"A wryting *book* for the notic^{s} in the p^{r}lour, ij^{d}.

"Mending of vj. *cushions* in the p^{r}lours.

"iiij. newe *tressels* for the p^{r}lour and the chamb^{r}, xx^{di}.

"A curtyng of *blue buckram* for the *halpas*, xxij. and q^{r}tr yerds, at vj^{d}. a yerd, and for tenter-hooks and sowing, xiij^{s}. viij^{d}."

1495, "For watching xxvj. nyghts in the Drap^{s} hall whilst the *chymney* was in makyng, and for bread, ale, cheese, and candyll."

† See *ante*, 406.

The ladies' chamber (an apartment which the company still retain, and under the same denomination,) was a splendid room, solely appropriated to the use of the sisters of the fraternity; and in which they occasionally had separate dinners, instead of mixing with the company in the hall. The married ladies only, and those of the highest class, are mentioned as its guests: the "chekker chamber" is described to have been "for maydens." Both descriptions of females, however, more usually partook of the hospitalities of the hall with the "brothers."

When the ladies dined in their chamber, they were treated with high distinction. They sat at the upper, or the side tables, according to their rank; and the length of those tables shows they must have been capable of accommodating a great many guests,—"towels," or table-cloths, "for the side tables in the ladies' chamber," being mentioned "8 yards long." The fare was the same as at the court-table. It included at the election feast in 1515, brawn and mustard, capon boiled, swan roasted, pyke, venison, baked and roast; jellies, pastry, quails, sturgeon, salmon, and wafers and ipocras, which were served up in five "messes," or courses. The "second ladies' table" was served with four courses; and a like number of courses was provided "in the chekker chamber for the maydens." Amongst the ladies present on this occasion, amounting to thirty-four in number, were the lady mayoress, ladies Capell, Harriot, Aylmer, Achilly, Monnoux, and Fenkyl, the sheriffs' ladies, the "lady wardenesses," etc.

The style of the company's entertainments generally, and the other particulars we have mentioned, will be best understood by describing one of their ancient feasts. In this article the drapers appear to have been peculiarly splendid, and to have outvied the other companies, none of whom we have found to equal them in expense. What gives the festivities of this company an unique zest, however, is the visitors at them; and which then included a now extinct race. We here suddenly find ourselves in company with abbots, priors, and other heads of monastic establishments, and become so familiarized with the abbot of Tower hill, the prior of St. Mary Ovary, Christ church, St. Bartholomew's, the provincial and the prior of "Freres Austyn's," the masters of St. Thomas Acons and St. Laurence Pulteney, and others of the metropolitan conventual clergy, most of whom we find amongst their constant yearly visitors,—that we almost fancy ourselves living in their times, and of their acquaintance. We shall select

a specimen or two from several which we have copied, (but of which we can only notice these,)—beginning first with the order of the company's sitting, and an account of their plate, that the reader may judge of the splendor, as well as abundance of their table :

The sisters, it has been stated, always formed part of the usual guests;—so also did the wives of members, whether enrolled amongst them or not. The point in the ordinances, 6 Henry IV., as to paying quarterage, states that any brother, "althouz he be wedyd, he schall paye for him and for hys wyfe but vij^{d}:" the same ordinances also enjoin, amongst other regulations, that the wardens for the year shall only be allowed 20*s.* for rushes, "*mynstrels*, *players*, and other petty costys;" and that if the lord mayor attended the dinner, and was a member of the company, they should be allowed 40*s.* for his mess. The regulations for the table are contained in a separate article, entitled "A rule ordeyned for the syttyng in y^{e} halle," and which acquaints us with several other curious particulars. It states—

"That from this day forwarde, at eu^{r}y gen^{r}all feeste or dynner of the forseid fraternite, all thos that have ben maysto^{r}s and wardens schall sytte att mete at the + tabyll nexte the cupboard in y^{e} drapers' hall; and none others, unless be y^{e} avys and y^{e} assignment of the meyst^{r} and ward^{ns} for the time beyng, to sytte att y^{e} hygh table, upon payne of ij^{s}. No brother of the frat^{r}nite to presume to sytte at any table in the halle tyll the mayr and the states *have wasshed* and be sett att the hygh table, on pevne of iij^{s}. iiij^{d}. Also ordeyned it ys and provyded, that at the tabill next the parlor dore, schall be sett ij. or iij. mess wth suche as hath ben maysters and wardens, for strangers, att y^{e} dyscressions of y^{e} wardens for y^{e} tyme beyinge."

Persons of high rank, when invited, were personally waited on by the heads of the company. We find an instance in 1496, when the accounts charge "iiij^{d}. for bote hire to desyre my lorde tresorer to our feste," who at that time was William Paulet, first marquis of Winchester. The most usual of the great guests at their entertainments, however, were the dignified and conventual clergy mentioned, as will be seen by a slight notice of strangers, etc. present in different years.

At the election feast in 1519, there were amongst the guests,—"my lord bishop" (of Carlisle); "the m^{r} of Saynt Thom^{s} of Akers; the p^{r}or of Crychurch (Holy Trinity, Aldgate); the p^{r}or

of Saynt Barth'ews; the p^r^or of Saynt Mary Overys; Sir Ric' Brooke, juge and knyght; the m^r^ of Saynt Laur^ce^" (Pultney); "the p^r^vyncyall of freres Aus^ns^; the p^r^or of the same place; the p'son of Saynt Mighels; the sheriffs," etc.

In 1521 the order of sitting in the hall was thus:

"The prior of Christ church, chief.

"Sir John Milborn at his left—My Lady Fenkyll at his right.

"My Lady Milborn and my Lady Bayley chief before."

"*At the first side-table in the hall,*

"Mr. Sadler began the bench, and

"Mr. Bowyer before him on the forme, and so down,

"Men of the bench, and women before them:

"Mast^r^ Dele and Mast^r^ Praed began

"*The other side-table in the hall,*" etc.,—

and the account then proceeds to describe the sittings of the rest; but which we omit, as well as the list and prices of provisions, fuller accounts of a similar nature following below:

1514-15. The Midsummer feast cost 64*l.* 8*s.* 2*d.* The items provided, included 100½ load of faggots, and a load of "talwood," price 7*s.* 8*d.*; a barrelled sturgeon, containing 22 jowls, besides rounds and middles, 40*s.*; 3 boars, 34*s.*; Hall, the poulterer was paid "in arrest (part) for his pultrye," 4*l.*, and 6*l.* was paid him afterwards. A load of "coles," containing 31 qrs., cost 1*s.* 4*d.*; 24 doz. quails, 4*l.* 10*s.*; 45 pike, 3*l.*; 2 sacks of meal, 8*s.* 10*d.*; 1 hhd. of red wine, 1 hhd. of claret, a hhd. of white wine, and porterage, 10*l.* 5*s.* 6*d.*; 21 gallons of muscadel, for ipocras, 1*l.* 16*s.* 8*d.* Lady Capell sent the company a fine buck, and 5 other bucks were received from different persons named, all of whom received rewards or compliments in return. The water bailiff's servant was paid 6*d.*, "for his diligence abought the samons." Of ale there was drank 13½ barrels, besides 3 kilderkins "of single bere." For cooking this great feast, the company's cook was allowed 1*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*, exclusively of sums paid to the "turn broches," and other menials of the kitchen; 3*d.* was paid for "a potell of sweete wyn for the *singers;* and 30*d.* for the priests and clerks of St. Michael's, "for the solempne masse" on the preceding Sunday; 2*d.* is charged "for mending of the *garlands* appertaining to the masters, and also to the batchelors." And, lastly, and which forms one of the most interesting of these items, as deciding the fact of there having then existed regular independent companies of actors, is the following item:

"To Joh^{a}n Slye and his *company*, for ij. plays, on Monday and Tewsday," (including "Robert Willi^{a}ms, the Harp, and Henry Colet, the Lut, iiij^{s}."*

1515-16. The account of the election feast is still more ample and curious. It commences by stating the company, on 21st of July, to have agreed "wth Tho' Hall, poult^{r}, to find us for our feast in mann^{r} following," and that there was "ther vppon yeuen hym in arrest, j^{di}."

His list specifies, amongst other things, 8 swans, and "Heron's fesannt or bittern." The tallow-chandler was contracted with for "mustard, red and white vinegar, verjuice, oatmeal, candle, fine salt, packthread, lathes, jelly-pots and pans, brooms, and other articles;" most of which now appertain to distinct trades. The baker was to find "trencher bred, spice brede, chete brede, half-peny bred, manchets, and bustard flour." James Williamson was agreed with for "allowance water, and for his wif to kepe the scolery, and to fynd clewts (napkins) to wipe the vessel themself." William Crown, the principal cook, engaged to find "all other und^{r} cooks and torn-broches, and to have for his wag^{s}, xxx^{s}., and we to fynd erbys and water, and a scolyon to wash the vessell; and we must fynd ij. ells of fyn cloth to the cook for his gely clothes." The "*mylk wif*" provided "xl. gallon curds, at 1^{ndy} ob., iiij. gallons milk at iiij^{d}.; iij. potels whete, at iij^{d}.; and j. potell creme, for pudding, at j^{d}.;" and the "*erbe wyf*—sel^{r}ey roots, at vj^{d}.;" besides which she received for "fenel and p^{r}cely (parsley), iij^{d}.; rosemary and tyme, iiij^{d}.; and onyons, iij^{d}."

The regular bill of fare for all the "boards" is given. The high board, and "lady's chief borde," have been just described: the provisions for the livery tables included "4 sirloins of beef throughout the ox," each whereof cost 4 marks; 6 sheep, at 2*s*. 4*d*. each; and a calf, or "veal," as it is called, at 3*s*. 8*d*.; being at the rate of three half-pence per lb.

The arrangement of the tables, the names of the guests invited, and the list of plate, napery, and other things used, occupy four folio pages.

* An earlier entry, however, is one of the preceding year (1520), in which 13*s*. is charged as the payment "to Glee and his *company*, for ij. playes, for Monday and Tuesday." *Players*, as we have just seen, are mentioned in 6 Henry IV. In 1481 also the wardens, in closing their accounts, ask allowance "of vj^{s}. viij^{d}. for the mayre's messe, mynstrailles, and players;" but they are not mentioned as companies under a particular management before 1520 and 1521.

The tables were thus arranged:

First, the chief table in the hall, 6 messes; the two side tables, 20 messes; the chief table in the ladies' chamber, 5 messes; the second table in the ladies' chamber, 4 messes; "the chequer-chamber for maydens, 4 messes;" the master and wardens, a mess; the clerk and his household, a mess; "the players and mynstrails, ij. messes." The poor almsmen "severally their rewards."

The guests of eminence, with strangers, consisted of 78 persons: 44 men, and 34 women. Amongst them were:—

Sir William Butler, lord mayor.

Sir Thomas Neville, knight; "Mr. Westby, one of the barons of the exchequer; Sir Richard Haddon, knight; Sir Stephen Germayne, knight; Sir Lawrence Aylmer, knight; Sir Robert Dymock, knight; Mr. Cholmley, lieutenant of the Tower." Aldermen: Achilly and Monnoux; Sir Gyles Capell; Messrs. Brugge, Milborn, Yarford, Baldry, and Allen (all of them afterwards lord mayors); the sheriffs of London and Middlesex; the city chamberlain; the recorder; the common serjeant; the town clerk ("Mr. Pavys"). And of ecclesiastics, the lord bishop of Carlisle; "my lord of St. John's;" "the master of St. Thomas Acons;" the priors of Christ church, Merton, and St. Mary Overy; the master of St. Laurence Pountney. Ladies: "my lady Mayoress, d'na Capell, cu' filiabz, my lady Hariott, my lady Aylmer, my lady Achilly, my lady Monnoux, my lady Fenkyll," Mesdames Brugge, Milborn, the two sheriffs' ladies, "the wardenesses," and, not to be forgotten, the well-known antiquary, "Mr. Leland."

The plate delivered in for the tables, by Mr. Grenaway and Mr. Swythen, included

"2 pots, gilt; 2 pots, parcel gilt; 16 standing cups with covers, gilt; 6 basins; 6 ewers; 4 principal salts, gilt, one with a cover; 6 other salts, parcel gilt; 1 doz^{n} and a half of gilt spoons; 1 doz^{n} of white do., with gilt knobs; 16 doz^{n} and a half of spoons, white; 18 bowls, and 3 ewers, gilt; a chaste (chased) bowl, gilt; a nutt with a cover, gilt; a standing gilt cup with a cover, (broken); a little pigot with a cover; and a standing cup and cover, gilt, from Mr. Swillyngton."

Drapers' Hall in *Throgmorton street* was purchased after a lengthened negotiation, of Henry VIII., in 1541, to whom it had become forfeited by the attainder of Cromwell, earl of

Essex, and who had previously resided there.* It is thus described at the time of the purchase:

"The Lord Cromwell's House,

"*Contayneth the rowmes followyng:*

"*Imprimis:* A fayre *grete gate;* a fayre *yard,* paved; a fayre *low gallery,* on the north side of the yard; a grete *wyndyng steyr,* with bay glass windows leading into the hall. It'm, over that steyr *fayre leads.* It'm, a fayre *hall,* wth ij bay wyndowes and clere stories, wth a *butterye,* a *pantrye,* and a *seller* for wyne, ale, and bere to the same. It'm, a *dark chamber,* wth lattes wyndowes over the said butterye and pantrye to look down into the hall. It'm, a fayre *grete* prlor (parlour), with bay glass windowes, and a fayre chimney. It'm, a *butterye* with a clere story belonging to the same, and a *jewell hous* wthin the said butterye. It'm, a fayre *kitchyn* wth ij grete chymnies, dressing boards, a grete cestern of led, wth conduite water coming ther unto, and ij clere stories. It'm, a *pastry-hous,* wth iij fayre ovens, mouldyng boards and shelves, and a clere story. It'm, a *scullery hous,* wth a chymney and a clere story. It'm, ij *larder houses,* wth clere stories. It'm, a *cole hous.* It'm, a *wyndeing sters,* from the kytchyn into the hall, and over the same fayre *leads.* It'm, on the est syde of the greate gate, ij *low chambers,* the one wth a chymney and an office to wayte in, and iij clere stories, the other wth a clere storye under the pantrye. It'm, in the ijnd story, a fayre *chamber for the ladies,* seeled and matted, wth a chymney. It'm, in the iijd story, iij *lytle*

* Stow, describing the Augustine Friar's church adjoining, states there to have been built at its west end, "many feyre houses, namely, in Throgmorton streete;" and, among the rest, "one very large and spacious," builded, he says, "in place of olde and small tenements by *Thomas Cromwell,* maister of the kinge's jewell house, after that maister of the rolls, then Lord *Cromwell,* knight, Lord Privie Seale, Vicker Generall, Earle of Essex, high Chamberlaine of England, &c.;" and he then tells the following story respecting it:

"This house being finished, and having some reasonable plot of ground left for a garden, hee caused the pales of the gardens adjoining to the north parte thereof, on a sodaine to bee taken downe, 22 foote to be measured forth right into the north of every man's ground, a line there to bee drawne, a trench to be cast, a foundation laid, and a high bricke wall to be builded. My father had a garden there, and an house standing close to his south pale; this house they loosed from the ground, and bare vpon rollers into my father's garden, 22 foot, ere my father heard thereof, no warning was given him, nor other answere when hee spoke to the surveyors of that worke, but that their mayster, Sir *Thomas,* commanded them so to doe; no man durst go to argue the matter, but each man lost his land, and my father payde his whole rent, whiche was vjs. viijd. the yeare, for that halfe which was left. Thus much of mine owne knowledge have I thought good to note, that the sodaine rising of some men, causeth them to forget themselves."—Survaie of London (1598), 181.

chambers, w^th^ bay wyndowes, and one chymney. It'^m^, a *garret* over them. It'^m^, under the grete stayr, a *lytle dark roome*. It'^m^, under the greate p^r^lo^r^ (parlour), a fayre *cellar*, paved for wyne or ayle. It'^m^, the *great garden* and an *entrye* therto."

From the above description we may form a tolerable idea of the interior of Cromwell's house at its purchase by the drapers. Of the outside, we have no memorial but the rude delineation of Ralph Aggas, which we give below, together with an attempt to shew from it, what would probably have been the appearance of that, and of the contiguous buildings if better drawn.

ANCIENT DRAPERS' HALL.

The company bought, as appurtenances to Cromwell's mansion, " the cistern, conduit water, silyngs, portals, cupboards, presses, tables, tressells, formes, benches, shelves, testers, bread-bins, awlmers, locks, keys, and glass windowes, together with the bars and chains of iron for the gates, doors, and wicketts."

There was granted also, in addition to the conduit, " the old way, through which men, hors, wayn, and cart, dyd free passe and repasse to and fro', and iij or iiij tenements set and

beyng against the west p'te (part) of the church-yarde of the late dyssolved monastry of the *Augustynes*, before that the said ten[ts] were closed into the said place, or the street-door thereof stopped upp. To the ende and intent that nether the comodytye of the sayd wat[r] should be plucked or stopped away, nor that the said lane or way should be other wyse dybarred or alteryd than in *tymes past*, but to remayne, so that the inhabitants that might dwell in the sayd ten[ts] should at all tymes lawfully have free passe and repasse, for man, hors, weyne, and cart, through the seyd way or lane."*

The company took possession of their new hall, 19 July, 1541, and kept their first court, 7th August, as per the following entries:

19th July, 1541 (34 Henry VIII.), "Mr. Roche, Mr. Blower, and Mr. Chest, took possession of our great place, by the late dissolved monastry of Frere Augustynes, in the presence of Sir Edward North, then treasurer of the king's honourable court of augmentations, for, and in the name of the m[r] wardens and brethern and sustern of the gild or fraternytie of o[r] blessed lady of drapers of London."

"*The first assembly at our new hall.*"

7th August (same year), "After even song, the livery, by the consent of the m[r] wardens and the counsell, assembled at the late earl of Essex's place, and from thence went to Mr. Rochard's obit and mass, and kept their potacion at the said place; and on the 10th day of the same month, the said wardens began to keep their first court day at the said place."

Drapers' garden, as it existed near the time of this purchase, is mentioned in several subsequent entries. The reader, acquainted with the beautiful way in which this fine plot is now kept, will

* Stow describes the way or lane here mentioned, and its history, in the following terms:

"Then east from the Currier's row, is a long and high wall of stone, inclosing the north side of a large garden adjoyning to as large an house, builded in the reign of king *Henrie* the eight, and of *Edward* the sixt, by Sir *Wm. Powlet*, Lord Treasurer of England: Through this garden, which of olde time consisted of diverse parts, now vnited, was sometimes a faire foote way, leading to the west end of the Augustine Friar's church, straight north, and opened somewhat west from Allhallowes church, against London wall, towards Moregate, which foote way had gates at either end, locked vp every night, but now the same way being taken into those gardens, the gates are closed vp with stone, whereby the people are forced to go about by Saint Peter's church, and the east end of the said Fryer's churche, and all the saide great place and garden of Sir *William Powlet* to London wall, and so to Moregate."—(Survaie of London, 177.)

N.B. The above "faire foote way" was afterwards opened, and forms the *present passage* leading from the east end of Throgmorton street, through Austin Friars, to Great Winchester street,—but there is no longer "free passe and repasse for hors, weyne, and cart," as before Stow's mention.

smile to find orders at the above date, against drying "*linen and woollen cloths*" in it, (unless by the heads of the company, who being then working drapers had that liberty.) It must certainly have been a most elegible spot for the purpose, if we recollect that the country then lay open in its rear, nearly all the way to Hampstead and Highgate.

This garden appears to have first become an object of especial notice with the company, about ten years after their purchase; for in 1551, (April 4,) the gardener, Robert Ratford, having complained,

"That by drying of naperye clothes in the Drap^{rs} garden, the knotts and borders of erbys (herbs) therein were destroyed;" the court made an order.

"That henceforth no mann^{r} of person shall drye nor bleach their naperye in the sayde gardeyne, to whom soev^{r} they belonge, except such naperye as app^{r}tains to the fellows^{p}."

The abating of this nuisance, and the peculiarly fine situation of this promenade, then affording uninterrupted views, as just stated, of the outstretched landscape on the north, seem to have soon made it a favourite with the neighbourhood. Early in the September following, the privy council request permission "for a key to ou^{r} grete garden dore," to be allowed "to my lord ambassador from France," and who then occupied "my Lady Roche's house, in Austyn Friars," which the company agreed to, on condition of his steward being at the expense of having such key made. Other persons, near the same time, offer to pay a rent for the like privilege.—"John Cease, cloth-worker, is charged £3 a year "to be admitted to ou^{r} garden."

15 September, four additional keys are ordered to be made to the garden middle door, and the "three keys of the garden doors and of the gallery door to be tied together, and the gardiner to leave them at the clerk's house; to the intent that the assistants may be let in at all times, whensoeu^{r} the gardin^{r} is absent; and he, at his departure, to shut all the dores, and leave again the keys at the clerk's house."

A few of the additional orders will give us a sufficient idea of the ancient state of the Drapers' garden. The following occur, 25 November, 1552:

1. "That no man drye any lynnen or woll^{n} save onelye as hathe byn wardeyns."

2. "The gardyner to have a byll of all such p^{r}sons as hathe byn m^{r} wardeyns, for hym to knowe one from another."

3. "The gardyner to suffer no stranngers to *bowle*, in case there be any of the company dysposed to bowle in the place: neither to take *erbys* nor *fruite*."

4. "The gardyner to geve attention on holly (holy) days, for suche as comyth of the company to the gardyne."

5. "That no keys be suffryd to the gardeyn dore but suche as shalle be admytted by the m^{r} and wardeyns and assistents; but the ald^{r}men to have keys."

6. The m^{r} and wardeyns to have the fruite, flowers, and erbes, for their yere."

The fire of London stopped at Drapers' hall, to the northwards, but was nearly as disastrous in its effects as to those in the heart of the city. On their court assembling, 10 September, 1666, to consult on what was to be done, they find

"That the hall, parlour, and other buildings belonging thereunto, wherein was the clerk's habitation, was all consumed to ashes by the late lamentable and dismal fire: that the service of the company required the clerk to inhabit in or near the garden, where their writings and concerns were, and their business must then be transacted; and they, in consequence, agree "that the house in the garden, now much prejudiced and defaced, being partly pulled down for prevention of taking fire, shall be forthwith repaired, and then bee for the habitation of the said clerk vntil the company can more conveniently accommodate him in that kind; and that a house in Beech lane, now empty, which went at £9 per annum, shall be for the dwelling house of Mr. Miners, the beadle, who, till the fire, dwelt in the said garden house."

A committee was afterwards formed, to meet weekly, to take order for repairing the garden-house, securing the garden, and the bricks and materials left *where the hall stood.* Sums were also ordered to be paid as rewards to the beadle, and others, who had been active in saving the company's property from the fire, by removing it from the hall to the garden, and "watching it ther for seaven days and nights."

On the 25th of the ensuing October, the court learning that the renter warden was deficient in £446 of the company's money, which he had left in a till or cupboard in the book-house or treasury, and which had fallen into the fire "when the hall was burned;" and that part had been found, but so defaced as not to be current, and the rest supposed to lay "melted in the rubbish, and, as it was feared, the greater part of it likely to be lost,"—exonerated him from the repayment thereof, and ordered that what

part might be recovered should be refined by a silversmith. They, at the same meeting, further ordered that the company's *plate*, which had been put "into a mouth or well of the common sewer in the garden for its preservation," should be forthwith taken up and secured.

At their next assembly, the court ordered all their charities to be paid, notwithstanding the fire.

Sir Robert Clayton (then "Mr. Rob^{t}. Clayton, gent.") and Mr. Morris, having afterwards offered the court the use of "a large room on the second floor of their house in Austin Friars, abutting eastward upon our garden, as also to take charge of our trunks and plate," on condition that they were allowed to make a doorway into the said company's garden, and to walk therein "during pleasure;" the court accepted their offer.

The model for a new hall was submitted to the court, on the 1st of November, 1667, by Mr. Jarman, (the architect of Fishmongers' Hall,) and which embraced a dining hall, to be erected above-stairs, "and where our late hall stood, with enlargement in length and breadth, wth a parlour adjoyning, and other convenient rooms and accommodations:" and the same being approved of, workmen were immediately ordered to be employed, and the building was completed shortly afterwards. It had a very narrow escape in 1774 from a fire, which broke out in the vaults beneath the hall, (let out as a store-cellar,) and destroyed a considerable part of the building, together with a number of houses on the west side of Austin Friars.

The present Drapers' hall is Mr. Jarman's structure, but altered, and partly rebuilt, on account of this second calamity. It principally consists of a spacious quadrangle, surrounded by a fine piazza or ambulatory of arches, supported by columns, with rich ornaments in the angles. The garden spoken of, greatly improves the hall, which, from this appendage, and its own elegance, might be readily supposed the mansion of a person of high rank.

The buildings of the interior are of fine red brick, but the front and entrance, in Throgmorton street, are of a yellow sort: both interior and exterior are highly enriched with stone ornaments. Over the gateway is a large sculpture of the Drapers' arms, a cornice and frèze, the latter displaying lions' heads, rams' heads, etc. in small circles, and various other architectural decorations. This front was rebuilt after the fire of 1774.

The hall, properly so called, occupies the eastern side of the quadrangle, the ascent being by a noble stone staircase, coved,

highly embellished by stucco work, gilding, etc. and, in a niche, by a well executed white marble bust of his late majesty. The stately skreen of this magnificent apartment is curiously decorated with carved pillars, pilasters, arches, etc. The ceiling is divided into numerous compartments, chiefly circular, displaying, in the centre, Phæton in his car, and round him the signs of the zodiac, and various other enrichments. In the wainscotting is a neat recess with shelves, whereon the company's plate, which, both for quality and workmanship, is of great value, is displayed at their feasts. Above the skreen, at the end opposite the master's chair, is a portrait of Lord Nelson, by Sir William Beechy, for which the company paid 400 guineas, together with the curious portrait of Fitz Alwin, already mentioned. The latter is a half-length, and well known by the prints from it, which, however, omit the inscription, detailing the circumstance of his having been the first lord mayor of London, the great number of years he held office, and other particulars. In denominating this portrait *curious*, we give as high praise as can be afforded it. Oil painting (according to Lord Orford's researches,) was totally unknown in England in Fitz Alwin's time, and this is an oil painting; the style of dress, and its execution as a work of art, are also too modern. Possibly it might have been copied from some more ancient authority.

In the gallery, between the hall and the livery room, are full-length portraits of the English sovereigns, from William III. to George III., together with a full-length of the late king, George IV., by Lawrence, and the celebrated picture of Mary, Queen of Scots, and her son James I., by Zuchero. The portrait of the latter king is a fine specimen of the master, and said to have cost the company between £600 and £700. It has a fault, however, observable in other portraits of this monarch, that of the likeness being extraordinarily flattered. If it was not uncourteous so to say, we should call it George IV., with the face of the Prince of Wales. Respecting the portrait of Mary and her son, there has been much discussion. Its genuineness has been doubted, from the circumstance of James having been only a twelvemonth old when this picture is thought to have been painted, and his being here represented of the age of four or five; but the anachronism might have arisen from the whole being a composition of the artist, executed not from the life, but from other authorities furnished to him. It was cleaned and copied by Spiridione Roma, for Boydell's print, who took off a mask of dirt from it, and is cer-

tainly a very interesting picture. This room is also wainscotted, and fitted up with great elegance.

The court-room adjoins the hall, and forms the north side of the quadrangle. It is wainscotted, and elegantly fitted up like the last. The fire-place is very handsome; and has over the centre a small oblong compartment in white marble, with a representation of the company receiving their charter. The ceiling is stuccoed, somewhat similarly to the hall, with various subjects allusive to the drapers' trade, and to the heraldic bearings of the company. Both the (dining) hall and this apartment were also rebuilt after the fire in 1774.

The gallery leads to the ladies' chamber and livery-room. In the former, balls, etc. are occasionally held, and this also is a very elegant room. The livery-room is a fine lofty apartment, and next in size to the hall. Here are portraits of Sir Joseph Sheldon, lord mayor 1677, by Gerard Soest; and a three-quarter length of Sir Robert Clayton, by Kneller, 1680, seated in a chair, a great benefactor to Christ's hospital, and to that of St. Thomas, in Southwark; and two benefactors,—Sir William Boreman, an officer of the Board of Green Cloth in the reigns of Charles I. and Charles II., who endowed a free-school at Greenwich; and Henry Dixon, of Enfield, who left land in that parish for apprenticing boys of the same parish, and giving a sum to such as were bound to freemen of London at the end of their apprenticeship. Here is also a fine portrait of Mr. Smith, late clerk of the company; (three-quarters) a smaller portrait of Thomas Bagshew, who died in 1794, having been beadle to the company forty years, and who, for his long and faithful services, is stated to be thus honoured. The windows of the livery-room overlook the private garden, in the midst of which is a small basin of water, with a fountain and statue. The large garden which adjoins to this is constantly opened to the public from morning till night, excepting Saturdays, Sundays, and the company's festival days. This is a pleasant and extensive plot of ground, neatly laid out with gravelled walks, a grass-plot, flowering shrubs, lime trees, pavilions, &c. Beneath the ladies' chamber is the *record-room*, which is constructed of stone and iron, and made fire-proof, for the more effectually securing of the company's archives, books, plate, etc.

"GIFTS AND CHARITIES INTRUSTED WITH THE WORSHIPFUL COMPANY OF DRAPERS OF LONDON.*

Free Schools, Almshouses, Hospitals, Lectures, &c.	*By whom founded, endowed, or augmented.*	*Benefactors' Names.*	
FREE SCHOOLS.			
A school at Barton under Needwood, in Staffordshire.	Mr. Thomas Russel, anno 1596.		
Another at Stratford le Bow.	Sir John Jolls, anno 1620.	Lady Branch.	Ralph Kemp.
Another at Worsborough, in Yorkshire.	Mr. John Rayney, anno 1631.	Sir Ric. Champion.	Hugh Johnson.
At Kirkham one, and at Goosnargh another; both in Lancashire.	Mr. Henry Colbron, anno 1673.	Lady Champion.	*Sir John Jolls.
Another at Greenwich.	Sir Will. Boreman, anno 1673.	Humphrey Chaffin.	Lady Mary Ramsey.
		And. Chamberlain.	Ralph Rookby.
		Richard Champion.	Agnes Smith.
		Sir James Dean.	Lancelot Thompson
		Sir Rich. Goddard.	Nicholas Wheeler.
		*William Lambard, esq.	Robert Wilson.
			Robert Winch.
ALMSHOUSES.		—— Osborne.	*Sir John Milbourne.
One at Tower hill.	Sir John Milbourn, anno 1522.	William Parker.	Lady Baily.
		Catherine Prat.	—— Stoker.
Another at Beach lane	Lady Ascue.	John Quarles.	*Lady Ascue.
Another at Greenwich.	W. Lambard, esq. anno 1597.	*Thomas Russel.	Peter Bludel.
		John Skeete.	Henry Butler.
Another at Stratford le Bow.	Sir John Jolls, anno 1620.	Henry Smith.	William Cawley.
		John Sandbrooke.	*Thomas Howel.
Another at Shoreditch.	Mr. John Walter, 1650.	Cleophas Smith.	*William Dumer.
Another at St. George's Fields.		John Sanderson.	*Robert Buck.
		John Tatton.	*John Rainy.
Another at St. Mary, Newington.		Wm. Thoroughgood	*John Kendrick.
		*Sir Tho. Adams.	*Sir Tho. Cullum.
Another at Mile-end.	Mr. John Powel, anno 1698.	Giles Blomer.	*Christopher Clark.
		Owen Clonn.	*Henry Colbron.
		Francis Clark.	*John Pounell.
HOSPITAL.		Sir Alan Cotton.	—— Hubbens, alias Weaver.
		William Cotton.	
One at Wockingham, alias Okingham, in Berks.	Mr. John Lucas, anno 1665.	Roger Cotton.	*John Walter.
		Sir George Garret.	*John Lucas.
		Alderman John Heydon.	*Sir Wm. Boreman.
LECTURES.		Martin Hall.	*Theophilus Ryley.
One at St. Michael's, Cornhill, on Sunday mornings.	Mr. John Rainey, anno 1631.	Henry Jay.	*John Edmondson.
		Sir Edw. Barkham.	*Henry Dixon.
Another at St. Christopher's, behind the Exchange.	Mr. Kendrick, anno 1627.	Those marked with the (*) before their names gave upwards of £500.	
An Arabic lecture, at Cambridge.	Sir Thomas Adams, anno 1666.		
EXHIBITIONS.			
One for a scholar, at Cambridge.			
Another for a scholar, at Oxford.			

The Sum of all the Charitable Donations expended yearly by this Company amounteth to about £2000.

Drawn by Mr. Peter Sterry, *late clerk of the above-mentioned Company.*"

* From Strype's Stow, (1720) II-58.

A.D. 1364, an. 38 Edw. III., claus. 38 Edw. III. iii. 12 ch. in Turr. Lond.

Le Roi, au meir et viscontz de Loundres, Saluz, come, entre autres choses ordeinez au notre darrein parlement, si estoit pur certeines causes purposees au mesme le parlement ordeine, que nul marchant Engleis ne use merces ne merchandie par lui, ne par autre, par nul manere de covine, forsque un soulement quele il vorroit esclire devant la feste de la Chandeleure darrein passe, come en les dites ordinances est contenez plus au plein:*

Et ja soit monstre a nous et a notre conseil, que gentz de diverses mestieres de la citee de Londres se mellent de *Mestrer de Draperie*, et font diverses deceites et fraudes en l'usage de celle mestier, a grant damage de nous et de notre poeple, et encontre l'ordenance avant dit:

Nous, voillantz les dites ordinances estre gardez et meintenuz en touz pointz, si avons par assent des grantz, et autres de notre conseil, ordene et grante que nully ne use le mestier draperie en la citee de Londres, n'en les suburbs dicelle, s'il n'eist este apprentice en ycelle mestier, ou par autre due manere receu par commune assent de meisme le mestier; et que chescun des mestiers des teinturers, tistors, et fullers, se teigne a son mestier propre, et de rien ne se melle de fesure, achate, on de vente, de nulle manere de drap' ne de draperie, sur peine d'emprisonment, et de perdre tout le drap' issint par eux fait, achate ou vendue, ou la value devers nous:

Et que nul que eit drap' a vendre en la dit cite, ou en les suburbs, ne les vende forsque as drapers enfranchiez en la dite mestier de draperie, s'il ne soit en gros as seigneurs, et autres du commune, qi les voillent achater pur lour oeps demesne, et nemie a rataille, sur meisme la peine:

Et que les drapers enfraunchiez en la mestier de draperie en la dite cite,

The King, to the mayor and sheriffs of London, greeting: Whereas, amongst other things ordained in our last parliament, it was for certain causes proposed, and in the same parliament ordained, that no English merchant should use merceries or merchandizes by himself or another by any manner of covine, unless one only, and which he should choose before the feast of Candlemas last past, as in the said ordinances is more fully contained.*

And whereas it has been shown to us and to our council, that people of divers mysteries of the city of London intermix themselves with the *Mystery of Drapery*, and cause divers deceits and frauds in the use of the same mystery,—to the great damage of us and of our people, and contrary to the ordinances aforesaid.

We, willing the said ordinances should be kept and maintained in all points, accordingly have, by the assent of the great and others of our council, ordained and granted, that none shall use the Mystery of Drapery in the city of London, nor in the suburbs of the same, unless he has been apprenticed in the same mystery, or in other due manner been admitted by the common assent of the same mystery. And that each of the mysteries of tenterers, tisters, and fullers, keep himself to his own mystery, and in no way meddle with the making, buying, or selling of any manner with cloth or drapery, on pain of imprisonment and loss of all the cloth so by them made, bought, or sold, or the value thereof to us.

And that none who has cloth to sell in the said city, or in the suburbs, do sell the same unless to drapers enfranchised in the said mystery of drapery, or that it be in gross to the lords and others of the commons, who will buy the same for themselves or servants by retail, under the same penalty.

And that the drapers enfranchised in the mystery of drapery in the said city,

* The fuller explanation referred to, of this charter, is omitted here, having already been given, from the original charter in possession of the company. The copy of it, as above, is from the recital in the mandate, commanding the publication of it by the sheriffs of London. See *ante*, pp. 390-1, 399, 400, 425.

puissent esclire chescun an qatre de lour mestier propre, que soient jurrez deux foitz par an, en presence du maire, de surveer que nul defaute ne deceit soit useene fait en les mestiers avantditz; et de reuler et governez le dit mestier de draperie en meisme le cite, au commune profit du poeple, et de due punissement ent fait de ceux, en queux defaute sera trove, solone l'avis et discretion des dites quatre persones, et par l'eide du mair et de viscontz quant il enbusoignera; les queux mair et viscontz nous volons q'ils soient entendantz as ditz quatre persones, quant ils serront par eux a ce requis:

Et volons auxint et donons poiar as ditz quatre persones, qi serront esluz et jurez de prendre serement de touz ceux, qi serront receux au dit mestier de draperie en mesme la citee, de user et faire ce q'appartient a mesme la mestier, obien et loialment, sanz fraude, mal engyn, ou subtil compassement faire encontre les pointz et ordenances avantditz:

Sauvez touz jours a notre cher en Dieu le priour de Seint Barthelemeu in Smythfeld', et autres seigneurs q'ont feires en les etitz suburbes, par grantes de noz progenitours et de nous, lour feires, franchises et franches custumes, queux ils ont et useez en lour dites feires, du temps des dites grantes, encea as queux par colour de ceste notre ordinance et grant nous ne volons damage, ne prejudice estre fait en aucune manere; et sauvez les franchises par nous grantez as marchantz vyneters d'Engleterre et de Gascoigne, queux nous volons demorez en lour force en touz pointz, si come en noz lettres patentes as ditz drapers ent faitz, est contenuz plus au plein:

Purquoi vous mandons, et fermement enjoignantz, que maintenant a vot^res costes, vos facez crier et publier en les dites citee et suburbes, et lieux ou vous virez q'il soit affaire, toutes les dites choses issint par nous grantez, et fermement garder et tenir, en la forme susdite:

Et ce ne lassez en nulle manere.

Done a Westm' le xiv. jour de Juyl.

may elect each year four of their own mystery, who may be sworn twice a year in the presence of the mayor, to oversee that no default or deceit be used or committed in the mystery aforesaid; and to rule and govern the said mystery of drapery in the same city, to the common profit of the people, and that due punishment be done on them in whom defaults shall be found, according to the advice and discretion of the said four persons, by the aid of the mayor and sheriffs when need is; the which mayor and sheriffs we will shall be intendants to the said four persons, when they shall be required by them.

And we also will and give power to the said four persons who may be elected and sworn, to take an oath of all those who shall be received into the said mystery of drapery in the same city, to use and do whatever appertains to the same mystery well and lawfully, without fraud, evil design, or subtle management against the points and ordinances aforesaid.

Saving always to our beloved in God the prior of St. Bartholomew, in Smithfield, and other lords who have fairs in the said suburbs by grant of our progenitors, their fairs, franchises, and free-customs, which they have exercised in their said fairs, from the time of the said grants, so that no damage or prejudice shall be done to them in any way under colour of this our ordinance and grant; and saving the franchises by us granted to the merchants, vintners of England and Gascoigny, which we will shall remain in force in all points in manner as in our letters patent to the said drapers is more fully contained.

Wherefore we command and firmly enjoin you forthwith that at your peril you cause to be proclaimed and published in the said city and suburbs, and all places where it should be done, that all the said things so by us granted may be firmly held and kept in form aforesaid.

And hereof in no manner fail.

Given at Westminster the 14th day of July.

Prima pars Confirmac'one de Anno R. Re-Elizabeth secundo.

* * * *firma'coe p^ro Ho'ibz* *** *Parmarior^m London.*

REGINA: Om'ibz ad quos, &c. Salt'm. Inspexim^s L'ras Patentes D'nor^um Phi' & Marie nup^r Reg'^s & Regine Angl' de Confirmac'oe fact' in hec verba Philippus & Maria Dei Gra' Rex & Regina Angl' Hispaniar^um Franc' Utriusq' Sicilie Jer'lm & Hib'nie Fidei Defensores Archiduces Austrie Duces Burgundie Mediolani & Brabancie Comites Haspurgi Flandrie & Tirolis. Om'ibz ad quos p^rsentes L're p'ven^rint. Salt'm Inspexim^s L'ras Patentes D'ni Edwardi nup^r Regis Angl' Quarti p^rogenitoris nr'i de Confirmac'oe f'cas in hec verba Edwardus Dei Gra' Rex Angl' & Franc' & D'ns Hib'nie. Om'ibz ad quos p^rsentes L're p'ven^rint. Salt'm, Inspexim L'ras Patentes H. Sexti nup^r de f'co & non de jure Regis Angl' f'c'as in hec verba Henr' Dei Gra' Rex Angl' & Francie & D'ns Hib'nie Om'ibz ad quos p^rsentes L're p'ven^rint Salt'm Sciatis q'd de Gra' n'ra sp'ial^l & caritatis intuitu ac ob sp'ialem devoc'o'em quam ad gloriosam Dei genitricem & Virginem Mariam n're mentis intuitu gerim^s & h'em^s Concessim^s p^ro nob' hered' & successoribz n'ris quantum in nob' est dil'c'is ligeis n'ris hominibz Mistere Pannarior^m infra Civitatem n'ram London q'd ip'i in Civitate p^rd'ca unam Gildam sive Fraternitatem in Honore B'e Marie Virginis de Ho'ibz Mistere p^rdc'e & alijs unire fundare creare erigere & stabilire & Gildam siveqz Frat^rnitatem illam sic unitam fundat' creatam erectam & stabilitam h'ere & tenere eandemq' gandere possint sibi successoribz suis p^rpetuis futuris temporibz duratur'. Et q'd ip'i eandem Gildam sive Frat^rnit' angere & augmentare valcant quociens & quando eis videbit^r necessarium & oportum. Et q'd Ho'ies Gilde sive Frat^rnitatis illius quol't anno eligere & fac^re possint de seip'is unu' Magr'm & quatuor Custodes qui tempore elecco'is eor^um fu^rint Pannarij & lib'i Ho'ies Civitatis p^rdc'e ad supportand' onera negocior^um tam Misteram p^rdc'am q'm Gildam sive Frat^rnitat' illam tangen' & conc;nen' necnon ad supportand' regend & gub'nand' easdem Misteram Gildam & Frat^rnitatem & om'es ho'ies & negocia eor^um d'c'm imp^rp'm. Et q'd d'c'i Mag'r' & Custodes ac Fratres & Sorores Gilde sive Frat^rnitatis p^rdc'e

First part of Confirmations of the second year of the reign of Queen Elizabeth.

[*Con*]*firmation for the men of the Mystery* [*of the*] *Drapers of London.*

THE QUEEN: To all to whom, &c. Greeting. We have seen the Letters patent of confirmation of the lords Philip and Mary, late King and Queen of England, made in these words: Philip and Mary, by the grace of God, King and Queen of England, Spain, France, both the Sicilies, Jerusalem, and Ireland, defenders of the faith, &c.: To all to whom these present Letters may come, Greeting. We have seen the Letters patent of confirmation of the lord Edward, late King of England, the Fourth, our progenitor, made in these words: Edward, by the grace of God, King of England and France, and lord of Ireland: To all to whom these present Letters may come, Greeting. We have seen the Letters patent of Henry the Sixth, late, in fact, and not of right, King of England, made in these words: Henry, by the grace of God, King of England and France, and lord of Ireland: To all to whom these present Letters may come, Greeting. Know ye that of our special grace and charitable intent, and on account of the especial devotion which we bear in mind, and have to the glorious mother of God and Virgin Mary, have granted for us, our heirs, and successors, as much as in us lies to our well beloved liegemen of the Mystery of Drapers within our City of London, that they, in the City aforesaid, one gild or fraternity, in honour of the blessed Virgin Mary, from among the men of the Mystery, aforesaid, and others, may unite, found, create, erect, and establish, and such gild or fraternity so united, founded, created, erected, and established, may have and hold, and the same enjoy, to them and their perpetual successors, to remain to all future times. And that they, the same gild or fraternity, may be enabled to increase and augment, so often, and when to them it shall seem necessary and fit. And that the men of such gild or fraternity, in every year, may elect and make, from among themselves, one master and four wardens, who, at the time of their election, shall be Drapers and freemen of the city aforesaid, to support the burthen of business, as well

sint in re & no'ie unu' Corpus & una Com'unitas p^rpetua he'antqz successionem p_rpetuam & Co'e Sigillum p^ro negocijs tam Mistere p^rdce q'm Gilde & Frat^rnitat' p^rdcar^m s^rvit^r. Et q'd ip'i & successores sui imp^rp'm sint p^rsone habiles & capaces in Lege ad p^rquirend' in feodo & p^rpetuitate T^rias Ten' Reddit' & alias Possessiones quascunq' de quibuscunq' p_rsonis. Et q'd ijdem Mag'r' & Custodes & eor^um successores imp^rp'm p^r nomen Mag'ri & Custodum Gilde sivè Frat^rnitatis Be' Marie Pannarior^m London pl'itare possint & impli'tari coram quibuscunq' Judicibz in Cur' & accor'bz quibuscunq' In cujus rei testimoniu' has t'ras n'ras fieri fecim^s Patentes T' me ip'o apud Werwik Tricesimo die Novembr' anno r' n^ri decimo septimo Jamq' ex parte dil'cor^m ligeor^m nror^m Henr' Waver militio nu'c Mag'ri & Thome Eure Thome Salle Johi's Brokeford & Willi' White nunc Custodum Gilde sive Frat_rnitatis p^rdc'e nob' est humilit' supplicat' ut cum ip'i p^ro exhibic'oe & sustentac'oe duor^m Capellanor^m p^ro bono statu n'ro ac p^rdilectissime Consortis n're Elizabeth' Regine Angl' & sano regimine Gilde sive Frat^rnitatis p^rdc'e ac p^ro bono & salubri sanitate Fr'm & Soror^m ejusdem dum vixe^rim^s necnon p^ro animabz n'ris cum ab hac luce mig^rav^im^s & p^ro animabz illustrissimi Principis Ric'i nup^r Ducis Ebor^m P'ris n'ri Edmundi nup^r Comitis Rotel' fr'is n'ri ac nup^r carissimi Consanguinei n'ri Ricardi nup^r Comitis Sar^um & nup^r dilc'i & fidelis Consanguinei n'ri Thome Nevill Militis fil' ejusdem Comitis Sar^m. Aceciam p^ro a'i'abz Fr'm & Soror^m Gilde sive frat^rnitate illius defunctor^m exoratur' & divina celebrat' T^rre Ten' & Reddit' ac alias possessiones in forma subsequenti he'nd licencia n'ra mediante p^r quirere affectent & disponant^r Velim^s sibi in hac parte munificenciam n'ram Regiam gr'ose exhibere Nos hujusmodi sanam affecco'em & piam disposico'em merito contemplantes cupientesq' hujusmodi laudabile p^ropositum multum & sperams Deo gratum quantum ad nos attinet felicit^r p^romoveri de Gra' n'ra sp'iali

the mystery aforesaid as such gild or fraternity touching and concerning, as also to support, rule, and govern the same mystery, gild, and fraternity, and all the men and their business for ever. And that the said master and wardens, as well as brothers and sisters of the gild or fraternity aforesaid, may be in matter and name one body, and one perpetual community, and may have a perpetual succession, and a common seal for the business, as well of the mystery aforesaid, as of the gild and fraternity aforesaid, to serve. And that they and their successors, for ever, may be fit persons, and capable in law to purchase in fee and perpetuity, lands, tenements, rents, and other possessions whatsoever, and from whomsoever persons. And that the same master and wardens and their successors, for ever, by the name of the master and wardens of the gild or fraternity of the blessed Mary, of the Drapers of London, may plead and be impleaded before whomsoever judges in court, and in whatsoever actions. In witness, &c. Witness, the King, at Warwick, 30th day of November, and in the 17th year of his reign. And whereas, on the part of our beloved Henry Waver, knight, now master, and Thomas Eure, Thomas Salle, John Brokeford, and William White, now wardens of the gild or fraternity aforesaid, it has been humbly supplicated of us,—that forasmuch as they are desirous to provide for the exhibition and sustentation of two chaplains, to pray and celebrate divine offices for the good estate of us and of our dearest consort Elizabeth, Queen of England, and for the wholesome government of the gild or fraternity aforesaid, and the good and perfect health of the brothers and sisters whilst they live; also for our souls when we depart hence, and for the souls of the most illustrious prince Richard, late duke of York, our father. Edmund, late earl of Rutland, our brother, our late dear kinsman, Richard, earl of Salisbury, our late beloved and faithful kinsman, Thomas Neville, knight, (son of the said Richard, earl of Salisbury); also for the souls of all the brothers and sisters of their gild or fraternity, deceased,—they may have our licence in form hereunder, to purchase, acquire, and dispose of lands, tenements, rents, and other possessions: We graciously willing to shew them our princely favor

l'ras p^rdc'as ac o'mia & singula in eisdem contenta rata h'entes & grata ea p^ro nob' & hered' n'ris quantum in nob' est Acceptam^s approbam^s & ratificam^s ac eisdem nunc Mag'ro & Custodibz & successoribz suis tenore p^rsenciu' Concedim^s & Confirmam^s p^rut L're p^rdc'e r'onabilit' testant'. Et ult^ruis de ubiori Gra' n'ra Concessim^s & Licenciam Dedim^s & p^r p^rsentes Concedim^s & Licenciam Dam^s p^ro nob' & hered' n'ris quantum in nob' est p^rfatis nunc Mag'ro & Custodibz q'd ip'i & successores sui T^rras Ten' & Reddit' ac alias Possessiones quascunq' cum p^rtin' ad valore viginti librar^m p^r annu' licet de nob' in Capite seu alit^r & seu de alijs p^rsonis quibuscunq' p^r q'dcunq' S^rviciu' teneant^r ad quibuscunq' sive a quacunq' p^rsona hujusmodi T'^rre Ten' & Reddit' ac alias possessiones cum p^rtin' eis dare & concedere Volentibz seu Volente adquirere & recipe possint H'end' & tenend' eisdem nunc Mag'ro & Custodibz et successoribz suis p^rdc'is imp^rp'm. Et eisdem p^rsonis sive p^rsone Q'd ip'e vel ip'a hujusmodi T'^rras & Ten' & Reddit' ac alias Possessiones cum p^rtin' ac dc'm annuu' valorem p^rfatis nunc Mag'ro & Custodibz & successoribz suis dare possint vel possit ac concedere & assignare H'end' & tenend' sibi ut p^rdc'm est imp^rp'm tenore p^rsenciu' similit^r licenciam Dedim^s sp'alem t'm in exhibico'em & sustentaco'em Capellanor^m p^rd'cor^m sicut p^rdc'm est exo'rat^r & divina celebrat' imp^rp'm q'm alior^m on^rum Gilde sive Frat^rnitati p^rdc'e incumbenciu' absq' impetic'oe vel impedimento n'ri vel hered' n'ror^m Justic' Escaetor^m Vic' Balivor^m seu alior^m Ministror^m n'ror^m vel hered' n'or^m quor^mcunq' & absq' aliquo Br'i de Ad quod dampnu' sive aliquo alio Mandato n'ro vel hered' n'ror^m in hac parte impetrand' seu p^rsequend' & absq' aliqua Inquisic'one inde virtute B'ris sive Mandati hujusmodi capiend' ac absq' aliquo Fine seu Feodo p^ro p^rsentibz ad opus n'rm quovismodo petend' solvend' seu capiend' Statuto de T^rris & Ten' ad

in this behalf, and to reward their loyal and pious disposition, at the same time, that we greatly desire, if happily we may, to advance as much as to us pertains, their laudable, and, we hope, to God acceptable intent; of our especial grace, the letters aforesaid, and all and singular in them contained, have ratified and granted, and for us and our heirs, as much as in us lies, do accept, approve and ratify, and to the same, now master and wardens, and their successors, the tenor of their presents do grant and confirm, as in the Letters aforesaid, is reasonably testified. And, moreover, of the abundance of our grace, we have granted and given licence, and by there presents do grant and give licence, for us and our heirs, as much as in us lies, unto the aforesaid master and wardens, that they and their successors may be able to acquire and receive lands, tenements, rents, and other possessions whatsoever, with their appurtenances, to the value of *twenty pounds* per annum, to be holden of us in chief or otherwise, or of other persons whomsoever, by whatsoever services, and also from whatsoever persons that may be willing to give and grant to them lands, tenements, rents, and other possessions, with their appurtenances. To have and to hold to the same, now master and wardens, and their successors aforesaid, for ever; and that such person or persons, him or them, may be in like manner enabled to grant and assign lands, tenements, rents, and other possessions, with their appurtenances, to the aforesaid, now master and wardens, and their successors, to the same annual value. To have and to hold to them, as aforesaid, for ever, according to the tenor of these presents. And we, in like manner, do give our especial licence, as well in exhibition and maintenance of the chaplains aforesaid, so praying and celebrating divine offices, as aforesaid, for ever, as in aid of the other burthens and incumbrances of the gild or fraternity aforesaid, that the same shall be so held, without let or impediment of us, or our heirs, or the judges, escheators, sheriffs, bailiffs, or other of the ministers of us or our heirs whomsoever, and without any writ of ad quod damnum, or other mandate of us or our heirs in this behalf to be sued or prosecuted, and without any inquisition thereof, by virtue of any writ or mandate in such

Manu' Mortua' non ponend' edit' aut aliquo alio Statuto Actu sive Qrdinac'oe incontrriu' fact' sive ordinat' non obstan' In cujus rei Testimoniu' has l'ras n'ras fieri fecims Patentes T' me ip'o apud Westm' vicesimo sexto die July anno n'ri sexto Nos autem Cartas & Literas prdca's ac o'ia & singula in eisdem contenta rata h'entes & grata ea pro nob' & hered' n'ris d'ce Regine quantum in nob' est Acceptams & approbams ac ea Ric'o Champion nunc Mag'ro ac Aldermanno Civitatis n're London necnon Ric'o Poynter Johi Stocker Johi Dymmoke & Johi Branche Custodibz Mistere Parmariorm prdc'e successoribz suis tenore prsenciu' Ratificams & Confirmams prout Carte & L're prdc'e r'onabilitr in se testantr In cujus rei Testimoniu' has L'ras n'ras fieri fecims Patentes T.' nob' ip'is apud Westm' decimo octavo die Junij Annis r' nri quarto & quinto Nos autem Cartas & L'ras prdc'as ac o'ia & singula in eisdem contenta rata h'entes & grata ea pro nob' hered' & successoribz n'ris quantum in nob' est Acceptams & approbams ac dil'cis nob' nunc Mag'ro & Custodibz Mistere Parmariorm prdict' & successoribz suis tenore prsenciu' Ratificams & Confirmams prout Carte & L're prdc'e r'onabilit' in se testantr. In cujus rei &c. T. R. apud Westm' xij die aprilis anno Sc'do.

Pro octo libris solut' in Hannaprio.

manner to be taken, and without any fine or fee by present to our use, in any manner to be exacted, paid, or taken, the statute of Mortmain, or any other statute, act, or ordinance, made or ordained to the contrary thereof, notwithstanding. In witness, &c. Witness the King at Westminster, the 22d day of July, in the 6th year of his reign. Now we, the Charter and Letters aforesaid, and all and singular in them contained, have ratified and granted, and for us and the heirs of us, the said Queen, as much as in us lies, do accept and approve, and the same Richard Champion, master, and alderman of our City of London; also to Richard Poynter, John Stocker, John Dymoke, and John Branch, wardens of the Mistery of Drapers aforesaid, and their successors, the tenor of these presents do ratify and confirm, as in the Charter and Letter aforesaid, is reasonably witnessed. In witness, &c. Witness the Queen at Westminster, the 18th day of June, in the 4th and 5th year of her reign. Now we, the Charter and Letters aforesaid, and all and singular in them contained, have ratified and granted, and for us, our heirs and successors, as much as in us lies, have accepted and approved, and to our beloved, the now masters and wardens of the Mystery of Drapers aforesaid, and their successors, the tenor of there presents have ratified and confirmed as in the Charter and Letters aforesaid, is reasonably testified. In witness, &c. Witness the Queen at Westminster, the 12th day of April, in the 2d year of her reign.

For £8 paid into the Hanaper.

Quinta pars Paten' de anno R. Rs. Jacobi quarto.

D' Con' sibi & Succ' pro Pannar' Civitat' London.

Rex: Om'ibz ad quos &c. Salt'm Sciatis Q'd Nos ad humilem petic'o'em Liber' Ho'iu' Mister' Pannar' Civitat' London De gra' n'ra sp'ali ac ex crta sciencia & mero motu n'ris Volums Ordinavims Declaravims & Concessims Ac p' Prsentes pro nob' heredibz' & successoribz' n'ris Volums Ordinans Declarams & Concedims Q'd

Fifth part of Patents of the fourth year of the reign of King James.

Of a Grant to them and their successors for the Drapers of the City of London.

The King: To all to whom, &c. Greeting: Know ye that We, at the humble petition of the freemen of the Mystery of Drapers of the City of London, of our especial grace, and of our certain knowledge and mere motion, have willed, ordained, declared, and granted; and by these

Om'es & singuli Lib'i Ho'ies Mister' Pannar' Civitat, London' p^ro^ tempore existen' de ceter' imp^r^p'm p^ro^ melior' Ordine gub'nac'oe & regimine Ho'iu' Mister' Parmarior^m^ Civitat' London ac p^ro^ utilitate com'odo & relevamine Bonor^m^ & p^ro^bor^m^ ac formidine & correcco'e Malor^m^ Dolosor^m^ & Improbor^m^ sint & erunt vigore P^r^senciu' unu' Corpus Corporatum & Politicum in re f'co & no'ie p^r^ nomen Mag'ri & Custod' ac Fratrum & Sororum Gild' sive Fra-t^r^nitat' B'e Marie Virginis de Mister' Pannar' Civitat' London' & eos p^r^ nomen Magist' & Custod' ac Fratrum & Sororum Gild' sive Frat^r^nitat' B'e Marie Virginis de Mister' Parmar' Civitat' London' unu' Corpus Corporat' & Politicum in re f'co & no'ie realit^r^ & ad plenu' p^ro^ nob' heredibz & successoritz n'ris erigim^s^ facim^s^ Ordinam^s^ constitium^s^ & declaram^s^ p^r^ P^r^sentes Et q'd p^r^ idem nomen he'ant successionem p^r^petuam Et q'd ip'i & successores sui p^r^ nomen Magist'r & Custod' ac Fratrum & Soror^m^ Gild' sive Frat^r^nitat' B'e Marie Virginis de Mister' Pannar' Civitat' London' sint & erunt p^r^petuis futuris tempor' p^r^son' habil' & in Lege capac' ad h'endum gaudendum p^r^quirend' recipiend' & p^r^cipiend' Man^r^ia Mesuag' Terr' Ten' Lib'tat' Privileg' Franches' Jurisdicc'on' & Hereditamen' quecunq' cujuscunq' fuerint gen^r^is nature vel speciei sibi & successoribz suis in Feod' & p^r^petuitat' sive p^ro^ t^r^mino anni vel annor^m^ aut alit^r^ quocunq' modo Aceciam Bona Catalla Jur' Credit' ac quascunq' al' res cujuscunq' n'ois natur' qualitat' vel speciei fuerint Necnon ad dand' concedend' admittend' alienand' assignand' & disponend' Maner' Mesuag' Terr' Ten' & Hereditamen' & Bona & Catalla sua & ad o'ia & singula al' fact' & res faciend' & exequend' p^r^ nomen p^r^dict' & q'd p^r^ idem nomen Mag'ri & Custod' ac Fratr' & Soror' Gild' sive Frat^r^nitat' B'e Marie Virginis de Mister' Pannar' Civitat' London' pl'itare & impli' tari respondere & responderi defendere & defendi valeant & possint in quibuscunq' Cur' Placis & Locis ac corum quibuscunq' Judicibz & Justiciar' ac al' p^r^son' & Officiar' n'ris heredum & successor^m^ uror^m^ in om'ibz & singulis Acc'oibz Pl'itis Sect' Querelis Causis Mat^r^ijs & Demaund' quibuscunq' cujuscunq' sint aut erunt gen^r^is qualitat' nature sive speciei adeo lib'e & plene & in tam amplis & beneficial' modo & forma

presents for us, our heirs, and successors, do will, ordain, declare, and grant, that all and singular the freemen of the Mystery of Drapers of the City of London, for the time being, from henceforth for ever, for the better order, government, and rule of the men of the Mystery of Drapers of the City of London, and for the utility, advantage, and relief of the good and honest, and the terror and correction of the evil, wicked, and dishonest, may, and shall be, by force of these presents, one body corporate and politic, in deed, fact, and name, by the name of the master and wardens and brethren and sisters of the gild or fraternity of the blessed Virgin Mary of the Mystery of Drapers of the City of London; and them by the name of the master and wardens and brethren and sisters of the gild or fraternity of the blessed Virgin Mary of the Mystery of Drapers of the City of London, one body, corporate and politic, in deed, fact, and name, really and fully, for us, our heirs and successors, we do erect, make, ordain, constitute, and declare, by these presents; and that by the same name they shall have perpetual succession. And that they and their successors, by *the name* of master and wardens and brethren and sisters of the gild or fraternity of the blessed Virgin Mary of the Mystery of Drapers of the City of London, may and shall be, for ever hereafter, persons able and capable in the law to have, enjoy, purchase, receive and perceive manors, messuages, lands, tenements, liberties, privileges, franchises, jurisdictions, and hereditaments whatsoever, of whatsoever kind, nature, or sort they may be, to them and their successors, in fee and perpetuity, or for term of year or years, or otherwise in any manner whatsoever. And also goods, chattels, rights, credits, and other things whatsoever, of whatsoever name, nature, quality, or sort they may be. And also to give, grant, admit, alien, assign, and dispose of their manors, messuages, lands, tenements, and hereditaments, and goods and chattels, and to do and execute all and singular other deeds and things by the name aforesaid. And that by the same name of master and wardens and brethren and sisters of the gild or fraternity of the blessed Virgin Mary of the Mystery of Drapers of the City of London, they shall and may be able to plead and be impleaded, answer

p^ro^'ut aliqui alii Ligei n'ri hujus Regni n'ri Anglie p^r^sone hi'les & in Lege Capaces sive aliquod al' Corpus Corporat' & Politicum infra Regni n'ris Anglie respective he're p^r^quirere recipere possidere gaudere retinere dare concedere dimittere alienare assignare & disponere pli'tare & impli'tari respondere & responderi defendere & defendi fac^r^e p^r^mitt^r^e & exequi possint & valeant Et q'd ijdem Mag'r' & Custodes ac Fratres & Sorores Gilde sive Frat^r^nitat' B'e Marie Virginis de Mist^r^a Pannar' Civitat' London' p^r^dict' & successores sui imp^r^p'm he'ant Co'e Sigill' p^ro^ Causis Mat^r^ijs & Negocijs suis & success^or^m suor^m^ quibuscunq' agend' deservitur'. Et q'd bene liceat & licebit eisdem Mag'ro & Custod' & fratribz & Soror' Gild' sive Frat^r^nitat' B'e Marie Virginis de Mister' Pannar' Civitat' London' p^r^dict' & successoribz suis Sigillu' suu' p^ro^ tempore existen' ad libitum suu' de tempore in tempus frang^r^e mutare & de novo fac^r^e p^ro^'ut eis melius fieri & fore videbit^r^. Et ult^r^ius Volum^s^ & p^r^ P^r^sentes Concedim^s^ p^ro^ nob' heredibz & successoribz n'ris p^r^fat' Magistr' & Custod' ac Fratribz & Soror' Gilde sive Frat^r^nitat' B'e Marie Virginis de Mister' Pannar' Civitat' London' & successoribz suis Q'd de ceter' imp^r^p'm p^r^petuis futur' temporibz sint & erunt quotannis quinq' de Gilda sive Frat^r^nitat' Mister' p^r^dict' in forma in hijs P^r^sentibz menc'onat' eligend' & no'iand' quor^m^ unus erit & no'i'abit Mag'r' Gilde sive Frat^r^nitat' Mister' p^r^dict' & reliqui quatuor erunt & no'i'abunt' Custodes Gilde sive Frat^r^nitat' Mister' p^r^dict Aceciam q'd similit^r^ sint & erunt de Gild' sive Frat^r^nitat' p^r^dict in forma inferius menc'onat' constituend' & appunctuand' qui erunt & no'i'abunt' Assisten' Gild' sive Frat^r^nitat' p^r^dict Mister' Pannar' Civitatis London & de tempore in tempus erunt assisten' & auxilian' eisdem Magistr' & Custod' p^ro^ tempore existen' in Causis Mat^r^ijs Negocijs & Rebz' quibuscunq' dict' Mag'ro & Custod' ac Gild' sive Frat^r^nitat' vel Mister' p^r^dict tangen' sive conc^r^uen'. Et q'd bene liceat & licebit eisdem Magistr' & Custod' & Fratr' & Soror' Gild' sive Frat^r^nitat' B'e Marie Virginis de Mister' Pannar' Civitat' London' p^r^dict' & successoribz' suis h'ere retinere & appunctuare quandam Aulam sive Dom' Consiliar' infra Civitat' London p^r^dict' aut Lib'tatis ejusdem. Q'dq' ijdem Mag'r' & Custod'

and be answered, defend and be defended, in whatsoever courts and places, and before whatsoever judges and justices, and other persons and officers of us, our heirs, and successors, in all and singular actions, pleas, suits, plaints, causes, matters, and demands whatsoever, of whatsoever kind, quality, nature, or sort they may be, as freely and fully, and in as ample and beneficial a manner and form as any other our liege people of this our kingdom of England, persons able and capable in the law, or any other body, corporate and politic, within our kingdom of England, respectively, can and may be able to have, purchase, receive, possess, enjoy, retain, give, grant, demise, alien, assign, and dispose of, plead and be impleaded, answer and be answered, defend and be defended, do, permit, and execute. And that the same master and wardens and brethren and sisters of the gild or fraternity of the blessed Virgin Mary of the Mystery of Drapers of the City of London aforesaid, and their successors for ever, shall have a common seal, to serve for their causes, matters, and business, and of their successors whatsoever to be done. And that it shall and may be lawful for the same master and wardens and brethren and sisters of the gild or fraternity of the blessed Virgin Mary of the Mystery of Drapers of the City of London aforesaid, and their successors, the same seal for the time being, at their pleasure, from time to time, to break, change, and make anew, as to them shall seem meet. And further, we will, and by these presents grant, for us, our heirs and successors, to the aforesaid master and wardens, and brethren and sisters of the gild or fraternity of the blessed Virgin Mary of the Mystery of Drapers of the City of London, and their successors, that from henceforth, for ever, at all times hereafter, there may and shall be every year, five of the gild or fraternity of the mystery aforesaid, in form in these presents mentioned, to be elected and nominated, one of whom shall be, and shall be named master of the gild or fraternity of the mystery aforesaid, and the remaining four shall be, and be named wardens of the gild or fraternity of the mystery aforesaid. And also, that, in like manner, there may and shall be of the gild or fraternity aforesaid, in form hereunder mentioned, to be constituted and appointed, who

vel aliqui duo eorᵐ pʳᵒ tempore existen' quocies eis opportunu' & necessariu' fore videbitʳ convocare & tenere infra eandem Domu' sive Aulam quandam Cur' sive Convocaco'em de eisdem Mag'r' & Custod' & Assisten' ad n'merum duodecim' vel plurimu' illorᵐ quorᵐ pʳfat' Magistr' & Custod' aut eorᵐ sepal' & sufficien' Deputat' quinq' esse Volumˢ possint & valeant p'petuis futuris temporib'z Q'dq' in eadem Cur' sive Convocaco'e ijdem Mag'r' & Custod' & Assisten' ad numerum duodecim' vel plurium' (quorᵐ pʳfat' Mag'r & Custod' Fratʳnitat' vel Mister' pʳdict' pʳᵒ tempore existen' sive eorᵐ sufficien' & sep'al' Deputat' quinq' esse Volumˢ) tractare conferre consultare consulere & decʳnere de Statut' Articulis Ordinaco'ibz Matʳijs & Rebz quibuscunq' pʳd' Mag'r' Custod' ac Fratres & Soror' Gild' sive Fratʳnitat' pʳdict' ac bon' regimen stat' & gub'naco'em eorᵐ dem tangen' & concʳnen' possint & valeant juxta eorᵐ sanas discreco'es. Et ultʳius Volumˢ Ac pʳ Pʳsentes pʳ nob' heredibz & successoribz n'ris Concedimˢ pʳfat' Mag'r' & Custod' ac Fratribz & Soror' Gild' sive Fratʳnitat' B'e Marie Virginis de Mister' Pannar' Civitat' London & successoribz suis Q'd Mag'r' & Custod' & Assisten' Mister' pʳdict' pʳᵒ tempore existen' ad numerum duodecim vel plurimu' (quorᵐ pʳfat' Mag'r' & Custod' pʳᵒ tempore existen' sive eorᵐ sufficien' & sep'al' Deputat' quinq' esse volumˢ) sup' sum'onico'em Public' inde fiend' ad hoc congregat' he'ant & he'nt plenam potestatem facultatem & auctoritatem condend' constituend' ordinand' & faciend' de tempore in tempus Leges Statut' Ordinaco'es Decreta & Constituco'es ranabil' in Script' quecunq' que eis duodecim vel pluribz eorᵐ quorᵐ pʳfat' Mag'r' & Custod' pʳᵒ tempore existen' sive eorᵐ sufficien' & sepʳal' Deputat' pʳᵒ tempore existen' quinq' esse volumˢ bona salubr' utilia honesta & necessar' juxta eorᵐ sanas discreco'es fore videbunt' pʳᵒ bono regimine direcco'e gub'naco'e & correcco'e Mag'r' & Custod' ac Fratrum & sororᵐ Gild' sive Fratʳnitat' pʳdict' & o'im aliorᵐ pʳsonarᵐ existen' Liber' pʳdict' Mister' Pannar' Civitat' London' pʳᵒ tempore existen' aut dict' Mister' exercen' & uten' ac pʳᵒ Declaraco'e & direcco'e quo modo & ordine ijdem Mag'r' & Custod' ac Fratr' & Soror' Ac Om'es & singule pʳsone existen' Liber' dict' Mister' Pannar' aut dict' shall be, and be named assistants of the gild or fraternity aforesaid, of the Mystery of Drapers of the City of London, and, from time to time, they shall be assisting and aiding to the same master and wardens for the time being, in the causes, matters, business, and things whatsoever, touching or concerning the said masters and wardens of the gild or fraternity, or mystery, aforesaid. And that it shall and may be lawful for the same master and wardens and brethren and sisters of the gild or fraternity of the blessed Virgin Mary of the Mystery of Drapers of the City of London aforesaid, and their successors, to have, retain, and appoint a certain hall or council house, within the City of London aforesaid, or the liberties thereof. And that the same master and wardens, or any two of them for the time being, as often as to them it shall seem to be convenient and necessary, shall, and may be able to call together and hold within the same house or hall, a certain court or convocation of the same master and wardens and assistants, to the number of twelve, or more of them, of whom the aforesaid master and wardens, or their several and sufficient deputies, we will to be five at all times hereafter. And that in the same court or convocation of the same master and wardens and assistants, to the number of twelve or more, (of whom the aforesaid master and wardens of the fraternity or mystery aforesaid, for the time being, or their sufficient and several deputies, we will to be five,) shall and may be able to treat, confer, consort, advise, and decree, concerning the statutes, articles, ordinances, matters, and things whatsoever, touching and concerning the said master, wardens, brethren, and sisters of the gild or fraternity aforesaid, and the good rule, state, and government of the same, according to their sound discretions. And further, we will, and by these presents, for us, our heirs, and successors, grant to the aforesaid master and wardens and brethren and sisters of the gild or fraternity of the blessed Virgin Mary of the Mystery of Drapers of the City of London, and their successors, that the master, wardens, and assistants of the Mystery aforesaid, for the time being, to the number of twelve or more (of whom the aforesaid master and wardens, for the time being, or their sufficient and several deputies, we

Mister' exercen' & occupac' in Offic' & Mister' suis sese h'eant gerent & utent' p^ro ult^riori bono publico & Co'i utilitate ear^m dem Mag'r' Custod' ac Fratr' & Soror' Gild' sive Frat^rnitat' p^rdict ac al' rebz & causis quibuscunq' Mister' p^rdict' tangen' sive quoquo modo conc^rnen' Q'dq' ijdem Mag'r' & Custod' & Assisten' Mister' p^rdict' p^ro tempore existen' ad numerum duodecim vel plurimu' (quor^m p^rfat' Mag'r' & Custod' p^ro tempore existen' sive eor^m sufficien' & sep^ral' Deputat' quinq' esse volum^s quociescunq' hujusmodi Leges Jur' Statut' Instituco'es Ordinaco'es & Constituco'es in forma p^rd'ca fec^rint ordinav^rint condiderint vel stabilio^rint hujusmodi & tales Penas Punico'es & Penalitat' p^r 'Imprisonament' Corporal' vel p^r Fines & Am^rciament' vel p^r eor^m utrumq' erga & sup^r om'es Delinquen' cont^r hujusmodi Leges Jur' Statut' Instituco'es Ordinaco'es & Constituco'es sive eor^m aliquod vel aliqua qual' & que eisdem Magistr' & Custod' & Assisten' Fraternitat' sive Mist^rij p^rdict' p^ro tempore existen' ad numerum duodecim aut plurimu' quor^m p^rfat' Mag'r' & Custod' p^ro tempore existen' sive eor^m sufficien' & sep^ral' in hac parte deputat' quinq' esse Volum^s necessar' opportunu' & requisit' p^r observaco'e ear^m dc'm Leg' Ordinac' & Constituc' melius fore videbit' fac^re limitare & p^rvidere possint. Ac q'd ijdem Magistr' & Custod' Mister' p^rdict' & successores sui eadem Fines & Am^rciament^r p^r Acco'nem vel Acco'es districco'em vel districco'es vel alio quocunq' modo legitimo h'ere & levare possint & valeant ad usum p^rfat' Mag'r' & Custod' ac frat'r' & soror' Gild' sive Frat^rnitat' p^rdict' & successor^m suor^m absq' impediment' n'r' heredum vel successor^m n'ror^m aut alicujus vel aliquor^m Officiar' vel Ministr' n'r' heredum vel successor^m n'ror^m& absq' aliquo Compo' nob' hered' vel successoribz n'ris inde reddend' Que Om'ia & singula Jur' Ordinac' Leges Statut' & Constituco'es sic ut p^rfert' fiend' observari volum^s sub penes in eisdem continend' Ita tamen q'd Leges Statut' Ordinac' Constituc' Imprisonament' Fines & Amerciament' hujusmodi sint r'onabil' & non sint contrar' nec repugnan' Legibz Statut' Consuetud' sive Jur' Regni n'ri Angl' Et p^ro melior' execuc' voluntat' & Concession' n'r' in hac parte Assignavim^s No'iavim^s Creavim^s Constituim^s & Fecim^s Ac p^r P^rsentes p^ro nob' heredibz & successoribz n'ris Assignam^s No'iam^s

will to be five,) upon public summons thereof to be made to those assembled, may and shall have full power, faculty, and authority to frame, constitute, ordain, and make, from time to time, reasonable laws, statutes, ordinances, decrees, and constitutions, in writing whatsoever, which to them twelve, or more of them, (of whom the aforesaid master and wardens, for the time being, or their sufficient and several deputies, for the time being, we will to be five,) shall seem to be good, wholesome, useful, honest, and necessary, according to their sound discretions, for the good rule, direction, government, and correction of the master and wardens and brethren and sisters of the gild or fraternity aforesaid, and of all other persons being free of the aforesaid Mystery of Drapers of the City of London, for the time being, or exercising and using the said mystery, and for declaring and directing in what manner and order the same master and wardens and brethren and sisters, and all and singular persons being free of the said mystery of Drapers, or exercising or using the said mystery, shall behave, bear, and use themselves in their offices and mystery, for the further public good and common utility of the same master, wardens, and brethren and sisters of the gild or fraternity aforesaid, and other things and causes whatsoever, touching or in anywise concerning the mystery aforesaid. And that the same master and wardens and assistants of the mystery aforesaid, for the time being, to the number of twelve or more, (of whom the aforesaid master and wardens for the time being, or their sufficient and several deputies, we will to be five,) as often as they shall make laws, rights, statutes, institutions, ordinances, and constitutions in form aforesaid, shall and may be able to make, limit, and provide such and so many pains, punishments, and penalties, by corporal imprisonment, or by fines and amerciaments, or by either of them, against and upon all delinquents against such laws, rights, statutes, institutions, ordinances, and constitutions, or any or either of them, as and which to the same master and wardens and assistants of the fraternity or mystery aforesaid, for the time being, to the number of twelve or more, (of whom the aforesaid master and wardens for the time being, or their sufficient and several deputies in that behalf, we

creams Constituims & facims dilect' nob' Rob'tum Thomas Liber' Hom' Mister' prdict' fore & esse primu' & modernu' Mag'r'm Fratrnitat' & Mister' prdict' & Henr' Wollaston, Clementem Bucke, Joh'em Combe, & Joh'em Skeete fore & esse quatuor prim' & modern' Custodes Fratrnitat' & Mister' prdict' continuand' in eisdem Offic' a dat' Prsenciu' usq' primu' diem Lune qui prox' acciderit sive contig'it in Mense Augusti prox' sequen' post dat' Prsenciu' & abuide quousq' unus al' Mag'r' & quatuor al' Custod' ad Offic' prdict' debito modo elect' prfect' & jurat' fuer' juxta Ordinac' & prvision inferius in hijs Prsentibz express' & declarat' si ijdem Rob'tus Thomas, Henr' Wollaston, Clemens Bucke, Joh'es Combe, & Joh'es Skeete tam diu vixerint Et Assignavims no'iavims creavims constituims & fecims Ac pr Prsentes pro nob' heredibz & successoribz n'ris Assignams no'iams creams constituims & facims dil'cos nob' Thomam Pullison, Militem, Thomam Hayes, Militem, Jacobum Dedere, Militem, Joh'em Jolls, Militem, Will'm Garwaye, Henr' Butler, Will'm Chester, Joh'em Hall, Edmundum Moore, Arthurum Hewit, Joh'em Langley, Will'm Cotton, Georgiu' Cullimere, Thomam Archdale, Joh'em Hollinshodde, Edwardum Leaming, Thomam Cliffe, Will'm Meggs, Joh'em Quarles Antoniu' Blunt, Ric'm Osborne, Franciscum Barneham, Thomam Wright, & Thomam Garwaye, Cives & Lib'os Ho'i'es Mister' prdict' fore & esse primos & modernos Assisten' ejusdem Fratrnitat' & Mister' Pannar' Civitat' London continuand' in eisdem Offic' duran' vit' suis natural' nisi intrim pro mala Gub'nac' seu male se geren' in eadem parte aut pr aliqua alia causa ro'nabil' amoti' fuerint aut eorm aliqui vel aliquis amotus erit vel amoti erunt. Et ult'ius Volums Ac pr Prsentes pro nob' heredibz & successoribz n'ris Concedims prfat' Mag'r' & Custod' ac F'ribz & sororibz Gild' sive Fratrnitat' prdict' et successoribz suis q'd Mag'r' Custod' & Assisten' Gild' sive Fratrnitat' prdict' pro tempore existen' ad numerum duodecim vel plurimu' si tot' convenient' congregari possint (quorm om'es eos qui ante illud tempus non fuerunt Mag'r' aut Custod' aut aliquis Custod' Gild' sive Fratrnitat' prdict' nullos esse volums de tempore in tempus prpetuis futur' temporibz potestat' & auctoritat' h'eant & h'ebunt an'uatim will to be five,) shall seem to be most necessary, proper, and requisite for the observance of the same laws, ordinances, and constitutions. And that the same master and wardens of the mystery aforesaid, and their successors, shall and may be able to have and levy the same fines and amerciaments by action or actions, distress or distresses, or any other lawful method whatsoever, to the use of the aforesaid master and wardens and brethren and sisters of the gild or fraternity aforesaid and their successors, without the hinderance of us, our heirs, or successors, or of any or either of the officers or ministers of us, our heirs, or successors, and without any account thereof to be rendered to us, our heirs, or successors. All and singular which rights, ordinances, laws, statutes, and constitutions, so as aforesaid to be made, we will to be observed, under the pains in the same to be contained, so, nevertheless, that such laws, statutes, ordinances, constitutions, imprisonments, fines, and amerciaments shall be reasonable, and shall not be contrary or repugnant to the laws, statutes, customs, or rights of our kingdom of England. And for the better execution of our will and grant in this behalf, we have assigned, nominated, created, constituted, and made, and by these presents for us, our heirs, and successors, do assign, nominate, create, constitute, and make our beloved Robert Thomas, a freeman of the mystery aforesaid, to be the first and present master of the fraternity and mystery aforesaid, and Henry Wollaston, Clement Bucke, John Combe, and John Skeete, to be the four first and present wardens of the fraternity and mystery aforesaid, to be continued in the same offices from the date of these presents until the first Monday which shall next happen in the month of August next ensuing after the date of these presents, and from thence until one other master and four other wardens shall be in due manner elected, preferred, and sworn, according to the ordinances and provisions hereunder in these presents expressed and declared, if the same Robert Thomas, Henry Wollaston, Clement Bucke, John Combe, and John Skeete, shall so long live. And we have assigned, nominated, created, constituted, and made, and by these presents for us, our heirs, and successors, do assign, nomi-

& quol'tanno in & supr primu' Diem Lune qui accidit & contingit in mense Augusti eligend' & no'iand' & q'd eligre & no'iare possint & valeant unu' Lib'um Hom' Fratrnitat' prdict' qui erit & no'iabit' Magistr' Fratrnitat' sive Mister' prdict' pro uno anno integro tunc prx' sequen' & deinde quousq' unus alius ad Offic' Magistr' Gild' sive Fratrnitat' prdict' debito modo electus no'iatus prfectus & juratus fuerit. Et q'd similit' in eodem primo die qui an'uatim & quol't anno accidet sive continget in mense Augusti eligre & no'iare possint & valeant quatuor Lib'os Ho'ies Gild' sive Fratrnitat' prdict' qui erunt & no'rabunt Custod' Gild sive Fratrnitat' prdict' uno anno integro tunc prx' sequen' & deinde quousq' quatuor alij Custod' Gild' sive Fratrnitat' prdict' elect' no'iat' prfect' & jurat' fuerint juxta Ordinac' & prvision' in hijs Prsentibz express' & menc'onat'. Et ultrius Volums & pr Prsentes pr nob' heredibz & successoribz n'ris Concedims & Ordinams q'd quil't prsona & prsone que aliquo tempore deinceps ad Offic' sive Officia Mag'ri sive Custod' Gild' sive Fratrnitat' prdict' aut eorm aliquod vel aliqua sepral' & respective elect' no'iat' & prfect' erit aut elect' no'iat' & prfect' erunt anteq'm ad execuco'em Officij sive Officiorm Mag'ri sive Custod' Gild' sive Fratrnitat' prdict' aut eorm aliquorm vel alicujus admittant' aut eorm aliquis admittat' Sacrament' Corporal' sepral' & respective capiet & prstabit ac Sacrament' Corporal' sepralit' & respective capient & p'stabunt supr Sc'a Dei Evangelia infra unu' mensem post elecco'em & no'i'aco'em prdict' coram ultimo Mag'ro & ultimis Custod' Predecessor suis aut aliquib'z duob'z aut plurib'z eorm de Offic' ill' sepral' & respective bene & fidelit' faciend' juxta formam Sacrament' in eo casu antehac usitat' & consuet' ac s'c'd'm formam Sacr'm in quodam Act' Parliament' anno regni Dne' Elizabeth imp' Regine Anglie primo fact'. Et q'd im'ediate post Sacr'm sive Sacr'a sic prstit' Offic'

nate, create, constitute, and make our beloved Thomas Pullison, knight; Thomas Hayes, knight; James Dedere, knight; John Jolls, knight; William Garwaye, Henry Butler, William Chester, John Hall, Edmund Moore, Arthur Hewit, John Langley, William Cotton, George Cullimere, Thomas Archdale, John Hollinshodde, Edward Leaming, Thomas Cliffe, William Meggs, John Quarles, Anthony Blunt, Richard Osborne, Francis Barneham, Thomas Wright, and Thomas Garwaye, citizens and freemen of the mystery aforesaid, to be the first and present assistants of the same fraternity and mystery of Drapers of the City of London, to be continued in the same offices during their natural lives, unless in the meantime, for bad government or misbehaving themselves in that behalf, or for any other reasonable cause, they, or any or either of them, shall be removed. And further, we will, and by these presents, for us, our heirs, and successors, grant to the aforesaid master and wardens and brethren and sisters of the gild or fraternity aforesaid, and their successors, that the master, wardens, and assistants of the gild or fraternity aforesaid, for the time being, to the number of twelve or more, if they shall be able conveniently to assemble so many, (of whom all those who before that time have not been master or warden or one of the wardens of the gild or fraternity aforesaid, we will shall be no part,) from time to time, at all times hereafter, may and shall have power and authority yearly, and every year, in and upon the first Monday which shall happen in the month of August, to elect and nominate, and that they shall and may be able to elect and nominate one freeman of the fraternity aforesaid, who shall be, and be named, master of the fraternity or mystery aforesaid, for one whole year then next ensuing, and from thence, until one other shall be in due manner elected, nominated, preferred, and sworn to the office of master of the gild or fraternity aforesaid. And that in like manner, on the same first Monday which yearly and every year shall happen in the month of August, they shall and may be able to elect and nominate four freemen of the gild or fraternity aforesaid, who shall be, and be named, wardens of the gild or fraternity aforesaid for one whole year then next ensuing,

sive Officia Mag'ri & Custod' Gilde sive Fratrnitat' prdict' aut eorm alicujus vel aliquorm sepral' & respective exequi & exrcere possint & valeant & eorm quilt respective possit & valeat. Et insupr Volums Ac pr Prsentes pro nob' heredib'z& successorib'z n'risConcedims prfat Mag'r Custod' ac Fratrib'z & Sororib'z Gilde sive Fratrnitat' prdict' & successorib'z suis Q'd si contigrit prfat Mag'r'm & Custodes aut eorm aliquem vel aliquos pro tempore existen' aliquo tempore infra unu' an'u' postquam ad Offic' sive Locum Mag'r' vel Custod' Fratrnitat' sive Gild' prdict' sic ut prfert' elect' & prfect' fuerint aut eorm aliquis vel aliqui fuerit vel fuerint obire aut ab Offic' sive Locis illis amoveri (quos quidem Mag'r'm & Custodes & eorm queml't pro mala Gub'nac' aut pro aliqua alia ron'abili causa pr reliquos Custod' non delinquen' vel offenden' & assisten' Fratrnitat' sive Gilde prdict' pro tempore existen' ad numerum duodecim vel plurimu' de tempore in tempus amobiles esse volums q'd tunc & tocies bene liceat & licebit tantis & tot eorm dc'm Mag'r' Custod' & Assisten' sive Custod' & Assisten' qui adhunc suprxrint vel remanserint ad numerum duodecim vel plurimu' ad libitum suu' unu' aliu' Mag'r'm vel unu' al' Custod' vel plur' ab' Custod' eligre & prficere s'c'd'm Ordinaco'es & prvisiones in hijs Prsentib'z declarat' ad exequend' & exrcend' prdict' Offic' & Offic' Mag'ri sive Custod' pro residuo unius anni a die elecco'is & prfecco'is hujusmodi Mag'ri sive Custod' sic obcuu' vel amot' plenar' complend' & exinde quousq' unus alius Magist' & quatuor alij Custodes Lib'i Ho'ies Fratrnitat' sive Gilde prdict' in Offic' Mag'r' & Custod' Fratrnitat' sive Gild' prdict' elect' & no'i'at' erunt juxta Ordinaco'es & p'visiones in hijs P'sentib'z declarat' & express'. Et q'd quilib't prsona & prsone sic in Offic' Mag'ri sive Custod' Gild' sive Fratrnitat' prdict' post mortem sive amoco'em alicujus Mag'ri vel alicujus Custod' aut' aliquor' Custod' Gilde sive Fratrnitat' prdict' sic and from thence until four other wardens of the gild or fraternity aforesaid shall be elected, nominated, preferred, and sworn, according to the ordinances and provisions in these presents expressed and mentioned. And further, we will, and by these presents, for us, our heirs and successors, grant and ordain that every person and persons. who at any time hereafter shall be elected, nominated, and preferred to the office or offices of master or wardens of the gild or fraternity aforesaid, or any or either of them severally and respectively, before they or either of them shall be admitted to the execution of the office or offices of master or warden of the gild or fraternity aforesaid, or any or either of them shall severally and respectively take their corporal oath upon the holy gospel of God, within one month after the election and nomination aforesaid, before the last master, and last wardens, their predecessors, or any two or more of them, well and faithfully to execute the same offices, severally and respectively, according to the form of the oath in that behalf heretofore used and accustomed, and according to the form of the oath in a certain Act of Parliament, made in the first year of the reign of the Lady Elizabeth, late Queen of England. And that immediately after the oath or oaths being so taken, they, and each of them respectively, shall and may be able to execute and exercise the office, or offices, of master and wardens of the gild or fraternity aforesaid, or any or either of them, severally and respectively. And, moreover, we will, and by these presents for us, our heirs and successors, grant to the aforesaid master, wardens, and brethren and sisters of the gild or fraternity aforesaid, and their successors, that if it shall happen the aforesaid master and wardens, or any or either of them, for the time being, at any time within one year after they or any or either of them shall be elected and preferred to the office or place of master or wardens of the fraternity or gild aforesaid, so as aforesaid shall die, or be removed from the same offices or places, (which same master and wardens, and each of them, for bad government, or for any other reasonable cause, from time to time, we will to be removable by the remainder of the wardens, not offending, and the assistants of the fraternity or

ut pʳfert' no'i'atus & electus no'i'ati & electi Officiu' & Officia ill' Mag'r & Custod' Gilde sive Fratʳnitat' pʳdict' ad quod vel que sic ut pʳfert' no'i'ati & electi fuerint li'be & licite exequi valeant & possint valeat & possit Sacr'is Corporal' in forma pʳdict' prius pʳstand' & sic tocies quocies talis casus accidʳit. Et ultʳius Volumˢ Ac pʳ Pʳsentes pʳᵒ nob' heredib'z & successorib'z n'ris Concedimˢ & Ordinavimˢ Q'd Mag'r Custodes Gilde sive Fratʳnitat' pʳdict' pʳᵒ tempore existen' & eor' quil't successores sui im'ediate postq'm ab' Offic' Mag'r sive Custod' Gilde sive Fratʳnitat' pʳdict' recesserint aut eor' aliquis recesserit sint & eorᵐ quil't sit Assisten' & Assistens Gilde sive Fratʳnitat' pʳdict' & in eodem Offic' Assisten' vel Assisten' Gilde sive Fratʳnitat' pʳdict' remanebunt & remanebit duran' vit' suis natural' & duran' vit' natural' eorᵐ cujusl't Nisi intʳim pʳ aliqua causa r'onabili ad Offic' ill' amot' fuerint vel eorᵐ aliquis amotus fuerit. Et ult'ius Volumˢ Ac pʳ Pʳsentes pʳᵒ nob' heredib'z & successorib'z n'ris Concedimˢ pʳfat' Mag'r & Custod' ac Fratrib'z & Sororib'z Gilde sive Fratʳnitat' pʳdict' pʳᵒ tempore existen' q'd pʳdict' Mag'r & Custod' Gild' sive Fratʳnitat' pʳdict' pʳᵒ tempore existen' he'ant & h'ebunt plenam potestat' & auctoritatem ad t'dend' & ministrand' Sacrament' Corporal, om'ib'z Officiarijs & Ministris Fratʳnitat' sive Mister' pʳdict' pʳᵒ debit' execuco'e Offic' suor'm recte bene & fidelit' in omib'z sepʳal' reb'z Offic' sua tangen' sive concʳnen'. Et q'd Custod' Gild' sive Fratʳnitat' aut Mister' pʳdict' vel aliqui duo eorᵐ pʳᵒ tempore existen' he'ant & h'ebunt plenam potestatem & auctoritatem ad t'dend' & ministrand' Sa'cr' Corporal' om'ib'z Apprentic & alijs Ho'ib'z fiend' liber' Gilde sive Fratʳnitat' aut Mister' pʳdict' pʳut antehac usitat' sive consuet' fuit. Et ult'ius Volumˢ Ac pʳ Pʳsentes pʳᵒ nob' heredib'z & successorib'z n'ris Concedimˢ & Licenciam Special' lib'aruq' plen' & licitam facultatem auctoritatem & pogild aforesaid, for the time being, to the number of twelve or more,) that then, and so often it shall and may be lawful for such and so many of the same master, wardens, and assistants, or of the wardens and assistants who shall then survive or remain, to the number of twelve or more, at their pleasure, to elect and prefer one other master, or one or more other warden or wardens, according to the ordinances and provisions in these presents declared, to execute and exercise the aforesaid office and offices of master or warden for the residue of one year from that day of the election and preferment of such master or wardens in the place of such master or wardens so dying, or being removed, fully to be completed, and from thence until one other master and four other wardens, freemen of the fraternity or gild aforesaid, shall be elected and nominated into the offices of master and wardens of the fraternity or gild aforesaid, according to the ordinances and provisions in these presents declared and expressed. And that every person and persons so nominated and elected into the office of master or wardens of the gild or fraternity aforesaid, after the death or removal of any master, or of any or either of the wardens of the gild or fraternity aforesaid, so as aforesaid, shall and may be able freely and lawfully to execute the same office and offices of master and wardens of the gild or fraternity aforesaid, to which they shall be so, as aforesaid, nominated and elected, having first taken their corporal oaths in form aforesaid, and so as often as such case shall happen. And further, we will, and by these presents, for us, our heirs and successors, grant and ordain, that the master and wardens of the gild or fraternity aforesaid, for the time being, and every of them and their successors, immediately after they, or either of them, shall recede from the office of master or wardens of the gild or fraternity aforesaid, shall be assistants and assistant of the gild or fraternity aforesaid, and in the same office of assistants or assistant of the gild or fraternity aforesaid, shall remain during their natural lives, and during the natural life of each of them, unless, in the mean time, for any reasonable cause, they, or either of them, shall be removed from the office. And further, we will, and by these presents, for us, our heirs and successors, grant to the

testatem Dam^s p^rfat' Mag'r' & Custod' ac Fratrib'z & Sororib'z Gilde sive Fra-t^rnitat' B'e Marie Virginis de Mister' Pannarior' Civitat' London & successorib'z suis imp^rp'm h'end' possidend' recipiend' & p^rquirend' eis & successorib'z suis imp^rp'm Maner' Messuagia Terr' Ten' Prat' Pasc' Pastur' Boscos Subbosc' R'c'orias Decimas Reddit' Rev^rco'es & al' Hereditamen' quecunq' infra Regnu' n'r'm Anglie sive alibi infra Dn'ia n'ra tam de nob' heredib'z & successorib'z n'ris q'm de aliqua alia p^rsona sive aliquib'z alijs p^rsonis quibuscunq' que de nob' heredib'z vel successorib'z n'ris non tenent^r im'ediate in Capite nec p^r S^rvic' Militare dum'odo eadem Man^ria Mesuag' Terr' Ten' & al' Hereditamen' sic p^r ip'os h'end' recipiend' & p^rquirend' non excedant in toto clarum annu' valor' ducent' libr' p^r annu' ult' om'ia ou^ra & repris' Statut' de T^rris & Ten' ad manu' mortuam non ponend' aut aliquo alio Statuto Actu Ordinaco'e vel p^rovisione antehac h'it fact' ordinat' sive cons' aut aliqua alia re causa vel mat^ria quacunq' incontriu' inde in aliquo non obstan'. Dam^s eciam & p^r P^rsentes p^ro nob' heredib'z & successorib'z n'ris Concedim^s cuicunq' Subdit' & quibuscunq' Subditis n'ris heredum & successor'n'ror'^m Licenciam Sp'ial' liba'mq' & licitam potestatem facultatem & auctoritatem q'd ip'i vel eor'^m aliquis vel aliqui aliqua Maner' Messuagia Ten' Prat' Pasc' Pastur' Bosc' Subbosc' R'corias Decimas Rev^rco'es Reddit' S^rvic' & al' Hereditamen' quecunq' que non tenent' de nob' heredib'z vel successorib'z n'ris im'ediate in Capite vel p^r servic' Militar' p^rfat' Mag'ro & Custod' ac Fratrib'z & Sororib'z Gilde sive Frat^rnitat' B'e Marie Virginis de Mister' Pannar' Civitat' London & successorib'z suis dare concedere vendere legare vel alienare possint & valeant Ita q'd om'ia p^rdict' Maner' Messuag' Terr' Ten' Prat' Pasc' Pastur' Bosc' Subbosc' R'corias Decimas Rev^rco'es Reddit' S^rvic' & al' Hereditatem' sic ut p^rfert' eisdem Mag'r & Custod' aforesaid master and wardens, and brethren and sisters, of the gild or fraternity, for the time being, that the aforesaid master and wardens of the gild or fraternity aforesaid, for the time being, may and shall have full power and authority to give and administer corporal oaths to all officers and ministers of the fraternity or mystery aforesaid, for the due execution of their offices rightly, well, and faithfully, in all things touching or concerning their several offices. And that the wardens of the gild or fraternity or mystery aforesaid, or any two of them, for the time being, may and shall have full power and authority to give and administer corporal oaths to all apprentices, and other men, to be made free of the gild or fraternity or mystery aforesaid, as heretofore hath been used or accustomed. And further, we will, and by these presents, for us, our heirs, and successors, grant and give special and free licence, and full and lawful faculty, authority, and power, to the aforesaid master and wardens, and brethren and sisters of the gild or fraternity of the blessed Virgin Mary of the Mystery of Drapers of the City of London, and their successors for ever, to have, possess, receive, and purchase, to them and their successors for ever, manors, messuages, lands, tenements, meadows, feedings, pastures, woods, underwoods, rectories, tythes, rents, reversions, and other hereditaments whatsoever, within our kingdom of England, or elsewhere within our dominions, as well of us, our heirs, and successors, as of any other person or persons whomsoever, which are not holden immediately of us, our heirs, and successors, in chief, nor by knight's service, provided the same manors, messuages, lands, tenements, and other hereditaments, so by them to be had, received, and purchased, shall not exceed in the whole the clear annual value of two hundred pounds, by the year, beyond all charges and reprises: the statute concerning lands and tenements not to be put in mortmain, or any other statute, act, ordinance, or provision, heretofore had, made, ordained, or provided, or any other thing, cause, or matter, whatsoever, to the contrary thereof, in anywise notwithstanding. We give also, and by these presents, for us, our heirs, and successors, grant to all the subject and subjects of us, our heirs, and suc-

ac Fratrib'z & Sororib'z Gild' sive Fratrnitat' prdict' & successorib'z suis vigore Prsenciu' dand' concedend' legand' & alicuand' non excedant in tot' clarun annuu' valorem ducentar' librar' pr ann' ult om'ia Onra & Repris' Statut' de Trris & Ten' ad manu' mortuam non ponend' aut aliquo alio Statuto Actu Ordinaco'e sive Provisione aut quacunq' alia re causa vel materia quacunq' antehac h'it fact' edit' ordinat' sive prvis' in contr'u' inde in aliquo non obstan. Et ultrius de ubi'ori gr'a n'ra spa'li ac ex crta sciencia & mero motu n'ris pro meliori regimine & gub'naco'e oi'm prsonar' Mister Pannar' modo exercen' vel imposter' exrcitur' infra Civitat' London' prdict' seu suburbia ejusdem Dedims & Concessims Ac pr Prsentes pro nob' heredib'z & successorib'z n'ris Dams & Concedims prfat' Mag'ro & Custod' ac Fratrib'z & Sororib'z Gild' sive Fratrnitat' prdict' q'd prdict' Mag'r' & Custod' & successores sui pro tempore existen' prpetius temporib'z futur' h'eant & h'ebunt plenam auctoritatem & potestatem in tal' ac tam convenien' temporib'z qual' ip'i viderint expedire & quemadmodum temporib'z retroactis usitat' extitit intridi & ingrediendi in Om'es Domos Shopas Cellar Tentoria Anglice Boothes ac alia Loca Pannis servand' aut exponend' modo aut imposter' usitat' aut appunctuat' cujusl't prsone & quarmq'lt prsonar'm tam Liber' ejusdem Fratrnitat' q'in Liber' altrius cujusl't Societat' aut eciam Forinsec' uten' Arte sive Mister' Pannar' infra Civitat' London aut Lib'tat' ejusdem ad prscrutand' videnď & mensurand' pr Standard' sigillat' s'c'd'm formam Statut' in hujusmodi casu edit' & prvis' om'es tales Virgas Anglice Yardes Ulnas Anglice Elles Godas Anglice Godes as alias Mensuras quascunq' quibuscunq' sive pr quas aliquis Pannus sive aliqua Panni Species Vendic'oi exposit aut exponend' est aut erit mensurand' ac ad auferend' & asportand' Om'es Virgas Ulnas Godas ac alias Mensuras quascunq' longiores aut

cessors, especial licence, and free and lawful power, faculty, and authority, that they, or any, or either of them, shall and may be able to give, grant, sell, leave, or alien, any manors, messuages, lands, tenements, meadows, feedings, pastures, woods, underwoods, rectories, tythes, reversions, rents, services, and other hereditaments whatsoever, which are not holden of us, our heirs, or successors, immediately, in chief, or by knight's service, to the aforesaid master and wardens, and brethren and sisters of the gild or fraternity of the blessed Virgin Mary of the Mystery of Drapers of the City of London, and their successors, so that all the aforesaid manors, messuages, lands, tenements, meadows, feedings, pastures, woods, underwoods, rectories, tythes, reversions, rents, services, and other hereditaments, so as aforesaid, to the same master and wardens, and brethren and sisters of the gild or fraternity aforesaid, and their successors, by force of these presents, to be given, granted, devised, and aliened, shall not exceed, in the whole, the clear annual value of two hundred pounds, by the year, beyond all charges and reprises: the statute concerning lands and tenements not to be put in mortmain, or any other statute, act, ordinance, or provision, or any other thing, cause, or matter whatsoever, theretofore had, made, enacted, ordained, or provided to the contrary thereof in anywise, notwithstanding. And moreover, of our further especial grace, and of our certain knowledge and mere motion, for the better rule and government of all present, now exercising, or hereafter to exercise the Mystery of Drapers within the City of London aforesaid, or the suburbs of the same, we have given and granted, and by these presents, for us, our heirs, and successors, do give and grant to the aforesaid master and wardens, and brethren and sisters of the gild or fraternity aforesaid, that the aforesaid master and wardens, and their successors, for the time being, at all times hereafter, may and shall have full authority and power, at such and as convenient times as to them seem expedient, and in such manner as in times past hath been used, to enter into all houses, shops, cellars, booths, and other places, now, or hereafter used, or appointed, for the keeping or exposing of cloths of every person and persons, as well free of the

breviores q'm esse deberent aut aliquo modo fals' aut decept' aut non sigillat' sed'm formam Statuti p^rdict & ad imponend' un' finem de sex solid' & octo denar' sup^r quaml't p^rsonam offenden' in utend' aut servand' ad utend' aliq'm talem Virgam Ulnam Godam aut mensuram longiorem breviorem falsam deceptivam aut non sigillat' dict' fin' de sex solid' & octo denar' levand' & p^rcipiend' p^r viam districc'ois & distribuend' ad usum Paup^rum Gild' sive Frat^rnitat' p^rdict. Et ult^rius de abundancior, g'ra n'ra speciali ac ex c^rta scientia & mero motu n'ris Concessim^s & Confirmavim^s Ac p^r P^rsentes p^ro nob' heredibz & successoribz n'ris Concedim^s & Confirmam^s p^rfat' Mag'ro & Custod' ac Fratribz & Sororibz Gild' sive Frat^rnitat' B'e Marie Virginis de Mister' Pannar' Civitat' London' & successoribz suis Om'es & o'imod' Lib'tat' Franches' Exempco'es Consuetud' Privilegia p^rfic' Immunitat' Quiet' & Jurisdiceo'es Maner' Mesuag' Terr' Ten' & Hereditamen' Bona & Catall' que Mag'r' & Custod' ac Fratres & Soror' Gilde sive Frat^rnitat' B'e Marie Virginis de Mister' Pannar' Civitat' London' seu Mag'r' & Custod' ac Fratres & Sorores Gilde sive Frat^rnitat' in Honore B'e Marie Virginis de Ho'ib'z Mister' Pannar' infra Civitat' London seu eor^m aliqui de Jure Hereditario modo legittime h'ent tenent gaudent & utunt' aut h'ere tenere uti & gaudere debent aut eor^m aliquis vel aliqui vel Predecessor' sui p^r quodcunq' nomen vel p^r quecunq' no'ia vel p^r quamcunq' Incorporaco'em vel p^rtextu cujuscunq' Incorporaco'is antehac licite h'uerunt usi vel gavisi fuerunt aut h'ere tenere uti vel gaudere debuerunt h'uit tenuit usus vel gavis' fuit debuit aut debuerunt de Jure Hereditario r'one vel p^rtextu aliquar^m Chartar^m aut L'rar^m Paten' p^r aliquem Progenitor^m vel Antecessor^m n'ror^m nup^r Regum vel Reginar^m Angl' quoquo modo antehac fact' confirmat' vel concess' vel quacunq' alia legali p^r'scipc'o'e usu consuetud' aut aliquo alio legali modo jure seu titulo antehac h'it & same fraternity as free of any other society, or also foreigners using the art or mystery of drapers, within the City of London, or the liberties of the same, to search, view, and measure, by a sealed standard, according to the form of the statute in such case enacted and provided, all yards, ells, godes, and other measures whatsoever, by which, any cloth, or any sort of cloth, exposed to sale, is, or shall be measured, and to take and carry away all yards, ells, godes, and other measures whatsoever, longer or shorter than they ought to be, or in any manner false, or deceptive, or not sealed according to the form of the statute aforesaid, and to impose a fine of 6*s.* 8*d.* upon every person offending, in using, or keeping for use, any such yard, ell, gode, or measure, longer, shorter, false, deceptive, or not sealed, the said fine of 6*s.* 8*d.* to be levied and received by way of distress, and to be distributed to the use of the poor of the gild or fraternity aforesaid. And further, of our more abundant and especial grace, and of our certain knowledge and mere motion, we have granted and confirmed, and by these presents, for us, our heirs and successors, do grant and confirm to the aforesaid master and wardens and brethren and sisters of the gild or fraternity of the blessed Virgin Mary of the Mystery of Drapers of the city of London, and their successors, all and all manner of liberties, franchises, exemptions, customs, privileges, profits, immunities, acquittances, and jurisdictions, manors, messuages, lands, tenements, and hereditaments, goods, and chattels, which the master and wardens and brethren and sisters of the gild or fraternity of the blessed Virgin Mary of the Mystery of Drapers of the City of London, or the master and wardens and brethren and sisters of the gild or fraternity in honour of the blessed Virgin Mary of the men of the Mystery of Drapers within the City of London, or either of them, of hereditary right, now lawfully have, hold, enjoy and use, or which they, or any or either of them, or any of their predecessors, ought to have, hold, use, and enjoy, by whatsoever name and names, or by whatsoever incorporation, or by pretext of any incorporation heretofore, lawfully have or hath, had, held, used, or enjoyed, or ought to have, hold, use, or enjoy, of hereditary right, or by reason or pretext of any Charters

usitat' licet eadem aut eorᵐ aliquod vel aliqua r'one non us' vel abus' forisfact' aut deprdn sint vel fuerint H'endum tenend' & gaudend' ijsdem Mag'ro & Custod' ac Fratrib'z & Sororib'z Gilde sive Frat nitat' B'e Marie Virginis de Mister' Pannar' Civitat' London & successorib'z suis imp'p'm Reddendo inde nob' heredib'z & successorib'z n'ris tal' hujusmodi & consimil' Reddit' Firm' Reddit' Denar' Sum'as & Demaund' que p'inde nob' antehac reddere seu solvere consuever' aut de Jure debuerunt. Volentes & prᵒ Prsentes pr nob' heredib'z & successorib'z n'ris Conceden' prfat' Mag'ro & Custod' ac Fratrib'z & Sororib'z Gild' sive Frat nita prdict' & successorib'z suis q'd h'ean' teneant utant' & gaudeant ac h'ert tenere uti gaudere valeant & possine imp'p'm Om'es Lib'tat' lib'as Consuetud' Privilegia prfic' & Quietanc' prdict' scd'm tenorem harᵐ L'rarᵐ n'rarᵐ Paten' sine Acc'oe n'r' heredum vel successorᵐ n'rorᵐ quorᵐcunq' Nolentes q'd ijdem Mag'r' & Custod' ac Fratres & Sorores Gilde sive Fratrnitat' prdict' r'one Prmissorᵐ seu eorᵐ alicujus pr nos vel heredes aut successores n'ros vel pr Justic' Vicecount Escaetor' aut alios Ballivos aut Ministres n'ros heredum vel successorᵐ n'rorᵐ quorᵐcunq' inde occ'onent' molestent vexent' seu gravent' occ'onet' molestet' vexet' seu in aliquo prturbet'. Volentes eciam & prᵒ nob' heredib'z & successorib'z n'ris firmit' mandan' & Prcipien' t'm Thesaurar' Cancellar' & Baron' n'ris Scc'ij n'ri heredum & successorᵐ n'rorᵐ ac Om'ib'z & singulis alijs Justiciar' n'ris ac heredum & successorᵐ n'rorᵐ q'm Attornat' & Solicitator' n'r' Genral' prᵒ tempore existen' & eorᵐ cuil't & om'ib'z alijs Officiar' & Ministris n'ris heredum & successorᵐ n'rorᵐ quibuscunq' q'd nec i'pi nec eorᵐ aliquis sive aliqui aliquod B're de Sum'onic'oe sive de Quo Warrant' sive aliquod aliud B're vel Process' n'r' quecunq' vrsus prd'cm Mag'r'm & Custod ac Fratres & Sorores Gilde sive Fratni tat' prdict' vel eorᵐ aliquem vel aliquos

or Letters patent, by any of our progenitors or ancestors, late kings and queens of England, in any wise heretofore made, confirmed, and granted, or by whatsoever lawful prescription, usage, custom, or by any other lawful manner, right, or title, heretofore had or used, although the same, or either of them, by reason of non-use or abuse, are or may be forfeited or lost. To have, hold, and enjoy to the same master and wardens and brethren and sisters of the gild or fraternity of the blessed Virgin Mary of the Mystery of Drapers of the City of London, and their successors for ever; rendering, therefore, to us, our heirs and successors, the like, such, and the same rents, fee-farm rents, sums of money, and demands, as for the same to us hath heretofore been accustomed, or of right ought to be rendered or paid. Willing, and by these presents, for us, our heirs and successors, granting to the aforesaid master and wardens or brethren and sisters of the gild or fraternity aforesaid, and their successors, that they shall have, hold, use, and enjoy, and shall and may be able to have, hold, use, and enjoy for ever, all the liberties, free customs, privileges, profits, and acquittances aforesaid, according to the tenor of these our Letters patent, without the hindrance of us, our heirs or successors, whomsoever, being unwilling that the same master and wardens and brethren and sisters of the gild or fraternity aforesaid, by reason of the premises, or any of them, should be therefore hindered, molested, vexed, or aggrieved, or in any wise disturbed by us, or our heirs or successors, or by the justices, sheriffs, escheators, or other bailiffs or ministers of us, our heirs or successors whomsoever. Willing also, and for us, our heirs and successors, firmly ordering and commanding, as well our treasurer, chancellor, and barons of the Exchequer, of us, our heirs and successors, and all and singular other the justices of us, and of our heirs and successors, as our attorney and solicitor general for the time being, and every of them, and all others the officers and ministers of us, our heirs and successors whomsoever, that neither they, or either of them, shall prosecute, or continue or make, or cause to be prosecuted or continued, any writ of summons, of quo warranto, or any other our writ or process whatsoever, against the aforesaid master and war-

p^r aliquib'z reb'z causis vel mater' Offens' clam' aut usurpac'oe aut eor^m aliquo P^rmiss' vel eor^m aliquod conc^rnen' p^r ip'os aut eor^m aliquos clamat' attempt usitat' h'it' seu usurpat' ante diem Confecc'ois P^rsencm' p'sequant' continuent aut p'sequi continuar' fac' aut causabunt seu eor^m aliquis fac' aut causabit. Volentes ult^rius q'd p^rdict' Mag'r' & Custod' ac Fratres & Soror' Gilde sive Fra^rnitat' p^rdict' vel eor^m aliqui p^r aliquem vel aliquos Justiciar' Officiar' vel Minist^r' n'r' p^rdict' in aut p^r debit' usu' clamen' vel abus' aliquor^m Lib'tat' Franches' aut Jurisdicc'on infra Civitat' London p^rdict Lib'tat' Suburb' & P^rcinct' ejusdem ante diem Confecc'ois har^m L'rar' n'rar^m Paten' minime molestent^r aut impediant^r aut ad ea vel eor^m aliquod respondere compellant^r. Volum^s eciam &c. absq' fine in Hanap'io, &c. Et q'd express' menc'o, &c. In cujus rei, &c. T. R. apud Westm' xix. die Januarij.

P^r B're de Privato Sigillo, &c.

dens and brethren and sisters of the gild or fraternity aforesaid, or any of either of them, for any things, causes, or matters, offence, claim, or usurpation, or any of them, concerning the premises or any of them, by them or any of them, claimed, attempted, used, had, or usurped, before the day of the making of these presents. Willing further, that the aforesaid master and wardens and brethren and sisters of the gild or fraternity aforesaid, or any of them, shall not in any wise be molested or impeded by any or either of our justices, officers, or ministers aforesaid, in, or for the due use, claim, or abuse, of any liberties, franchises, or jurisdictions within the City of London aforesaid, the liberties, suburbs, and precincts of the same, before the day of the making of these our Letters patent, or be compelled to answer them or any of them. We will also, &c. without fine in the Haniper, &c. although express mention, &c. In witness whereof, &c. Witness the King at Westminster, the nineteenth day of January.

By Writ of Privy Seal, &c.

END OF VOL. I.

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